

THE SLAVONIC

AND EAST EUROPEAN

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POEM

Translated from the Polish of JAN KASPROWICZ by OLIVER ELTON

Huts on the sandy hillocks, in array :
Behind them, stunted cherry-orchards grow ;
See, by the barns, and by the cowsheds low,
The tops, low-bending, of the willows grey.
Here there are lean kine calling, horses neigh ;
The yard's all wormwood—crumbling fence ! but lo,
In snoods of red, in strings of corals, go
Circling, the girls—a posy fresh are they.
Grey huts, poor peasants' huts !—My own life grew
Through all those years, in company with you,
Simple as you, and like yourselves austere—
Rich treasure-house of memories now for me,
Of memories, yes ! that make my tears fall free—
Will the hour come, to banish every tear ?

POEMS BY LEOPOLD STAFF

Translated from the Polish by OLIVER ELTON

THE RETURN

What, what hath brought you here to me, you vagrant pack ?
Poor souls, your brows are lined with toil, your spines all bent.
You stretch to me those meagre hands, that sloping back ;
Your beggars' rags with tavern dust are all besprent.
—" We have come in supplication—homeless wanderers we,
" We are here to melt thy heart ! Behold, our heads are bowed
" And humbled . . ." —Yet your faces seem well known to me,
But somehow changed since yesterday, and not so proud . . .
—" We are thy regal dreams, those aspirations high,

“ In a base, angry witless moment spurned away.
 “ Ah, take us back ! In dust, and lowly, we entreat.
 “ With suppliant tears, we fall upon our knees ” . . . I pray
 In God’s name, do not kneel to me ! For naught am I—
 Unfit my lips to brush the dust from off your feet !

THE AFFLICTION OF THE MAKER

The Maker’s soul is crowned by one supreme delight :
 —When he some fair, life-craving dream, can contemplate.
 The blood beats in his brain, as though at a brazen gate !
 Dream, leap into our world, a godlike shape in white !
 His direst curse is this : it rises to its height
 Of madness, when he smites the stone ; when, desperate,
 He finds his arm too short, whilst longing to create.
 The clay that moulds the body, it hath no wings for flight !

So the sad Maker’s soul forever is overcast,
 Bound by a stern behest the fates themselves assign :
 He cannot fix that wraith—it thins to air too fast,
 And always Imperfection stands, a hopeless wall
 Before the hand that seeks to clasp that form divine :
 To fail, to fail !—the Master’s heaviest fault of all !

A DAY OF WORK II

All blessings on that tranquil hour, at close of day,
 When every wearied arm at last its labour leaves,
 When waggon-bells are shrill beneath the weight of sheaves,
 And wheels in every furrow are dragging, deep in clay ;

When plough and harrow are drawn from shed, and dawn await,
 And when the mill its dusky wings no longer whirls,
 When full-fed kine to stalls are driven by the girls,
 When the cows’ udders, charged with milk, take home their freight—

Then, then for human labour comes the recompense,
 The grateful earth requites our pains, our toil intense ;
 —The worker in the vineyard, well repaid is he !—
 And thus our hands our sluggish soul can fortify
 For heavy work, and muse on harvest wreaths, and lie
 Dreaming on full, rich crops, the meed of industry.

POEMS BY KAREL TOMAN*

Translated from the Czech by OLIVER ELTON

JULY

Over our land, on watch and ward, is a sacred Shade
 Whose voice is heard in the hush ; and it cries, *Remember !*
 In the murmuring leaves, and in that cold chant of the waters,
 Thou hearest his voice, thou hearest the word that it carries,

Remember !

And in Bohemia be thou still attended
 Not by the memory of the lighted woodpile †
 But by faith and fervour only,
 By speech, by action that becomes a man.
 Let no false firework,
 But only a steady flame and quiet,
 Burn in thy spirit.

For over Bohemia
 A sacred, guardian Shade is watching ;
 And he, with a kiss as light as air, shall consecrate
 Our children in their cradles.

SEPTEMBER

My brother has finished his ploughing, unharnessed the horses,
 And now, in the gathering darkness,
 His head he has quietly laid on the mane of his own true comrade,
 Smoothing the neck ; and begins to listen
 To the voice of the country around him.

Heard far off are the bells for the peaceable Eve of the Festival.
 Through chill evening arises the prayer of the villagers ;
 And the soul of the Earth is in song ; all anguish and faith and
 sorrow

Are blended in one great hymn, and are soaring
 Up to the skies eternal.

Wenceslas, Holy one,
 Do not leave it to die into silence
 For ourselves, or for men hereafter.

* After the choice of these versions by the late Professor Elton had been made for this number of the *Review*, the news came of the death of the poet in April, 1946—an item of news that we record with regret.—ED. Note

† Of the martyr.

FISCHAMEND

This morning, one June day comes back to mind
 And flames to life once more: a road ail white;
 Poor, dusty grass along the river banks,
 And rustic, humble spots to halt and wait by;
 And yonder, far away, behind me, a sunset.

And leftward, breathing chill, is the green Danube,
 That stream renowned; and through my brain there rushes
 A swarm of songs and ballads, of sad thoughts;
 Faces, brave deeds I see, and lads and maidens,
 Who trust thee with their secrets, quiet stream;
 —Thou art a dauntless and a dangerous mistress!

I walk, I dream, and half aloud, scan out
 Thy simple and holy verses. All at once
 There flashes on my gaze the dazzling whiteness
 Of the graveyard wall, that lies along the slope
 On the right bank. Those slender cypresses,
 Like cold and marvellous and rigid flames
 Of sacrificial fires, tower up to heaven
 And bend their brows in the light, fitful breeze.

“These nameless folk, brought hither by the stream,
 requiescant in pace.”

One morn, on this June day, comes back to mind,
 Though years have passed; again I tread the graveyard,
 Whence all the stones have vanished, all the crosses,
 And only the green grass is rife, and in it
 Are flaming yellow discs of dandelion.
 And now my heart, in thankfulness to thee
 Is weeping, O thou sweet and kindly earth,
 For ever gracious and for ever just:
 —The only just one left beneath the sun!

POEMS BY PUSHKIN

Translated from the Russian by W. A. MORISON

REASON AND LOVE

Daphnis, pursuing Doris through the grove,
 “Stay, fair one, stay!” he panted; “do but say
 ‘I love you’, and I’ll never bar your way

Again—I swear it by the God of Love.”

Reason advised: “Say not a word!”

Said Eros: “Say, ‘My heart you’ve stirred!’”

And Doris said, “You strangely stir my breast,”

And their two hearts succumbed to love’s sweet spell;

Then at her feet, adoring, Daphnis fell,

And her shy gaze his lowered head caressed.

Reason admonished: “Run away!”

And naughty Eros whispered: “Stay!”

She stayed, and he his trembling fingers laid

Upon her hand, and her he closer drew,

And “Look,” he whispered, “how they bill and coo,

That pair of doves, beneath the lime-tree’s shade.”

Reason repeated: “Run away!”

Said Eros: “Study how they play!”

Over the maiden’s burning lips there passed—

A moment there, then gone—a fleeting smile;

Then on her eyes a mist descended, while

Into the shepherd’s arms she sank at last.

“Be happy!” Eros whispered in her ear—

And Reason said no word that she could hear.

(1815)

TO CHAADAYEV

Not long have we by love’s sweet thrills,

By hope and fame been led astray:

Like smoke, like mist on morning hills

Young pleasures fade away.

But in our hearts desire still seethes:

Beneath oppression’s fateful hand

Through our impatient souls there breathes

The call of fatherland.

We long for freedom, and there burns

Within our hearts love’s sacred fire;

Just so a youthful lover yearns

To gain his heart’s desire.

While we respond to freedom’s name,

While honour still moves heart and hand,
 Let us devote our inner flame

To this our fatherland.

Believe me, comrade, we shall see
 The dawning of a joyful morn,
 And Russia, from her slumbers torn,
 The ruins of autocracy

Will with our names adorn.

(1818)

THE DEMON

In days of youth, when first existence
 Upon my mind its imprints made :
 A maiden's gaze, the song-filled distance,
 The leafy murmur of the glade ;

When overwhelming exultation,
 The thrill of freedom, glory, love,
 The arts that breathed with inspiration
 First made my blood more swiftly move :

Those hours of joy and expectation
 With sudden chagrin shading o'er,
 A kind of evil emanation
 Would sometimes take me in its power.

Bitter as wormwood were our meetings ;
 Its smile, the way its eyes would dart
 With malice, its sarcastic greetings
 Poured chilly poison in my heart.

An endless stream of defamation
 On Providence its tongue would drip ;
 It called the beauty of creation
 A dream, at ardour curled its lip .

In freedom nor in love believing,
 At life with scornful callousness
 It cavilled, in all nature leaving
 Nothing that it could wish to bless.

(1823)

LET ME NOT LAUGH

Let me not laugh a madman's laugh !
Better a beggar's scrip and staff ;
Hunger, and toil, and care.—
Not that my mind I value so
Or would not freely let it go :
That loss I'd gladly bear.

If they would only let me be,
To rage my madness, wild and free !
Through woodlands dark I'd range ;
Sing madly in a fiery haze ;
Forget my being, in a maze
Of dreams uncouth and strange.

I'd hear the waters whisper soft,
And, filled with gladness, gaze aloft
Into the empty sky ;
Freedom I'd know, and strength, and joy,
Like whirlwinds that the crops destroy
And rend the woods awry.

But if by madness you're possessed
The whole world dreads you like the pest :
They grant you no escape ;
Bind you in chains to still their fear,
And at you through the grating peer,
And tease you, like an ape.

And not the note of nightingales,
The whispering breeze in leafy vales
I'll hear, when moonlight wanes ;
But my poor comrades' crazy call,
The warders' oaths behind the wall,
And shrieks, and clanking chains.

AUTUMN CAME TO PARIS

Translated from the Hungarian of ANDREW ADY by W. A. M.

Yesterday into Paris Autumn stole,
Down the broad boulevard gliding silently
Beneath the heat-quelled leaves, when dog-days glowed.
There it caught up with me.

Towards the Seine my sluggish footsteps crawled,
And in my soul small songs of brushwood blazed—
Strange, smoky, painful, purple—and they told
How death would end my days.

And as I walked, Autumn crept close and whispered;
Into that word Saint Michael's mutter dripped—
Dzin, dzin. A rush of lime-leaves, strangely twisted,
Along the boulevard swept.

A moment. Summer gave no startled sign,
And Autumn from town with tiny laughter sped.
Autumn was here, and no one knows but I
And the moaning leaves overhead.

POEMS BY KONSTANTIN SIMONOV

Translated from the Russian by EPHIM G. FOGEL

WAIT FOR ME

Wait for me and I'll return,
Wait in fierce belief;
Wait when yellow rains will turn
Waiting into grief.
Wait for me through summer's heat,
Wait through winter's blast.
Wait when others cease to wait,
Faithless to the past.
Wait when not a word comes through
Telling of my fate,
Wait when all who wait with you
Grow too tired to wait.

SIMONOV.

Wait for me and I'll return.
Scorn without regret
All who prove with unconcern
That you must forget.
Let my mother mourn her son,
And my son his sire ;
Let my friends, with waiting done,
Seated by the fire,
Mourn with bitter wine of mass
My soul, beyond the brink.
Wait. And when they drain the glass,
Hasten not to drink.

Wait for me and I'll return,
Contemptuous of death.
Let the faithless, slow to learn,
In a waste of breath,
Call it luck. For how can they
Know that through the strife,
You, by waiting night and day,
Brought me back to life.
How I lived to cheat my fate
We shall know, we two :
Simply this, that you could wait
As no one else could do.

WHEN ON THE SCORCHED AND LEVEL SOD

When on the scorched and level sod
Beneath a wall of fire I lay,
I thought that fatal hour : Thank God
That you're so far from me today,
That you can't hear this roaring sound,
Nor on this fury cast your eye ;
That somewhere in another town
A quiet house and garden lie.
In place of stones, still waters there,
In place of thunder, maples' shade,
And you would never have to share
With me this grim and deadly day.

But when we chance at times to meet
 At once I wish that every day,
 Each hour, in every battle's heat,
 You'd walk beside me like a shade ;
 That you would share my bread with me
 And share my sorrow unto tears,
 My anger would your anger be
 And all my fears would be your fears.
 If I went blind, you would not see,
 You'd freeze, when I froze, to the bone ;
 My voice upon your lips would be
 Before it fully left my own.

So that my friends, who shared with me
 My fate, won't say, as friends will do :
 " When I was with you, where was she ?
 What does this woman mean to you ?
 She was not with you in the strife
 When we attacked and shellfire flew ;
 I was not she who saved your life—
 What does this woman mean to you ?
 Why think of her now, her alone,
 As if, through anguish and despair,
 Of all your friends she was the one
 Who was beside you everywhere ? "

Then to my friends I could reply :
 She was there. Squeezed into a ball,
 She lay—you did not see her lie—
 There, where the fire was like a wall.
 Yes, you've forgotten, she was there
 With me in those three days so black.
 She helped you—you were not aware—
 When you crawled forth and dragged me back.
 And when, because you rescued me,
 Alone the festal wine we poured,
 She sat there too—you did not see—
 She was the third beside the board.

TO A. SURKOV

Remember, Alyosha, Smolensk's muddy highways,
Remember the rainstorms, incessant and wild,
Tired women who brought jugs of milk to the byways,
Hugged close to the breast from the rain, like a child,

Remember their tears, how they brushed them away,
How they whispered, "God save you!" to all the command;
How they called themselves wives of our soldiers that day
As of old it was done in our great Russian land.

The road, which was measured by tears more than miles,
Ran over the hills and was lost to the eye,
Through villages, villages, graveyards with stripes,
As if all of Russia had come there to die.

As if at the outskirts of each Russian village
Our forefathers, crossing their hands on the sod,
Protect all the living and pray for their children,
For the sons of their sons, unbelievers in God.

You know after all, friend, that this is our homeland,
Not the house in the town where my life was so gay,
But hamlets like these where our grandfathers plodded,
And the plain Russian graves that we passed on the way.

I can't speak for you, but I learned on the wearisome
Roads of retreat what our country was like.
The tears of a widow, the song of a woman
I first came to know on a countryside pike.

Remember Borisov, Alyosha: the hut,
The wail of a girl for the dead, shrill and loud,
The grey-haired old woman in velveteen coat,
The old man in white, as if dressed in his shroud.

Well, what could we say to them, how could we solace them?
But with sure woman's instinct she sensed our despair;
"My dear ones"—remember the words that she spoke to us?—
"You may go for a while, we shall wait for you here."

“ We shall wait for you here ! ” called the fields and the streams,
“ We shall wait for you here ! ” called the woods, left and right.
Alyosha, you know, there are times when it seems
That their voices are following me in the night.

As Russians will do, leaving nothing but ashes
On scorched Russian earth, we retreat from the west ;
In front of us perish, in true Russian fashion,
Our comrades, each tearing the shirt on his breast.

We two have been spared by the bullets so far,
But thrice when it seemed that my days here were done,
I was prouder, Alyosha, than ever before
Of the dear, bitter land where I first saw the sun.

I was proud that the mothers who bore us were Russian,
That here on this land I was destined to die,
That, seeing our troops off, a woman of Russia
Embraced me three times in a Russian good-bye.

THE UNPLOUGHED FIELD

A CHAPTER

From the novel "Pole Neorané" by PETER JILEMNICKÝ

Translated from the Slovak by VICTORIA DE BRAY

ONE day shortly before Christmas Dr. Gavlas picked up the telephone and, somewhat surprised at getting through, said:

"Is it true?"

After a moment came the answer from the district office:

"Yes, it is!"

He slammed down the receiver and ran out of the house, hardly knowing why or whom he should turn to. Groups of people were already standing about in the square, talking agitatedly. He was more conscious of the excitedly gesticulating hands than of the actual words spoken. Tradesmen were coming out into the street, shouting to one another, and artisans in blue or green aprons were gathering in front of their workshops, making no effort to hide their complete amazement. An old, bent highland farmer in bast-shoes and a smock, on to which long, grey-tinged, fair greasy hair hung down from under his cap, came across the square. Astonished at the unaccustomed agitation and noise, he stopped by one group of people, touched his cap in greeting and asked what had happened.

"The Credit Bank has failed, old man," came the answer. He did not understand. They saw this from his expression and went on to explain:

"Rosenzweig's bank has failed . . . have you got it now?"

Old Švancar, the tattered highlander, stood there, his brain impermeable. The news had no effect upon him and he simply failed to grasp why there should be such agitation in the town. He had spent his whole life in one spot, among the hills, mountains and pastures, in his poverty he had kept the Lord's commandments, he had no money, so he neither brought any to the bank nor borrowed any from it. He had plenty of holes in his belt, and he tightened it according to the bidding of the year. As far as old Švancar was concerned, every bank in the world could crash and he would not even have to shrug his shoulders.

They were not all like old Švancar.

And it was not only the town that was upset.

The terrified villages were shattered even more. They all knew the branch of the Žilina Credit Bank, which they called "Rosenzweig's bank"—though no one quite knew whether this was because it was next to Rosenzweig's inn or because Rosenzweig the lawyer

was concerned in it. It was known by the small peasants who brought their halfpence to it in ludicrously small sums, to prevent their getting lost at home. It was known by the wives of the travelling tinkers and labourers, for there they deposited the sweat and blood of their distant husbands. But it was best known by those who never had anything to spare, but who came timidly to the doors of the bank to beg loans and mortgage their best fields. What of it that financial pirates had already laid greedy hands upon the bounds of all the villages? What of it that at any given moment they could determine the life or death of the poverty-stricken peasants? What of it that the unbelievably high rates of interest had swallowed up what little was left to the people? Word flashed in terror from cottage to cottage:

"Rosenzweig's bank has failed!"

"Good God . . . what's going to happen!"

"And the money we sweated to make . . .!"

"Who'll give it back to us?"

At first people were so overwhelmed at the news that they could make neither head nor tail of it. They talked it over with one another, they shouted and argued, they ran to the local magistrate and to the gendârmerie. All to no purpose. No one knew how to advise them, no one knew how to avert this disaster. The small-scale depositors, particularly the women, cursed the agents and travellers whom the bank used to send round the villages to wheedle deposits out of the people. They cursed them helplessly, and they unconsciously envied those who had not deposited anything with the bank, but had borrowed instead. They cursed and ran to the town, surrounded the closed bank, wrung their hands, wept and implored—all in vain. Lawyer Rosenzweig did not even show himself at the window, but remained like insensitive froth on this sea of desperation and misery. What is more—he sent his agents out among the people to try and win their agreement to a fifty per cent. settlement.

The agents went round the villages, spreading alarm and panic, although they knew very well that not even so could the bank pay the people a halfpenny. But the people lost their heads entirely and were ready to resort to anything.

During these days Dr. Gavlas tried to calm the people, to explain to them the reasons for the collapse and to warn them against irresponsible elements. But at the same time he had to come out with the truth about what lay ahead.

This number of the *Herald* was a specially large edition and they

clutched at it. Each copy was passed from hand to hand, they drank it all in, as if parched with thirst at a well of wisdom, and they roared over it until finally nothing was left of many copies but grimy, tattered scraps of paper.

"There," the enraged peasants shouted, "two years ago the bank already showed a loss of fourteen millions."

"So the thieves stole our money!"

"They wouldn't treat their own folk like that. . . ."

They read that the bank had applied for and been granted a moratorium by the government.

"What's that . . . a moratorium?"

"Here it is, written. Apparently they're not obliged to pay out the deposits even if we sue them!"

"But . . . how can they have the right . . . what sort of law is this . . . ?"

"What sort of law? I'll tell you. If you steal twenty crowns, you get punished by the law. But when we get robbed of millions by the bank, the law doesn't apply!"

"It even protects them! There you are . . . in black and white. 'Negotiations are being carried on for state assistance, in accordance with the financial regulations, for the sum of approximately four million out of the general fund, in order to meet the demands of creditors. Certain conditions are, of course, to be imposed, including a considerable reduction of overheads and the calling in of all credits!'"

They listened, outraged, but did not understand it all.

"They're giving those crooks another four million?"

"That's for us, it's so that they can pay us!" someone cried hopefully.

"And ruin the others," another cut in; "didn't you hear? The condition is that they should call in all their credits!"

"And what are they?"

"What they lent us!"

"But when we haven't got anything . . . where will they get it from?"

"They'll sell our fields . . . or something else . . . !"

It was as if a bitter wind, a violent gale, swept across all the valleys. The earth shook beneath the people's feet and they were as if standing on an island, amidst utter desolation. There was not a straw to clutch at. The cards had turned. Among the few who at first had run to the town to the door of the bank and cried and begged for their deposits, a spark of feeble but comforting hope

had been lit : they will repay us. Their false hope was fanned by the vast number of debtors who now owned only part of their land, only part of the roof over their heads, and now had against their names in the land registry—a debit entry.

And it was as if an alternately desperate and rebellious cry blew like an icy wind over the dark cottages, over the whole dark countryside.

“ There will be a sequestration.”

*

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People could not remember such a joyless Christmas for years. At other times—what a festival it was ! For a fortnight before they would be preparing for it, decorating, sewing, embroidering, singing pious songs and purging their souls of evil. Early in the morning they would go with their lanterns to early morning Mass, they would gather together, coming down the narrow paths from the mountains through deep snow, and then the church-bells would proclaim the news of the coming of the Saviour. The men would puff themselves out like doves flying up to the heavens from whence should come the Prince of Justice, and their voices would ring out like shepherds' horns. At one time it was all so festive, with the priest in his shining, glittering robes, and the sexton in his quiet soft bast-shoes.

But now ?

They neither decorated nor embroidered anything, but sat in their cottages without a sound, without a song. Only a few women came to early Mass, and their voices rasped and quavered in the December frost. There were no men's voices ringing like shepherds' horns. The days before Christmas passed silent and dead. When the starry night came and, at midnight, the pastor sounded twelve before the crowded church, it seemed as if some mysterious voice was counting out the last hours of the village. Not even a joyful carol on the organ succeeded in bringing a flicker of joy to the faces of those present. And they remained utterly apathetic when the priest in his splendid robes proclaimed : “ Unto us this day is born . . . ”

Who ? A Saviour ?

Every year they heard this—and with each year things grew steadily worse. How many visible and invisible saviours had come to them and sown a grain of hope in their hearts, only for them to be disappointed once more ! Promises, promises—and no real help did they find anywhere. Within and round them was a terrible sense of emptiness, mute, deaf, without echo. You call out in

desperation, you cry out in pain—and no echo comes, you hear naught but your own helpless voice dying away in the distance. People are many, yet each one is alone, so alone that he could weep. . . . They say it is hard to die, but it is even harder to live in this world of injustice. On leaving the church they took their separate ways to their low cottages and scarcely anyone uttered a word. The air sparkled in the frost, sounds echoed across the land which shone silver in the light of the moon, oil-lamps were quietly burning in the windows, and the barking of a dog rang out across the snow-covered fields. A vast, quiet peace lay over the earth. Only in men there was no peace.

A dark apparition gripped their souls and would not go. Motionless and grim, it gripped them ; what was to come afterwards when they mustered their strength and began their work ? When it started to stifle them, to rave and to shatter, to bring to the ground and trample down all that had been . . . who would bring help and salvation ? And meanwhile each one is so alone . . .

And in their fear, helplessness and rage people caught their breath as they realised that Christmas would pass and that nothing would change and that day by day the air would be filled more and more with the hideous fear that began to gnaw at them after Rosenzweig's bank failed :

There will be a sequestration !

And there was.

The sequestration took place soon after Christmas. The news was brought from the town and the neighbouring villages. Word went round that, in the town, they were selling up the artisans' finished goods, tools and implements, not even leaving them the means of production. Word went round about the sequestrations in the villages, which were a hundred times worse, because it meant everything went to the bank and on taxes. Tears, desperation and fury spread from the villages affected to those where the bailiffs had not yet been ; and in their helplessness people cried out, sought counsel and tried to think out ways of preventing the seizure. But how to help the helpless, how to protect one another when they were all afflicted by the same misfortune ? Each withdrew into the shell of his own misfortune like a snail. There was no confidence, no note of sympathy, no sense of community. There was nothing but desperation, in which each remained alone.

"When will our turn come ?"

This question hung over the village and terrified the people.

"When will they come . . . and what will happen ?"

The ghastly spectre of the sequestration, of a starving winter and of no work, hung over them and would not go. There was no wind that could drive away this cloud.

Old Huščava then made his way secretly to the town. He slunk into the bank like a whipped dog, with his sheepskin cap tucked under his arm, and in humiliation asked :

" Please, sir . . . a heavy sequestration has been entered against me . . ." No one wanted to talk to him ; there had been so many coming like this ! Finally a bespectacled clerk had mercy on him :

" What do you mean . . . heavy ? "

" I borrowed 1,500 . . . "

The spectacles disappeared into an enormous green-bound book. Huščava trembled. Every minute dragged out like an eternity. Then the clerk roared :

" You good people have some nerve ! How long since you paid any interest ? There's two hundred crowns owing for that alone ! "

It was as if the ground gave way under Huščava's feet. It was true . . . he had completely forgotten about the interest. A childish idea came to his mind :

" And if I paid at least the interest by to-morrow . . . you won't go and sell me up ? "

The clerk seemed to have hidden himself entirely behind his glasses as he said :

" You pay up. And we shall see . . . "

Huščava rushed out of the bank and literally ran back home. His head was ringing with : two hundred crowns, two hundred crowns. His whole fate hung on those two words. And as he came panting to the village, he did not pass a single building, but began straight away with the first :

" In the name of Christ . . . lend me two hundred crowns, neighbour ! "

He came away empty and started again at the next cottage.

Everywhere he met with the same response. He was seized with frenzy and began cursing.

" Neighbours, eh ? Devil take the last of them—neighbours ! " He did not get anything even from those of most standing. Čečotková at the inn said to him : " Two hundred crowns, my good man ? Where should I get them from ? Every firm is already after me for the money owing for deliveries. . . . I don't know whether I'm on my feet or my head, myself." He did not go to Krišic—he was poorer than a church mouse. And Šamaj, who until recently had gone about in a huge railwayman's greatcoat, complained : " Well,

you know how I stand. I've been thrown out on my beam ends, too." Perdoch, who had long since lost all his sense of humour, gave Huščava a lifeless, stony stare and sighed. "I would gladly, friend, but I just haven't got any. Heaven knows how we shall manage." He had enough trouble on his own hands, poor devil.

Huščava was seized by a helpless fury, grief and rage. He could have burst out crying in the roadway like a child who has been refused something it wants. He shouted incoherently—he himself did not know what. He ran from one place to another and in his mind, on the verge of insanity, there rang like a howling wind: two hundred crowns.

But people remained hard-hearted—each one was trembling with his own fear.

As Huščava reached the upper end of the village, frozen and hungry, a quiet, peaceful evening was descending from the hills. Then as a final hope, which seemed more like a final blow, he went to Martikan. In his room Martikan was sitting in silence at the table, holding his head in his hands. When Huščava, frightened, like a child, and with an unsteady expression in his eyes, made his request, he got up from the table, clenched his rough, horny hands and shook one of those terrible, desperate fists right in front of his nose:

"You're crazy, friend. You're like a child . . . A snotty nose would complete the picture . . . You'd take them the money, and they'd sell your horse just the same. Go home and go to sleep . . . and to-morrow do the best you can!"

So ended Huščava's last effort. Only from far off there seemed to echo within him a plea for two hundred crowns, a miserable two hundred crowns to which—naïve as he was—he looked for his salvation and which he could not find anywhere in the village.

He came home and asked where Pavel was. He was not at home.

"He went away early," his wife answered, "I don't know where. He said something about Žilina, but he went on foot . . . I don't know. He won't be back before to-morrow."

"Did he say so?"

"Yes."

Then Huščava threw himself on his bed and tried to sleep. He could not. His heart was in a ferment, throbbing and beating, just as Martikan's words ceaselessly throbbed in his ears: "Go to sleep . . . and to-morrow do the best you can." But how could he sleep, when sleep just would not come? And what about to-morrow, when he just did not know what to do? And no matter how much

Huščava turned things over in his mind and tormented his troubled head till morning, he could think of nothing, but remained alone in his misfortune like a sapless tree in the depths of the forest. And in the morning it started.

In the morning, as the crisp snow crunched under the bailiffs' feet, the village became like an execution ground. They came, although many people had hoped they would not come; they descended upon the village like a plague, calling forth a frightful panic and frenzy.

"They're already here," word was passed from the lower end and flew round the village, "they've already started at Mariňak's and Jurčik's."

A ghastly pandemonium started up in all the cottages. Those who had no sequestration order against them ran to the lower end of the village to see what was happening. They were driven by curiosity and by fear of what evil lot might befall them in the future. They came running back from the lower end, calling out: "They're taking their things!" It was as if someone had fired at the people—they started bringing their most valuable things and, in some cases, small pieces of furniture out into the yard, hiding them in the hay, heaping straw over them or piling up and covering them up, with logs and sticks of wood, or moving them into the pigsties.

"Perhaps they won't find them," they comforted themselves. But not for long. In a few minutes a fresh report spread terror:

"They're leading a cow from the shed!"

"And they're taking the pigs!"

The news broke like a cloud-burst. What were they to do? Those who had hidden things in the pigsties hurried to bring them out again and hunted for a fresh hiding-place. Some found one, some didn't; but what about the pigs? They drove them out of the sties into the snow and past the sheds, but the pigs squealed miserably in the deep snow and gave their owners away. Anyone looking across the sheds, beyond the village, could see people from the upper end driving a cow or a calf or a horse up the mountainside. The cows mooed and the horses floundered in the deep snow; and the fear with which the people were filled spread to them, as they rushed about in confusion wherever they were driven. But a sober voice broke into this mad panic.

"What are you doing, you fools? Do you think they don't know who owns what? Why, the magistrate is going round with the bailiff!"

That was true. And someone put in :

“ And they’ll fine you into the bargain . . . ”

Those who had just been about to follow the example of the first and madly empty their sheds remained helpless and hopeless.

“ Yes, but . . . but what’s to be done ? ” Nobody knew.

And the bailiffs advanced to the centre of the village like molten lava sent down upon innocent people by an evil, mighty and merciless god. They left behind them the enraged abuse of the men, the wringing hands of the women and the wailing of petrified children. The crowd of frantic women following upon the bailiffs’ heels grew every minute. These were joined by the men, led by Hatala—those who no longer had anything at home to protect.

They turned off from the road, went up along the bank and stopped in front of Huščava’s home. And then Huščava resolved upon action which passed beyond all bounds of reason and which no one had expected of him.

He stood unsteadily, waiting at the door of the shed, and it seemed as if his wretched body had stiffened with fury and filled the rickety old doorway.

A small, stocky bailiff in a short fur overcoat advanced from the crowd followed by a thin, brisk, excited little Jew with shifty eyes.

“ Well, show me your horse.” The bailiff tried to speak as mildly as he could. He was well informed.

“ I haven’t a horse,” roared Huščava, and spread himself even more in the narrow doorway. And his wife, coughing and shaking like a leaf through her sobs, seized the bailiff’s hand and implored him :

“ Have mercy ! ”

The bailiff turned to the crowd in front of which the magistrate was standing, and he asked sharply : “ Has he a horse ? ”

“ Yes . . . ”

Then the bailiff changed his tone and snapped :

“ Let me in, or . . . ”

He advanced towards Huščava and looked him unwaveringly in the face.

And the puny Kraus, Rosenzweig’s lawyer, called out to Huščava in a shrill voice from behind the bailiff’s back :

“ It’s down in the order. If you don’t, you may . . . ”

He wasn’t given the chance to finish. Huščava, whom the bailiff had pushed back into the stable, seized him convulsively round the waist, lifted him and, with the strength of desperation, such as no one thought he had in him, threw him out of the stable. The

bailiff landed right on top of Kraus and they fell together to the ground.

Everyone was aghast and stood rooted to the spot with amazement.

No one uttered a word. Except one, right at the back of the crowd, who clapped his hands sharply and cried: "Well done!"

The bailiff picked himself up from the ground quickly and with a cry of anger and abuse ran up to the stable door. And although it all happened in a fraction of a second, he did not reach it in time. A horse appeared in the doorway of the stable. No fine, noble horse's head and wise eyes, but huge horse's buttocks.

"Come and get the horse," screamed Huščava, almost beside himself, and started to poke the mare in the ribs. The mare kicked out with her hind legs and threw up her hindquarters, nearly smashing down the doorway. And Huščava, hoarser and hoarser, kept on shouting: "Come on, come and get the horse!"

At first people's blood nearly froze. Everyone was dumbfounded at the unexpected performance. And then, as they recovered, a shout was suddenly heard and they started to applaud, to call out and jump up and down; it was not just anger, but was anger which had overflowed, snapped like a bowstring, and changed into unbounded joy. And while the mare in the doorway was frantically kicking out, they applauded this extraordinary display of defiance, cheered what he was doing and shouted: "Well done, Cyprian . . . splendid . . .!"

The wave of defiance did not subside, but with each kick there arose a fresh wave and the whole place seemed to rock wildly like the sea whipped up by a heavy gale. It was no longer just delight at Huščava's action. It was a passionate, utterly irresponsible joy, as if all the wrongs, the bitter abuses and sore wounds that had galled them were being righted. As if the whip now pointed the other way and had now changed hands. There was no time to stop and realise that Huščava had long ceased to be guided by reason and that he was merely giving rein to his unbounded desperation.

"Let me in," shouted the bailiff in one last effort. And while Huščava's diabolical laughter and crazed roaring of: "Come on then, I'll give it to you . . ." rang out from the stable, the air was cleaved by a cry of common delight, and someone from the crowd jeeringly yelled: "Come, bailiff, ask the horse nicely not to kick . . .!"

There was no time to greet this shout with approving laughter.

All eyes were fixed on the bailiff who straightened himself out in front of the stable door, vainly trying to hide his defeat behind false self-confidence, and shouted into the heavy, reeking darkness :

“ You’ll pay properly for this.”

Kraus, until then ludicrously scared, tried to put in a word about the law, but his effort came to nothing. There was nothing but the livid, abusive cry with which Huščava scorned the bailiff’s threat :

“ B—— you and your grand sequestration.”

And while the mare made her last effort and kicked out for the last time, Kraus, the court executor and the aghast magistrate made their way back to the road. A noisy, delighted crowd of curious people followed on their heels so closely that the front ones could hear the bailiff turn and say to the magistrate :

“ ‘Phone to the town for the gendarmes ! ”

When the yard was quite empty and not a voice was to be heard, Huščava tied the frantic, snorting horse to the trough and left the stable. The door into the front room was half-open. He could hear his wife convulsively sobbing in the room and Ondra saying in a far-away voice : “ Mother . . . dear . . . don’t cry . . . ! ”

All round there was absolute silence. Everything was motionless—even the dark, bare apple-tree, its twisted top branches laden with snow, was still. It hung down across the fence over the compost heap, spreading above the yard, like a hand stretched out in blessing : “ Peace be with you ! ” The silence seeped into every corner of the yard and up to the house, hung in the frosty air and enveloped Huščava, who until then had been carried away by the ferment of his own defiance. But just as a horse, wildly rising on its hind legs, can be dragged down by the reins until it drops to its knees, so did Huščava feel he was being dragged down by the vast intangible silence. He suddenly realised that he was quite alone and that in the yard there was no longer the noise of the crowd from which he had been drawing his strength, there were none of the cries which had filled him with a desperate courage. It had all faded away like a nightmare to a man rubbing his sleepy forehead and eyes. He realised that he was alone, utterly alone in this stillness, that his breath was becoming regular, that his heart was beginning to beat normally and that the noisy rush of blood in his ears was subsiding. Now he stood in the quietness with his broad hands outstretched before him, as though he was holding in them, the reason that he had lost and regained. He did not move or look

round. He felt as if some hideous monster with wild blood-stained eyes was breathing down his uncovered neck from the door of the stable—a monster which could not be driven away, which roared and terrified him. The reason in his hands was calling out to him: “What have you done? You haven’t been stripped to-day, but you will be to-morrow, and a horse’s hindquarters won’t be able to save you for ever. To-morrow they’ll take both the horse and you away . . .” It was as if Huščava suddenly sobered down. It was no monster breathing at him through fiery nostrils, it was his own desperate, mad action. Then silently, somewhere deep inside, he defended himself, crying: “I did the best I could . . . !” and then he frantically squeezed his hands together and clenched his fists, as if he wanted to punish his reason for having deserted him. And then, as the silence did not lift, as it remained round him and within him as a warning at his ill-considered action, Huščava was seized with a terrible fear. He knew that the action of one powerless, desperate individual could not avert the misery or settle his account, but that it had merely brought fresh disaster upon him. His reason, asserting itself more and more; kept saying more and more emphatically: “To-morrow they will come and take both the horse and you . . .”

Fear brought him to his knees, bowed his head and shook his whole body. From somewhere far off, from the upper end of the village, a breath of wind bore a sound of crying and wailing. It was the wives of the tinkers and travelling labourers crying . . . But Huščava did not hear, he was unconscious of it. He stood on, his mind playing over the threat of even worse things to come on the morrow, and his spirit withered within him and trembled as before an evil storm. The bank beneath the cottage curved down to the road, beyond which stretched an even snow-covered plain, and across this wound the frozen stream, lined with occasional willows. All this lay before him just as he had known it for over fifty years, and yet he stood gazing at it like a wanderer who cannot recognise his native land. He neither saw nor heard . . . he was miles away.

He stood like this a long time, abject and exhausted. An hour? Two? He did not know. Until suddenly words borne on the wind fell on his ears like a shot:

“They are taking Martikan! . . . The gendarmes are taking him off!”

Someone ran down the road, shouting. It struck Huščava like a blow. He came to his senses. He hurried forward to see the road.

better. He was driven on by curiosity and ran on towards the house where a gnarled ash-tree stood. He could not see anything, he could only hear agitated voices and incoherent cries.

"They're taking him . . . They're taking Martikan . . . !"

"What's happened . . . ?"

"He went for the bailiff with his axe. And the gendarmes got him."

A few curious people ran through the deep snow along the bank above the road. And close behind them two gendarmes appeared in the roadway. Their grey cloaks, like stains moving against the background of the snow, swung from the waist to the knees with their brisk steps. Between them, between two fixed bayonets, walked Martikan. Huščava, now swept by fresh rage—not against himself, not against the bailiff, nor against the gendarmes—still had time to see how proudly and defiantly Martikan held his grey head on his firm shoulders. He was not one whit cowed.

And then returned what had so torn Huščava after everyone had left the yard and what he had tried with all his strength to suppress. He was swept by premonitions of the evil consequences of what he had done. There, they were taking off Martikan under arms because he had resorted to an axe in defence of his beggarly property.

And while he had used an axe as his weapon, Huščava had looked for help to the hindquarters of the sequestered horse—there was no difference. They had prevented the arms of the law from carrying out their official duty and that was a punishable offence. A sound began ringing in Huščava's head, like a wind springing up before a storm, then growing stronger and stronger until he was caught up in the violent tempest and the first heavy hailstones beat down on his mind: "To-day they're taking Martikan—to-morrow they'll take me!"

This thought robbed him of all reason, helpless tears came to his eyes and, wringing his hands above his head and covering his eyes from the hideous picture of his own misfortune, he began to tremble. Shortly after he turned sharply on the spot and ran stumbling back home and rushed into the shed. After that, people saw him again, running along the slope towards the dark mountain, swerving from the path in his anguish. Fear of even greater misfortune brought upon him by his own desperate defiance gripped him, shrieked at him and drove him forward to the unreasoning abyss.

"Has Huščava hidden something of his on the mountain?"

various people asked one another. "He's running as if he was out of his mind."

In a few minutes Huščava disappeared on the mountainside.

* * *

It was already full dusk when Pavel returned home from Žilina. The room was quiet as he entered.

"Are you alone?" he asked Ondro, who was sitting by the stove piling on some sticks.

"Yes."

"But where are Mother and Father?"

Ondro did not reply for a moment; then his voice shook with suppressed tears. He said:

"Mother has gone to look for Father . . ."

"But what's happened . . . to Father?"

"No one knows. He hasn't been seen since the sequestration."

"So . . . that did take place? Did they take the horse?"

"No, Father prevented them . . ."

Then, wiping his nose every now and again on his sleeve and tapping quietly on the clay floor with his crutch, Ondro told Pavel what had happened. Pavel remained rooted to the spot. The news came to him like a thunderbolt. At last he managed to get out:

"And what about Father afterwards . . . when it was all over?"

"No one knows. He hasn't even been seen since. But Mother's afraid that fear has driven him to do something. . . ."

"Fear . . . why fear?"

"Old Martikan was taken off by the gendarmes. He tried to use his axe against the bailiff. . . . The whole village is full of it. . . ."

Pavel felt as if he had been struck over the head.

He ran outside and looked round. It was as if the earth was hanging down inside an enormous chimney-stack, the night was so pitch-black. Only on the slopes and fields, where the snow lay, could there be seen a faint grey light, bordered by a sharply defined line. That was where the woods began. And just there, or even deeper in, some lanterns were flickering through the darkness. He couldn't distinguish the voices, muffled by the snow, far away on the mountainside. Pavel had a premonition of what was happening. And though he was dead tired after his journey, he pushed on in that direction, stumbling along the steep path, moving forward

quicker and quicker. He soon caught them up. The first he came across was Perd'och.

"What's happening?"

"Nothing. It's no good searching now. Perhaps in the morning . . ."

They returned. Huščava's old wife came down the path crying, and her lantern, swinging convulsively, cast long beams of yellow light across the plain.

"Good night," she said, taking leave of the others, "God be with you. But to-morrow morning, please come . . ."

She did not close her eyes all night. Until morning she was on her knees before the image of the Virgin and Child, praying in desperation. In the morning, before daybreak, she made her way quietly outside. As she went, only the blacksmith, Talapka, was already about, working in his smithy. Apart from him the whole village was still asleep. Even the crows were not awake as she reached the edge of the mountain. She did not go far.

When the blacksmith had finished his first shoe, he came outside and saw a woman running down the slope, floundering in the deep snow and uttering desperate screams. At first he did not recognise the voice of Huščava's wife, but the cries came nearer and nearer:

"Help! He-e-elp! . . . In the name of Christ . . . Where is everybody?"

She saw nothing, heard nothing. She just ran stumbling on, screaming.

"What's the matter?" The blacksmith shook her as she ran up to him. She half collapsed and crumpled up before him and pointed up to the mountain.

"There! There! . . . My man's hanging there . . .!"

People gathered, still half-asleep, and ran to the mountainside. Soon there were swarms of them. And more kept coming, and Pavel was the fastest of them all. And if any of them had looked round, they would have seen following them—crying desperately, falling and hoisting himself again on to his crutches—poor lame Ondro. He reached the spot just as they were cutting down from the branch of a tall pine the stiffened body of his father. There he hung, right high up, on the edge of the mountain, perhaps that all might see in him a crying symbol of human misery. There hung old, desperate Huščava—he who, when he failed to find a miserable two hundred crowns anywhere in the village, thought to save himself with the rump of a sequestered horse.

GORKY AND SOVIET LITERATURE¹

I

It is very difficult to speak in a few words of such a bright, astonishing and unusual phenomenon as Gorky was. Only ten years separate us from the mournful day of his death, and yet his lively voice still rings in the memory of his contemporaries. It is as though he is still among us with his smile, grim and tender, and his piercing eyes a-sparkle, as he passes judgment on our faults and achievements.

For almost half a century this great writer, this teacher of life, this irreconcilable seeker after revolutionary truth, poured out words which have burned into the hearts of hundreds of millions of people living all over the world, words which have thrilled alike famous writers and the most simple and humble working people. He put so much love into the struggle for the right of free man that he stirred the popular spirit, and his name and his creative work will remain for ever immortal.

A writer whose greatness will long be felt by new generations of people in our country and abroad, a great artist who portrayed a whole gallery of figures of pre-revolutionary and revolutionary Russia, an unequalled master of Russian literature, the father and initiator of Soviet literature, he is counted among us as the last and greatest of the Russian classics. The mighty progenitor of proletarian Soviet literature, he forms a link between two great cultures—the old and the new life of our country. “Gorky is an enormously talented artist,” said V. I. Lenin of him, “who is doing and will do much to benefit the world proletarian movement.”

The day-to-day life of Gorky proves how true was this high opinion of him. From his first conscious steps to his last hour Gorky understood his purpose in life as the struggle for the oppressed and downtrodden; he went through the most acute difficulties and trials with head raised high and proud faith in the triumph of the people's right. He saw the workers victorious and, in company with all Soviet people, he tasted the sweetness of free labour and free creative effort. His tragic end was a national calamity, to which all the world responded, as V. I. Molotov said at the funeral meeting on the Red Square on 20 June, 1936.

Gorky cannot be understood unless we follow the course of his

¹ Translated from an article by **Nikolay Tikhonov** in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, 22 June, 1946.

life, which was unusual for a writer who was to become so famous. Only a vigorous person, nurtured on the bosom of the people, could so victoriously follow the very hard path from the lowest depths of life up through the dirtiest hard work and through the blackest years of reaction, unbelief, humiliation, oppression and persecution, and preserve an inexhaustible joy in life and belief in humanity. He was just such a vigorous person. "I was healthy," he says of himself; "possessed exceptional strength and could lift a weight of 5 stones nine times, making the sign of the cross with it, without rest between."

This same strength is apparent in his writings. No one better knew the simple people. He portrayed a world, terrible, blazing with rage against humanity, a world of the bourgeois, of merchants, of workers, of kulaks, a world of police and gendarmes, of landowners rich and poor, of unprincipled gloomy preachers of despair and non-resistance, of the intelligentsia copiously dispensing bright words of barren self-admiration. Neither those who challenged this dreadful life in romantic terms, nor the energetic representatives of the commercial world with their veneer of bourgeois culture, nor the narrow dogmatists of bookish truth, led him astray; they did not deceive his astute eagle-eyed gaze which observed any false attempts to find a way out of the spiritual *impasse* of Russian realities. In his last great work, the story of Klim Samgin, that vast work in which he drew many portraits of people of pre-revolutionary times, he portrayed with relentless power a representative of educated society who focuses in himself all the observations amassed by Gorky on the fate of people who lead meaningless lives imagining themselves "the salt of the earth."

"I have no ties with anything or anybody," says Klim Samgin of himself. "Reality is inimical to me . . . I walk over it as on a tight-rope." And at the same time Samgin smugly admires his own complexity and originality. But side by side with him is Russia, crucified, poverty-stricken, driven into the clutches of hard labour, into prisons, on to the highways, into bondage to exploiters of all kinds; ruined villages in disrepair, *petit-bourgeois* life with its icons and drunkenness, oppression of women, death of children, hunger and desperate need.

Gorky tramped about all the roads of life; he was a house painter, a baker, a stevedore, a clerk, a docker, a watchman, a farm labourer. . . . Once, when he was arrested, the policeman asked him why he went about from place to place. "I want to know Russia," he said. "But this isn't Russia; it is filth," said the

policeman, pointing out of the window. And indeed outside people were driven to be like pigs—no better than dumb animals.

“A whirlwind of doubts whisked me over the earth, and my heart was torn to pieces and my brain froze. I went among people half blind, not understanding the meaning of their lives and sufferings.” “Life unfolded itself before me as an unending chain of hostility and savagery, a continuous filthy struggle for the possession of trifles. Personally, I only needed books, all else had no meaning in my eyes . . .” “Life, the filthy cunning work of ants, tediously building ant-heaps; this life seemed to me utterly stupid, deadly dull. . . . The words of those who stood for the people fell upon my heart like refreshing rain, and I was much helped by the naïve literature about dismal village life, about that great martyr the *muzhik*. I felt that only by loving mankind very strongly and very passionately could one have the necessary strength to find and understand the meaning of life. I ceased to think of myself and began to turn attentively towards the people.”

In this search for the true path, he was helped by “that old guard of bolsheviks which raised the greatest revolt the world has ever known,” and among these was Lenin himself—“a great genuine man of the world, a Man with a capital letter,” “simple as truth,” as Gorky said. The truth underlying this tireless revolutionary movement saved the soul of his creative genius from the gloom of impenetrable night; it illumined his path with clear flashes which were to become later the beautiful dawn of the October revolution. And Gorky, remembering these years of hard struggle, left to the world a splendid picture of Lenin, drawn with all the strength of his inspired pen.

In all the doubts and anxieties of painful existence, Gorky believed in the destiny of his people. He said: “I see the Russian people as wonderfully, fantastically gifted.” He saw them engaged in dirty and heavy work, humiliated and gloomy, and yet he never lost faith because it was impossible for him to do so. He saw the beautiful world, our huge rivers, the spaciousness of our golden fields, the stillness of the evenings, the boundless forests, the steppe in fiery sunsets, and it must have been with such things in his mind that he wrote the marvellous words: “It is a splendid vocation to be a man in this world. How much there is wonderful to see. . . . Yet, now and then it is difficult; one’s whole bosom pours out burning hatred, and anguish greedily sucks one’s heart’s blood. But that does not last for ever. Even to the sun it is sometimes painful to look at people. It has laboured so hard for them, but the people

have not turned out in accordance with its plans. It is true that not all are bad ; but they need repairing or re-making."

He himself passed through the hell of Tsarist Russia, and his books became weapons, his words impelled people forward to the splendour of a world of which he dreamed all his life. He hated suffering, in word and deed. His profound love of the great leaders of struggling humanity, Lenin and Stalin, arose from the fact that they were leading man out of the darkness, remaking him, arming him, leading him to victory and letting him develop the wonderful powers latent in him. The small man was to be the builder of the world's most powerful state and to create a new life. So Gorky was able to tell the whole world with thankfulness in his heart about our country " illuminated by the genius of Lenin, upon which Stalin's iron will works tirelessly and miraculously," a man " of powerful organising capacity " and " of supreme intensity of creative energy."

Gorky, whose name we place with those of the greatest Russian thinkers like Pushkin, Gogol and Tolstoy, was himself an endless source of creative energy and of the intensest inspiration. He put his whole soul into his work as a writer. He always felt great responsibility for his work as a writer. " I am terribly conscious that the art of writing is not easy," he acknowledges, and, if Michael Angelo hewed his powerful images out of marble with the strength of a stone-mason, Gorky yields to none of the great ones in the titanic labour with which he sought perfection for his works. He wrote in his time that " an alarming sensation of the lack of spiritual contact with the masses among the intelligentsia, which ought to be the national guiding spirit, pursued me more or less persistently all my life."

And when the good times came, when October set free talent and stirred up the new wave of primitive creative force of the new days, when Gorky saw that " nowhere and never before was literature valued as highly as in the Soviet Union, never before was the historical and cultural rôle of art understood so clearly "—then with special tenderness and specially loving care he began to keep his eye on the development of young writers, helping them in every way both through his own experiences as a writer, and with the advice of an old friend.

From among the writers of the first generation of October and later, the great majority experienced personally the beneficial influence of Gorky's sympathy in their literary fate. Whether he was living in Petrograd in the first days of the revolution, in Moscow,

in Sorrento or again in Moscow in later years—the links between him and writers were never broken or loosened.

Open his archives and you will be surprised how much of his time he gave to manuscripts of writers, either starting on their careers or already arrived. How much work he gave to letters in which with his innate care he analysed in detail their novels, tales, stories, essays, poems, verse, songs—here going into raptures over something new he has read, there grieving over a failure.

It is not necessary to name these writers, because it would amount to all those now living and some now dead, for we were all more or less within the field of his attention, we sat with him among us at literary gatherings and meetings, we heard and we read his numerous references to our works. Gorky is inseparable from the life of our young Soviet literature and its growth. We are indebted to him for the tireless energy with which he pushed our literature forward, showing us the way with his whole heart, his whole mind, his whole creative effort.

We are indebted to Gorky for what he did to make the intelligentsia—writers, the people's soul—one with the people, not wandering in the labyrinths of self-admiration, not losing their links with the people. He suggested to us with all authority that "literature is a great thing, and in our country, in our circumstances, even a greater one."

He always said that "the literature of the proletariat of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. has before it an extremely hard task—to create by means of realism an epic art in which would be reflected as strongly and completely as possible the heroism of the working-class builder of a new society—the heroism of the industrial arming of the country and the struggles against all and every kind of survival of the past."

The young Soviet writers did not have among them talents equal to the classics of the past; everything in the life of the country was new, in its working days and festivals; it called for the representation of new heroes, new words and a new approach. But our hearts burned with the desire to follow the chosen way, and immense was our joy when the great Gorky, our teacher and elder colleague, said: "It must be remembered that *bourgeois* Russian literature required—counting from the end of the 18th century—nearly a hundred years to attain maturity and to have an important influence. Soviet revolutionary literature achieved this influence in fifteen years."

He pointed out to us the new hero of our literature, saying that if he were to speak of his own artistic power, then in his opinion it

lay in his having been "the first in Russian literature, and perhaps the first in the world, who so personally understood the tremendous importance of labour, which creates all that is most valuable, beautiful and great in this world."

In this process of socialist labour which is reforming our native land, in our worthy peoples who are skilled in this labour, transforming labour into art, in peoples of new revolutionary energy and understanding, he saw the basis of a new Soviet literature which must by the will of historical destiny stand first in the world.

This claim could not be represented in literature as writing "to order"; it could not be carried out with a cold heart or abstractly. It was linked with other important, determining factors for Soviet writers. "Contemporary reality requires from people of the artistic world," Gorky told us, "—perhaps a not very 'delicate' requirement but fully substantiated—active participation in the struggle which has begun everywhere in the world by leadership of the working people: by communism against capitalism, the source of world-wide evil and misfortune," which, having long ago lost its creative power, still continues to exert its cynical power over hundreds of millions of people.

Any writer who did not feel at one with the task of building a new society, who was unacquainted with the life of the Soviet people, was doomed to a narrow existence, deprived of intercourse with the masses, rotting in his own little world of sensation, and no æsthetic quests and formalist exercises would save him from sterility and self-destruction.

This did not mean that Soviet literature had to select any particular forms and to be unchanging in its monotony. Gorky created the Council of Soviet Writers "so that professional unity would permit them to understand their collective power, to determine with as much clarity as possible the various tendencies of its creative force, its objects; and to bring its aims harmoniously together into a unity which guides the whole creative energies of the country."

II

Gorky possessed such an inexhaustible capacity for work that, had he lived to be 100, he would even then not have got tired of his dreams, his work and his undertakings. His initiative was fruitful and was directed along very different lines, regularly and persistently. He brought new things to life as naturally as Michurin, all sorts of new blossoms and fruitful novelties.

With the help of young writers he founded the paper *Literatur-*

naya Ucheba and the Institute for budding authors. He founded a paper for collective farm workers, he helped to publish *Istoriya grazhdanskoi voyny*, *Istoriya fabrik i zavodov*, *Istoriya gorodov*, *Istoriya zhenshchiny*, *Istoriya molodogo cheloveka devyatinadtsatogo veka*, and a series of novels by the best Western writers, the journals *Za rubezhom* and *Nashi dostizheniya*.

On his initiative there was born "The Poet's Library" and it was a brilliant success. Through it Gorky aimed at making young people acquainted with the history of Russian poetry and giving budding poets the material for their technical studies.

All these publications caused a tremendous stir among writers and made it possible for many works to appear, which improved the art of letters, and the discipline of writers' work.

Besides this Gorky righted injustices, intervened in the private lives of writers, engaged in polemics in his old age with the fire of a young writer. He adored scholars and knowledge. He himself wanted to know everything and he knew much, very much. He wanted all writers to learn unceasingly, to enrich themselves with every new experience, since the age demanded a high level of culture and responsibility.

He made possible the founding of Detizdat which still exists as a huge publishing house, the only one of its kind in the world. Children had to be given books for all ages, clever, interesting and entertaining books. "Make way for the child, the heir to all the great works of mankind!" He summoned to this work for children most of the prose writers and poets and constantly followed the development of children's literature.

Watching over the work of Soviet writers with all severity, he characterised this work as different from "the old men's," i.e. the pre-revolutionary writers, and saw the differences in the wide scope of reality as compared with "the old men's."

He noted that writers of all the peoples of the Soviet Union work as equals among equals. Already before October he occupied himself with publishing Belo Russian, Latvian, Tatar and Armenian authors and he was interested in Georgian and Ukrainian. Now he avidly sought new writers unknown to him from the brother republics, and noted with pleasure the development of these literatures. He personally greeted Suleiman Stalsky—the Homer of the 20th century, the inspired bard of Soviet Daghestan.

He noted with animation the rise of the Soviet historical novel, which is not like earlier historical novels. He noticed every new, fresh, original writer, however far away from the capital he might

live. And he always said severely that the literature of the Soviet Union grows well, but real life is grand and beautiful. Literature must achieve the height of reality: that is the task. To do this we must understand work as creation; we must dip into the working masses, among whom the new life of the country is being forged. The past period, so heroic and unrepeatable, is a living witness to this. The great Patriotic war, the immortal struggle of the Soviet people at the front and in the rear, showed the immortal variety of the deeds of fighters and workers. On fields of battle, and at the looms, where victory was forged, in factories and workshops, or collective farms, everywhere, soviet man displays innumerable examples of that art of warlike and peaceful labour, which lays bare all the richness of his soul, his spiritual life, his high intellectual energy, his bolshevist tenacity and revolutionary consciousness, which go into works of prose and verse as the eternal values of Soviet literature.

Gorky used to complain that in our literature there was nothing of the new countryside, showing the transformation which the new socialist life was bringing. This was specially noticeable in regional writers to whom Gorky paid great attention. In this connection we can say that to-day regional writers, living outside the capital, have at their command much valuable material, and a recent conference of these writers showed many talented and good works. Every day our hopes grow that from the depths of the country there will come new young talent to us, whose experience has been enriched in the unrepeatable years of struggle and victory.

At the same time Gorky violently stormed against writers who were illiterate and lacking in culture. Encouraging budding authors in every way, and readily commending any work which had something live in it, he thundered against everything that shows signs of hurry or is unaccomplished and illiterate. And he reckoned lack of culture almost a personal affront in a writer. But though he was a severe and just critic, he stormed against "the death sentence of critics who turn down certain writers for their unsuccessful writings"; he stormed against the glorification and vilification of young authors, who do not please the critics; he opposed coteries and shallow egoistic leaderism, Bohemianism, with its wasteful spirit of dissoluteness, injury of one comrade by another in the profession, out of personal interest or shallow egoism. He demanded respect for the work of the writer on the part of other writers, he demanded the extermination of "cliques" and stood for high skill against those who go in for vulgarisation.

"Literature is the art of plastic representation through words," he said. Away with made-up words in inverted commas, away with pseudo-popular language, which clutters up literary speech! He attacked criticism for under-estimating the meaning of words as the fundamental material of literature.

He referred with unusual severity to his own dramatic works, even unjustly detracting from their importance in his great modesty, and gave a cruel judgment of the contemporary stage which has lost none of its power or importance even to-day. He wrote: The creative power "of most of our dramatists amounts to the mechanical combination of facts often not well thought out and selected according to the author's preconceived ideas." For this reason "the class stuffing" of facts is also often chosen superficially and badly thought out, which mutilates the facts. Added to this there is also a lack of originality in characterising people by "class symptoms."

Socialist realism is the force which communicates to Soviet literature a new content and enriches it and drives it forward. "Socialist realism looks upon existence as deeds, creative activity, whose aim is the uninterrupted development of the most valuable individual capacities of man . . . for the sake of the great happiness of living on earth, which, in conformity with the uninterrupted growth of his needs, he wants to cultivate as the beautiful abode of mankind united in one family."

Soviet literature during nearly thirty years of its existence has not a few works, known both to us and abroad, which can be regarded even by the strictest critic as having been written in the mode of socialist realism. Such undoubtedly are the novels of Sholokhov, A. Tolstoy, Fadeyev, Panferov, Fedin, Leonov, Vsevelod Ivanov, Serafimovich, Gladkov, Ehrenburg, Katayev, and many others. Gorky's influence was and is apparent on the creative work of contemporary authors, since no one from among writers of to-day can ignore those artistic achievements which have been brought into Soviet, and indeed world, literature by the great initiator of stories about the little simple man, the future master and creator of socialist realities.

Many writers of former time, especially when they dealt with moral problems, were known as humanists, and this name was applied to them in an old sense. The humanism which Gorky established and which we are continuing to develop in our literary work is a rather, or even quite special, new, Soviet humanism. Gorky gave us his definition. "The humanism of the proletariat requires unquenchable hatred for the *bourgeoisie*, for the power of

the capitalists, its lackeys, parasites, fascist hangmen and traitors of the working class, hatred for all that compels suffering, for all who live on the sufferings of hundreds of millions of people."

And Gorky, who praised labour so warmly as the source of all happiness, said that the creator—the free worker of the Soviet Union—will clench his fist at him who dares interrupt this creative work, and this workman's fist will crush all that stands in its way.

Standing for long years, in the literal sense of the term, on guard for the authority and moral dignity of our great constructive work, Gorky tirelessly kept his eye on the growth of fascism and increasingly came out against it in fiery words. "In all Europe's tragic history—the Red Army is a real people's army, founded not for aggression but for self-defence." Greeting the Red Army on the occasion of its 15th anniversary, he exclaimed: "Warm, hearty greetings to the warriors of the first socialist army in the history of mankind, which will fight only for the real justice so needed by the workers of the whole world!"

How quickly these prophetic words came true! Not in vain, when he was already dying, he said, "There will be war. We must prepare. We must not be caught unawares. . . ." And the great leader of the Soviet people repeated Gorky's words in the historic days of war: if the enemy does not surrender, he must be destroyed!

These words came true and the Red Army, the Soviet people, in the days of fearful trial, often remembered Gorky; and in the trenches his books were to be found and they travelled in haversacks on all fronts. Everywhere where battles were fought, invisibly his unbending, invincible soul of a fighter was present, inspiring the warriors to exploits in defence of that beautiful world in which a new man was living a free and creative life, attained in that struggle in which Gorky also participated—Gorky the unforgettable friend of working people, and the inspirer of the fight for communism!

When he set up an image of a toiling woman in his famous novel, he anticipated that future Soviet woman heroine who has covered herself with immortality in these heroic years.

The Soviet people sacredly keeps in memory its great son—the great writer and fighter, Maxim Gorky. It bears this memory in the secret innermost places of its heart, because a fighting-people, having experienced unheard-of torture in the struggle and having come out victorious, remembers the depths of the people from which Gorky sprang and what a path of struggle for the people he followed in the whole of his long and hard life, carrying out honourably

exploits of service to the people's right by his true and free words.

Gorky for ever remains an example for writers of all future generations, as an artist whose words overstepped all frontiers and everywhere penetrated into the human heart, warming it with the warm fire of his inspiration.

The people's enemies wanted Gorky to disappear from the face of the earth. But the enemies themselves disappeared, swept off the face of the earth, while Gorky's words, his name and his life can never be destroyed by anyone.

Our Gorky is eternal. Gorky will always be with the people, with the future of which he dreamed and for which he struggled. And we will often repeat his golden words : " It is a joy to live and work in the country, in which the great wisdom of the party and the iron will of its leader, Joseph Stalin, have freed man for ever from the execrable habits and prejudices of the past ! "

WINCENTY WITOS

CLASS distinctions, with their hoary tradition of special privileges, have broken down when men and women of all social strata have begun to work ; in other words when the right to be idle has ceased to be conceded—even to crowned heads. This process has been going on in Polish lands for a century, but only in the eighties did it come to be accepted as the one sound basis on which to build the nation. From that time onward no Pole, even though he had possessions and a title, could demand the right to be a "playboy." The few who did found themselves left in a backwater when liberation came in November, 1918.

Even before 1900 the "century of the common man" was beginning in a world where, following the mediæval pattern through the ages, those who made war, those who prayed, and those who toiled had lived together but had never created a real community. This fact could be seen in literature. The epic of the older order was *Pan Tadeusz* ; that of the new age was *The Peasants*. In the days of Mickiewicz not only manners, polish and learning but also public responsibilities were still prerogatives of the upper classes. When Reymont wrote his great story this was no longer the case , and before he died, a peasant's son, who remained a tiller of the soil, had been twice Prime Minister of his country. Not only in the New World could one use the term "from log cabin to White House" ; in at least three countries of Europe the same thing had happened—as a natural consequence of changes that were transforming the continent. The seventy years' span of life of Wincenty Witos are likely to remain for a long time the most cataclysmic period of European history. The steam-horse had barely penetrated his homeland when he was born , but he lived to learn of the first atomic bombs, and to see the Party of whose birth he had been a spectator celebrate its Jubilee.

I

Witos first saw the light in a small village a few leagues to the east of the ancient university city of Cracow, in the county of Tarnow, in January, 1874. His father had two acres of land, but eked out some sort of existence by working, when he could, as a carpenter ; and the boy accompanied him as a helper. During four winters he went to a kind of school where he learned to read and write ; but—apart from what he got for himself by hard effort—

that was the sum-total of his education. Who then is to explain how or whence the lad became possessed of a resolve to read everything he could lay his hands on, above all to learn something about the history of his own country?

The eighties of the last century were "hard times" in most parts of Central Europe; but they were particularly hard in the overcrowded districts of central Galicia, whose soil was not good, and whose people had no one to lead them. True, a champion of their right to a better lot had appeared in the person of a country vicar—Father Stojalowski, who knew from direct contact what Szczepanowski was soon to call in his courageous book "the Misery of Galicia" (1891), and who was resolved to do something about it. But he met with such a storm of opposition both from Church and society that his life was mostly a martyrdom, and all he could do was blaze a trail along which others could march. This "misery" was of course essentially economic, but it was also cultural and political. Five years before Witos was born Austrian Poland had been given autonomy after a century of direct rule from Vienna; but economic conditions were and remained adverse right down to the year 1914. What is more, by contrast with their fellow-gentry in Poznań, the upper classes did little to develop the natural resources of the land, or to promote the cause of education for the masses. These facts explain the stream of emigration to the New World, Poles and Ukrainians, which marked the closing years of the old century and the first decade of the new.

Witos returned home from his term of Austrian military service resolved not to be a passive spectator of events but to do something. He began in his own parish, where conditions were such as to evoke mingled wrath and despair.¹ Before long he was chosen *wojt*, i.e. village-major, and at the age of thirty he was elected to the Tarnów County Council. Three years later he was sent as deputy to the provincial Diet in Lwów, and was thus launched on the political career that was to lead him in 1911 to the Imperial Parliament in Vienna, in 1919 to the Constituent Diet of a restored Poland, and a year later to the Premiership.

Already at twenty-two he had begun to write letters and sketches in *The People's Friend*, whose editors had shared in the early work done in Russian Poland to create a Labour-Socialist movement, but had been forced to escape to Austria. Witos wrote about the things he knew personally—the poverty of the small-holder, the

* ¹ A picture of this life at its best can be seen in *From Serfdom to Self-Government*, Minerva Press, 1941.

ignorance that amounted to illiteracy, the almost complete lack of any national consciousness. Even such schooling as was available did nothing to make the growing boy and girl realise that they belonged anywhere. Their allegiance as grown men and women was Austrian—every soldier was known as “the Emperor’s man,” they had never heard of Kosciuszko or Mickiewicz. They knew in a simple way what religion meant, but they were coming more and more to realise that, though concerned for their souls, the Church cared nothing about their bodies or minds. Witos knew that a condition of improvement was some sort of loyalty, and it is significant that in his first articles and speeches his appeal was never to class affinities but always to those of the nation.

The early years of the new century were a time of mingled hopes and disappointments. When manhood suffrage was introduced in the Habsburg Empire in 1906, it looked as though the common man was at last to be given his chance; but what equipment had he to work with, and how was the raw material of political forces to be organised into an instrument that could be used for the benefit of all?

Throughout the ages the landworker had been a serf. Since 1848 he had been, in theory at least, a free man. But the memories of the “massacres” of 1846 were still strong among the gentry and the townsmen, and the least sign of initiative or ferment, of self-assertion on the part of the villager, was viewed with alarm both by the state and by society. Treated for centuries as wards, they were the victims of the petty trading people—mostly Jews—in everyday life. Witos knew all this, and complained that neither from church nor state was the helping hand forthcoming, which should lift the masses to self-respect and wellbeing. At the same time he was not blind to the evils into which the villager slipped, e.g. that of alcoholism; or to the fact that with better farming methods a good deal could be done by the peasants themselves to improve their lot. In short, he knew that political action alone could not suffice; but he also saw that without it, i.e. unless the peasants created their own political organisation and used the ballot to announce their presence in public life, little would happen.

The beginnings of a Populist Party date from the year 1895, following a congress held during the Centenary Fair of the previous year in Lwów. In temper it derived less from the work done by the brave vicar, and more from the lay leaders—who published *The People’s Friend*—the Wyslouchs. With this turn of things Witos, loyal churchman as he was, wholly agreed: but the time was to come many years later when, though unwilling to have the leadership

in the hands of the clergy, he could not agree to the radicalism of those who came from urban Socialist circles to nurture a secular view of the world among the villagers. Partly on this account, though other reasons entered in, there came in 1913 a crisis in the Party, which led to a split. From now on those who remained with Witos took the name of the "Piast" Party (from the name of the legendary king of long ago), and began to publish in Cracow their weekly under that name.

Let it be said at once that this difficult matter of getting tillers of the soil and the more secular-minded workers in industry to make common cause and agree upon a political programme has been felt all over Central Europe and that to the failure of the leaders to solve that problem can be traced a great measure of the political confusion (dictatorships included) of the inter-war years. As we shall see, the issue was soon to become acute in Poland, with the founding of a more radical Peasant Group in the Russian-ruled provinces, and long years of effort were needed before the two parts could be united into a coherent whole.

II

For Witos the war years 1914-1918 were for the most part a bitter experience. He saw his homeland fought over once and again, occupied for a time by Russian armies, and subjected to unwarranted reprisals after its liberation by the central Empires. From the outset he had identified himself with the National Committee in Cracow which backed Pilsudski's Legions, but he saw in time the way in which this gesture of co-operation was to be treated with contempt by those in authority. In July, 1917, he made his maiden speech in the Vienna *Reichsrath*, pleading with the Austrian High Command for a fairer treatment of his fellow-peasants in Galicia. Already in May his Party had announced at a meeting in Cracow its demand for a free and united Poland with an outlet to the sea, which made him more than ever unpopular with his mostly aristocratic fellow-deputies, who put their faith in Austria. In August there appeared from his pen an outspoken article in *Piast*, which echoed the first proposals of President Wilson in regard to the self-determination of peoples; and six months later he was in the forefront of those who condemned the iniquity of the Treaty of Brest Litovsk. Once only during the war had he established a contact with Polish leaders elsewhere, making a number of visits to Switzerland in order to confer with those who were working for the Polish cause abroad.

The collapse of the Dual Monarchy at the end of October, 1918,

opened the way for a liquidation commission, of which Witos became Chairman, to take charge of affairs in Galicia, and this body was soon to accept the authority of the new Polish government in Warsaw. The peasant leader had been invited to join the Daszynski Folk-Cabinet in Lublin on 8 November, which had the support of the more radical Peasant Group "Liberation" formed during the war in the Russian provinces, but he declined. When this Lublin Group accepted the authority of the Warsaw government, and negotiations were in progress with a view to forming the Moraczewski Cabinet, Witos maintained his reserve, desiring a more representative administration, in which the Piast Party would be given a place commensurate with its numerical importance. He did indeed become a Minister, but without portfolio; while the leader of the Liberation Party was placed in charge of Home Affairs.

When the results of the elections held early in 1919 were announced, it was seen that the Peasant representation was not united but split into groups, some of them more moderate and others more radical. The former, i.e. the party of Witos, had something like 80 deputies, while the Liberation Group had about 25. The common people were also represented by 35 members of the Socialist Party, and 29 of National Labour. Over against this, and representing the middle and upper classes, were the Deputies of National Democracy and kindred groups numbering about 170. No single party was in the majority, and the result was a coalition government headed by Paderewski. Witos was accused of trying to effect a union with one of the other groups in order to get such a majority—in order, as some said, himself to become Prime Minister.

In general, all such plans for a Poland which would have a class atmosphere, whether of the Left or the Right, were defeated by the resolve of Pilsudski and Paderewski to think first in terms of statehood, and to insist on a sharing in what went on by all elements in the country on an equal footing.

The part in this work which the Peasant Parties deserved to play was, to say the least, problematical for the following reasons:

1. Only in certain areas of the new Poland were the farming communities in any real way conscious of the issues at stake, or at all organised for political action.
2. Some of the leaders deserted the cause, attracted by what seemed to them more alluring prospects. Only two outstanding figures remained loyal to the end—Maciej Rataj, later to become Marshal (Speaker) of the Diet, and Witos. A third, Stanislaw Thugutt, leader of the "Liberation" group,

should also be included among these faithful, but his more Leftish convictions made common action with the Piast Party at times impossible.

3. Even Witos found himself in the difficulty of having to choose between the two loyalties that were strongest in his soul—that to the peasants and their needs as a class, and that to the nation as a whole. To achieve the former, he had to find a way of permanent collaboration not only with the more radical Liberation Group, but also with the Labour-Socialist Party, and this proved a vain hope. To achieve the latter, he had to make common cause with the National Democrats, among whom were to be found the bitterest opponents of agrarian reform. Small wonder if he was betimes at a loss as to how to proceed, and if he made mistakes in his tactics.

4. The middle and upper classes showed a steady aversion to having as spokesman for the new Poland a man who dressed as a peasant (in long boots and without a tie), and who felt in regard to his leadership much as the cultured Americans of the East did in 1828, when Andrew Jackson came to the White House. In the case of extremists this opposition went to the point of intrigue or even slander, and made the path of this leader of the common people thorny almost to the end. It is to his credit that he accepted these tactics with fortitude; confident that in the long run the right would prevail. In speaking to his own followers he would say, "I understand your bitterness and pain, I know the abuses and disdain you suffer, but this does not justify for anyone a folding of the arms, or despair, or indifference toward your own country."

In the sequel these experiences served to make him more of a hero in the eyes of his followers than he really was—one might almost say a martyr.

The peasant leader's first notable appearance in the new parliament came in June, 1919, when plans for land reform were under discussion. He regarded the carrying of this measure as the acid test of the sincerity and competency of the House and the Government, and did not hesitate to say so. But in advocating such a step he showed commendable moderation, having no desire to copy the methods of the revolution in Russia (expropriation without compensation of any kind), or to parcel up the land in a way that would jeopardise the demands of production. Whereas the radical Liberation group wanted the land as a gift, it was noted that Witos conceded the right to compensation, though expecting the state to advance

up to nine-tenths of the cost as a loan. When one reads his speech after a quarter of a century, one sees in it sound sense coupled with an intense love of the soil and of those who tilled it.

"I firmly maintain that the Polish State can be founded in the future on the common people alone. . . . I admit that other classes have the same rights . . . but we know that the marrow of the state is and must be the Polish people—the peasant and the worker! . . . In Poland, if anywhere, the soil is the basis of our national existence."

He finished his plea with this remark, "If the House does not rise to the occasion I shall then have to place a question-mark on the whole of our future"

Efforts already made to arrange for the transfer by private purchase of a large amount of arable land from the hands of the estate owners to those of small-holders (many of whom had saved a good deal of money in war-time) had fallen through, chiefly because of the opposition of the Peasant Parties; while the plan discussed in the Senate would have involved the state in a huge outlay the funds for which were simply non-existent. The whole project met with strong disapproval from the side of the National Democrats, backed by the Union of Estate-owners, but on the 10th of July a compromise was reached, designed to limit the size of farms in the western provinces to 250 acres and the eastern provinces to about 400. A Land Bureau was set up to prepare the necessary legislation.

For a year the matter rested there, since the country was still at war in the east and other things claimed attention. Then, with the Red Army advancing towards the Vistula, the Council for National Defence called Witos to the post of Prime Minister, and, on his insistence, the Diet passed into law on the 15th of July the measures proposed in 1919—"to stimulate the patriotism of the peasantry." The sacred principle of private ownership was maintained, and that of the "socialisation of the land" rejected. Limits to the former could be set "in the public interest," but for all areas parcelled up a set price (in principle half of the open market price) was to be paid. The battle for the land was thus won on paper, but it was not until four years later, after the stabilisation of the state finances, that the actual work of implementing the Bill was begun.

It will not do to argue that the victory won in August, 1920, over the Red Army was the work of the Prime Minister, yet the fact that that office was held by a Peasant leader did much to steady the nation in time of crisis. The Witos government remained in power

for over a year, and during this time much was accomplished. Notable were the events of the "Great Week" of March, 1921—the conclusion of the Treaty of Riga, the holding of the plebiscite in Upper Silesia, and the acceptance by Parliament of the new Constitution. One problem, however, remained unsolved, and got more and more out of hand. The economic situation worsened, the balance of trade was adverse, inflation was mounting and unrest became general. When the Finance Minister sought to raise an internal loan from the landowners, in return for concessions in respect to agrarian reform, he met with strong opposition, including that of the Premier. The result was the fall of the Government on 9 September and the creation of a non-Parliamentary Cabinet under Ponikowski.

The end of the year 1922 brought a general election, and the appointment of the first President. In these elections nearly nine million voters took part, with the result that the Right obtained 163 votes, the Left about the same number, while the National Minorities obtained 80. The Left included 70 members of the Witos Party, 49 of Liberation and 41 Socialists. In the choosing of a President, the Right lost out, greatly to their chagrin, and the new Head of the state, the distinguished engineer Narutowicz, was shot a few days later by a fanatical Nationalist. On the 20th of December a second President was appointed—the candidate of the Left, the Prime Minister being General Sikorski. Sikorski was able to re-establish confidence in the country and secure the acceptance in March, 1923, by the Conference of Ambassadors of the eastern frontiers of Poland. Already, however, he was losing the support of the Piast Party, ostensibly on the ground that the Minorities were playing too large a part in public affairs. Witos and his group tended to support the claims of the National Democrats in this respect, and in May the Government was overthrown on the question of credits. At the end of the month a Cabinet of the Right (with adequate support in the Diet) was set up with Witos as Prime Minister, who expressed his view that a Polish majority backing was the only sound condition for the success of any government. Angered at what he regarded as a wrong understanding of state policy, Pilsudski decided to leave the Army and retire into private life.

III

The Marshal had never been on cordial terms with the Peasant Party Leader, and he was seemingly never aware of the importance

of the rural population in politics, but it was only from 1923 that signs of an almost fierce antagonism between the two men can be seen, with Pilsudski as the aggressor. These two potential leaders of the national life (not even Dmowski can be put in the same class with them, and Sikorski was still a young man), whose co-operation could have altered the whole course of events, drifted farther apart, so that reconciliation, even though necessary, became impossible. This was the more unfortunate, since on so many points they were agreed, not least of the issue of constitutional reform so urgent at this time. Both wanted a healthy Poland, which would serve the best interests of its citizens and command the respect of its neighbours. The Marshal, having broken with his Socialist affiliations, thought in terms of the state and of *raison d'état*. Witos thought more in terms of the nation, particularly of the rural folk who numbered two-thirds of it, without, however, forgetting the claims of the body politic.

Neither knew or cared much about economic matters or state finance, though the practical farmer knew well the struggle for existence of the poor—to whom Poland belonged: and for that reason neither of them was as important to his country from 1923–1925 as was the man who sought to stem inflation and stabilise the currency—Władysław Grabski. But the economic and political issues could not be divorced, and the time soon came when the latter again crowded for attention,—when the soldier, who had no Party but whose career had made him the idol of a large part of the nation, came to blows with the civilian, whose political backing was substantial, but whose forces were not yet organised, let alone mustered, and who needed time in order to consolidate them. The expected happened in that the soldier won out—at least for the time being.

During these years Pilsudski was an onlooker, Witos a participant, while the nation grew more and more impatient with endless (often unnecessary) debates in the Diet, with frequent changes of Ministries, with personal and party intrigues and irresolution; while the zloty was slipping from its moorings, relations with Weimar Germany were getting worse rather than better, and needed work of reconstruction was not going forward as it should. To fill up the cup, neither the new republic nor its representatives had as yet won the respect of the Powers, chiefly again because of lack of continuity in government and a consequent lack of authority. Something had to be done, and done quickly. Witos saw as clearly as anyone that the trouble was largely due to the unenviable position of the President—to which Pilsudski had objected from the start.

The First Citizen was a figure-head as in France, possessed of no executive authority ; in consequence of which the wheels of administration dragged, and the danger of deadlocks was never absent. He was indeed respected, but that did not suffice. To make matters worse, even the Prime Minister was at the mercy of a Chamber split up into a score of factions, in which the winning of a majority over a longer period was almost impossible. (No one knew this better than Grabski, who was to write of it with sorrow ten years later !) Finally, things were made worse by the rooted objection of the large National Democratic element to allowing the Minorities the status of partners in public affairs.

Already in 1924 the Peasant Leader discussed this important issue in a pamphlet which demanded thoroughgoing changes. He recognised to the full the central position of Parliament, but declared that the Diet was not giving the country "law, dignity, government, a good example and a high sense of responsibility," as it was morally bound to do. After making concrete suggestions, he went on :

"We must find a way of mending things. Our aim is to alter the constitutional set-up by strengthening the authority of the President, and by giving him power to dissolve the Diet, when the interests of the State shall demand this. Executive action should depend more on him than on the Chamber."

Early in 1926 he returned to the same theme in an address to his supporters, advising a study of systems of government "which have stood the test of time in well-administered democratic countries" . and in a second pamphlet he declared :

"Our Diet, I repeat, is a large body of people. Such a large body is only then competent to work with purpose, maturity and responsibility, when it is itself mature, or well consolidated, or well directed."

He added that it had been found necessary in other countries to reduce the number of Party groups by the creation of *blocs* "in order not to lapse into anarchy or helplessness."

These declarations all came during the period of economic transition, while the author was a simple deputy, and while men like Skrzyński were doing what they could to improve Poland's status abroad. Then came the withdrawal of Socialist support from the Skrzyński Ministry, a further slipping of the zloty, and the Soviet-German agreement of 24 April, 1926. The Government resigned, and Witos was asked to form a new Cabinet—his third. The combination envisaged was virtually the same as that which had forced Pilsudski to retire three years earlier—that of the Peasant

(Piast) and Nationalist elements. Convinced that this would be fatal to the state interests, the Marshal took the radical step known to all the world as the *coup d'état* of 13-14 May, 1926, and set about the task of achieving precisely the things Witos demanded but by means the latter could not countenance. Those means meant in effect the by-passing of the traditional Parties, and the jeopardising (as time was to show) of parliamentary usage and tradition in a country where both were highly prized: not so much because the Marshal was an enemy of democracy as because he felt that things had to be done quickly, and that the usual procedure would not suffice. He forgot the ancient Polish proverb that "what is done in a hurry is the devil's business"!

Here then were two men of statesman rank, desiring the same thing but unable to agree as to ways and means, and unable to co-operate. The fault was mostly on the side of Pilsudski, but Witos made things difficult, even for his own Party, by his alliance with the Right. He did not realise sufficiently the consequences of the fact that Poland was three-tenths non-Polish, and he made the needed alliance with the Socialists more difficult than ever.

It must, moreover, be remembered that there was as yet no working unity between the moderate Peasant (Piast) Party, and the Liberation, more radical, Peasant Group. Indeed, not a few adherents of the latter now went over to the projected Non-Party *Bloc* for supporting the Government, in which in time they played a significant rôle. For the moment the Socialist Parties supported the new régime, and even Witos himself was willing to seek a *rapprochement*; but the former were soon in opposition, and after an election in 1928 had returned a Non-Party *Bloc* numbering one-third of the Chamber—chiefly at the expense of the Peasants and the Right, plans were set on foot to unite the opposition of the common people to the régime in a Centre-Left Merger of six political groups. In December, 1929, the veteran Socialist leader, Niedzialkowski, moved in the Diet a vote of censure on the Government in the name of this *Centrolew*, in which—for different reasons—he was supported by the National Democrats and by the Minorities.

The administration weathered the storm, chiefly because three full years of unexpected prosperity had favoured its course, and the country was in no mood for a change. But help came to it as well from the mounting German demands, now more or less official, for a revision of frontiers, against which the nation reacted as one man. The leaders of *Centrolew*, however, had no intention of relaxing their

efforts, and a Congress was held in Cracow in June, 1930, "in defence of the rights and liberties of the people." This monster meeting demanded "the liquidation of the régime and the re-establishment of the rights of parliament." A further and less commendable resolution declared that the Merger would not feel bound, if and when they came into power, to honour any debts incurred abroad in the way of loans by the existing Government. The reply of that Government was to dissolve the Chamber and announce a general election for November, and the Merger leaders at once decided to fight the elections as a single opposition group.

Again, as four years earlier, Pilsudski decided on a short-cut. Desiring at all costs to secure the two-thirds majority in the Diet necessary for the effecting of constitutional changes, he took advantage of what he felt to be seditious views and measures on the part of the Centre-Left leaders, and had them arrested and (to the number of ninety) sent to the fortress of Brest Litovsk. Among them was, of course, Witos, who had played an important part in the whole enterprise. The imprisoned leaders, including veterans like Lieberman, Korfanty, Popiel, and Pragier, were subjected to quite uncalled-for indignities, but for some curious reason Witos was exempted. The mischief was done, however: a hitherto veiled dictatorship was resorting to methods that offended the senses of all liberals—not only in Poland but also abroad; and was setting itself on the road that led to the concentration camp of Bereza Kartuska. That same administration was to injure its reputation still more by the "pacification" of unruly Ukrainian elements in the south-eastern provinces.

The general political result was the fading-out of the Merger, due chiefly to the divergences that always remained between Peasants and Socialist, and to the sudden appearance of the world economic slump that engaged the attention of all classes. But out of the former came something else—the union of the hitherto differing Peasant Groups into a single Populist Party, effected at a congress held in March 1931—something that should have come ten years earlier. The programme of this Party, which was re-affirmed in 1935, was never conceived on class lines, but rather as a platform for national consolidation:

"The Populist Party places first the providing of solid foundations for our existence as a state, by ensuring not only Poland's security and power as a state but also order and system at home."

With this unification of forces Witos may be said to have seen the

realisation of hopes cherished for a generation, and in a sense the completion of his active political career.

In the meantime, the elections had returned an absolute but not a two-thirds majority in the Chamber, among the deputies being not a few who were incarcerated at Brest. These were now released, though Witos remained in prison until his trial nine months later. A violent debate took place in the new Diet on the whole action of the authorities, but a vote of censure was not carried. The trial of the prisoners began in October, 1931, and lasted fifty-six days, getting less attention both at home and abroad than it deserved, owing to the shadow of economic depression. As one of the chief accused, Witos conducted his defence with courage and dignity, even demanding that the Marshal, as the author of the whole "outrage," be himself indicted. He was given the lightest sentence—eighteen months' imprisonment—but was deprived for five years of civic rights and of the decorations he had been awarded a decade before for conspicuous service to the country. On the advice of friends, he left Poland and spent the next eight years in exile in Czechoslovakia.

In his opening defence, the Peasant leader reviewed briefly the course of events over twelve years of independence, showing how he had literally been summoned from the plough by Pilsudski in 1920 to serve as Prime Minister ; how he had been urged to continue in office after the danger had passed ; and how both then and later he had sought collaboration, only to be rebuffed. Even in the crisis of 1926 his Party had voted for Pilsudski as President, only to find that in the new scheme of things its collaboration was not wanted. When in the sequel patently undemocratic methods were resorted to by the Government, he and others had united to employ parliamentary means for righting what was going wrong, only to be accused of sedition.

" Poland cannot afford revolution, violence, or riotings. If with her present geographical, economic and nationality conditions Poland were to permit herself such follies, she might pay for them with her own life, or at least with part of her territories. We have not wanted revolution, for we have no intention of plunging the country into any gamble."

One thing, in concluding, Witos emphasised afresh. Neither the defence of any nation or state nor its government should ever be the charge of any one person or group, but rather of society as a whole. Any departure from this principle was a dangerous business.

To this point he came back ten weeks later, when he made his brief final speech.

"Poland must base her structure on the whole of society. Every citizen should be equal before the law. No genius can create a country's power or ensure its future; only the nation as a whole, free and conscious of both its rights and its duties."

There can be no doubt that on this level Witos was right. The question, however, remains: could the ideal set forth here be realised in the conditions then prevailing by the parliamentary methods he stood for? Pilsudski thought not, and many agreed with him: Witos hoped it could, though he himself had said more than once that in 1920, because of the unfavourable past, "national consciousness did not exist at all among the masses"; and he might have added that an understanding of the state as a friendly institution meant to serve the masses was also lacking. What then was to be done by those who saw the danger signals on the international horizon, and who were faced by a world slump demanding a maximum of self-discipline and of united effort? Only the historian of the future can decide.

IV

The years spent in exile were not idle or wasted. Younger Party leaders carried on the work at home, maintaining direct contact with him across the border. From time to time there appeared either in the Party organs (Piast, Odnova, Zwrot) articles from his pen, dealing with vital issues: arguing for unity of purpose and action, for a positive attitude on the part of the peasants to national issues (a reference to the great demonstration at Nowosielce in the summer of 1936), for understanding between the farmers and the intelligentsia; and—this time in the journal *The Village and the State*, edited by Professor Bujak of Lwów, some reflections entitled "Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow." Quoting Świętochowski's *History of the Peasants*, he showed how things had been in the days when Staszic took up the cause of the workers, branding the policy of the Partitioning Powers and the willingness of many of the Polish gentry to assist them. He then recalled his own early days, and passed to the gains of the present. There was still much to be done, but how different the year 1938 was from 1788, or even from 1918!

Though living abroad, the heart of this self-made leader of his people was always in the homeland. For that reason he took part in the meeting held at Morges by invitation of Paderewski, in February, 1936, out of which came a declaration challenging the

right of the Pilsudski succession to any monopoly of power in Poland. For that reason also, when approached by Nazi agents seeking in his person a possible leader of a Polish "Fifth Column," he rejected such overtures with cold scorn. For the same reason, when Czechoslovakia was seized in the spring of 1939, Witos returned home, and placed himself at the disposal of the authorities—and the nation. After a few weeks spent in prison he was released, and turned at once to the organising of peasant opinion for the struggle he saw ahead.

Injured by a bomb-splinter in Jarosław during the September invasion, he spent some time in hospital; and here he was arrested by the Germans. Short terms in Polish prisons were followed by a longer one in the Reich; but he was finally released and placed under house arrest in his home village. Here he awaited the liberation of his country from Nazi oppression by the Red Army. He was then called to be Vice-President of the Provisional Council that served as a Diet, but owing to poor health he took no part in its proceedings. The end came early in November, 1945. His funeral can be said to have been a national demonstration.

In what was probably his last message to his colleagues, he uttered wise words of admonition and encouragement:

"In a reborn democratic Poland there cannot be here a governing *elite* and there slaves, or at best unprivileged citizens. Let us not expect miracles or miracle-workers! Let us profit from the counsels of men of experience, who are our honest friends! Let us beware of so-called geniuses, and of deceivers! Our most vital interest lies in a general regulating of relations with all our neighbours, in particular with the Soviet Union—it goes without saying on the basis of an equal with equals."

Thus passed from the scene the first Peasant leader of national dimensions, who never owned more than twenty-five acres of land, who even as Prime Minister sowed and harvested his own fields, and who preferred his village landscape to the splendid boulevards of the capital: a "village Hampden," though he did not command in war, if only for the ruggedness of his outlook and the simple majesty of his speech. If he belongs to the great it is because he never enriched himself but thought only of the lofty aims he entertained for his nation; if he belongs among statesmen, it is because he saw that the measure of his country's strength lay in the common people. As he said long ago:

"The village was and is the most substantial foundation of the country. At bottom Poland has survived there

and there only where the Polish peasant had struck roots. During the worst times the peasant stuck to his land, his faith and his nationality. These three values have afforded the basis for creating the state, and without them we should never have achieved it. It will be the same to-morrow. The future of Poland cannot be built on towns that are chiefly Jewish, that are undermined by socialism which is the gateway to communism. For such a task even a sea of idealism and good will, including that of the intelligentsia, is not enough. The foundation of the future can only be the countryside, only the Polish farmers."

One may hazard the guess that even in the changed conditions of these post-war days, this prophecy will not prove to be wide of the mark.

W. J. ROSE.

EDUCATION IN YUGOSLAVIA

PAST AND PRESENT

THERE have been few reports published in English on Yugoslav education since the war. It is known that during the war, every unit of the National Liberation Army carried a school with it, and that under the most difficult conditions men armed with typewriter and multigraph, in addition to machine-gun, produced A B.C.s for children and peasants. That tremendous enthusiasm for the implements of exchange of thought (reading and writing) is known, though far less well known than it deserves.

Moreover, the good message contained in wartime reports seems to have been more than outweighed since by a few extremely critical reports. For example, one may read how not merely totalitarian doctrines have been introduced into Yugoslav schools, but also that children are inculcated with love of war and intolerance of dumb animals. This latter allegation can of course be controverted as a mere matter of fact. If there is fault in present Yugoslav educational tendencies concerning behaviour towards the lesser species, it is surely in the adoption from Russia of over-idealisation of the animal world. But the allegation of the introduction of totalitarianism, being one rather of interpretation or of opinion, is harder to deal with.

So far most of the scanty writing on Yugoslav education comes, however, from "eye-witnesses," who are persons paying a brief visit to a country, necessarily to a limited part of it, and then writing in general terms. It is a strange feature of a scientific age that such unscientific methods of assessing what is happening in other countries should be considered worth the large sums of money spent on realising them. Quite apart from the colour of the spectacles worn by any eye-witness, how can such un-general, particularly selected, observations by single individuals be imagined to have any degree of validity—either for or against? This would be the case even in a country fairly homogeneous from one end to the other. But Yugoslavia is larger than Great Britain, and though the class interests of the people are less varied than in this country, everything else is far more varied. Yugoslavs have recently known (before 1918) some nine differing systems of law. In other respects one could count a dozen different portions, historically diversified in most cultural aspects—no one set of cultural divisions, moreover,

exactly corresponding with any other. To base any opinion concerning such a field on eye-witness accounts—even were they on points selected at random—is simply nonsensical, whether the views are those of British Embassy officials, private persons, British or foreign journalists of whatever complexion, U.N.R.R.A. officials, or Yugoslavs. We can only get some idea of what is happening by an examination of available statistics, made critically against the background of economic and social changes which have reasonable objective significance.

First, the general background. Yugoslavia has since 1941 been in a state of flux. During the war, of some sixteen million inhabitants, the great body of them in the younger age groups (a feature of a country with a fertility rate well above 1.00), Yugoslavia has lost some 1,740,000. By the nature of warfare as such, and by the peculiar conditions of the war of national liberation, and also by reason of large numbers of young males remaining outside Yugoslavia through political convictions or the manœuvring of anti-communist Allied authorities, the larger part of those losses were in the younger adult age groups. A country with a preponderance of youth loses a preponderance of youth. The result, quite understandably, is a drive of almost unprecedented violence by those who remain to maintain and reclaim their position. This is perhaps the main feature of the biological background against which everything else in Yugoslavia has to be judged.

With that preliminary observation, a fair picture of what is actually happening in any sphere of Yugoslav life can only be obtained by first outlining the course of development based on past statistical data, and on data already available. It is the purpose of this essay to examine education, together with the legislation, past and present, regulating it. Legislation by itself means little. But the educational facilities and policy of a country cannot possibly be elucidated without reference to the legislation, for the question is a social one. On the other hand, the social plan and policy outlined in legislation are nothing, without careful examination of what actually happens. Educational schemes, especially when made in the early days of a state, may embody genuine ideals and genuine enthusiasm, though—a point legislators on these matters have often in the past overlooked—the social-economic structure of the state renders them nugatory.

Let us start from the present. Early in a mass of legislation, appalling in volume and in the weight of its constructive import, we find new laws regulating education.

There is a new law concerning compulsory elementary education, which unifies school ages and the system of schools throughout the country ; cutting out all private schools, including religious schools, unless they obtain special permission. The seven-years course of the elementary school (seven to fourteen) is planned to be followed by free secondary education for those fitted for it, and this in turn followed by free university education, with generous provision of bursaries for poor students. This is a more radical law than that which obtained in pre-war days. It unifies schools more than before, and most notably it simplifies the system of higher schools, removing any fee or other special limitations.

But this is not all. There are other laws, dealing with persons outside the ordinary pyramidal structure of schools. A special law introduces education into the Yugoslav Army, with courses of all kinds, from those for adult illiterates to others for secondary school work of all kinds. Another law, certainly one of the most advanced in the world, regulates pre-school *crèches* and kindergartens—the former not merely as dumping-places for the children of worker-mothers, but as educational centres of serious character. Other regulations provide support for people's university courses, or what we should call university extension lectures, and for the establishment of special technical schools of all kinds—such as, for example, schools of dramatic art. The legislation in this field is comprehensive rather than voluminous, for very much in the practical application of the law is to be worked out by the various local governments,¹ though the law on day nurseries is unusually well elaborated. All this legislation is striking in its universal popular nature ; being a plan for the provision or facilitation by the state, with state supervision, of educational institutions to suit every citizen in all his social activities from early infancy to adult life.

Against what background is all this new legislation introduced ? Had not Yugoslavia before the war a most democratic system of

¹ The decentralisation of Yugoslavia as a federation of six equal Republics, one of these including a special autonomous province (Vojvodina), has been followed by the abolition of the Ministry of Education.

In its place, there are Ministries of Education for each of the Constituent Republics and a corresponding board for the Vojvodina, their work being generally co-ordinated and supervised by a special Board or Committee of Education and Culture.

The present situation is, therefore, roughly comparable with that in Great Britain prior to the passing of the new Education Act. The laws concerning educational matters merely lay down general principles, leaving it to the various Local Governments to elaborate the details.

It is interesting thus to observe that almost simultaneously with the tendency of education in Great Britain towards central state control of organisational details, in Yugoslavia we have a far-reaching system of decentralisation, at least in this respect

education ? Is not this very comprehensiveness of the new legislation, by which the State controls all schools and a very wide range of schools, but another proof of the totalitarian character of the new Yugoslavia ? We shall be better able to answer this final question if we first answer the other one.

The history of education, as everything else in Yugoslavia, is complex. When the Yugoslav "*Piedmont*," the pashalik of Belgrade, first achieved autonomy within the Ottoman Empire, one of its first acts was to bring a Serb intellectual of the then Hungarian Serbs, Obradovitch—a freemason and Westerniser—to Belgrade to be Minister of education. Two generations later the principality of Serbia forestalled England and Wales (though not Scotland) with an Act concerning compulsory education. Though in the Slovene lands under Hapsburg and Catholic rule such formal developments were impossible, this very Scottish part of Yugoslavia pursued letters with unusual intent from early in the 19th century. This was largely, it would seem, from an instinctive sense that only by superior knowledge could so small a nation maintain its existence. But it resulted in the Slovenes, though hampered by a distinctive language, coupled with the factor of being few in numbers (one million at the turn of the 20th century) becoming the most literate nation in Europe—the Scots not excepted.

On the other hand, however, Bosnia and Macedonia—to take other examples—had a dark heritage of illiteracy when they were included in the first Yugoslav State, except where Catholic or other religious or specially interested body had instituted special schools. Thus, to take Bosnia in particular, centres of intensive Catholic education existed like strange islands in a sea of illiteracy. At the same time, despite the great interest in letters in Slovenia, there were nevertheless through the pressure of poverty many peasant illiterates in that country. The fact that a Slovene literature could exist with so small a reading public, is as much a comment on cultural conditions in larger western European countries as on conditions in Slovenia itself.² Despite, too, the traditional urge towards letters in Serbia, the implementation remained poor, and compulsory education was dependent on the existence of schools in which to have teaching done, and of teachers to work in the schools.

² That is to say . the fact that a Slovene author could to any extent live from his writings is remarkable enough testimony to the high incidence and also to the standard of literacy among that people. But at the same time Slovene conditions were far from ideal, and the fact that *relatively* to British conditions a Slovene author commanded a large public reveals also the shockingly low *standard* of literacy in Britain.

The first Yugoslav State thus inherited in 1918 a patchwork of areas with greatly differing educational backgrounds, both in the scheme of institutions, and in the actual fulfilment of educational work, primarily expressed by the degree of illiteracy. Ideals were plentiful even in that earlier Yugoslavia, particularly when legislators in the cultural field were at work. Thus the new state was fitted out with general educational legislation which to the casual observer might seem little different from that being introduced to-day. There were originally no restrictions (beyond the usual intellectual ones) on entry to the secondary schools, or the university; and even when fees were introduced, in order to put the brake on the increase of the educated class, these were, by British standards, extremely low. There were also plentiful bursaries for poor students, and western observers could be found in pre-war days ready to assert that one of the weaknesses of the Yugoslav State, among others, was that too easy access to higher education was producing an intellectual proletariat.

Moreover, although denominational schools were allowed—the Catholic Church retaining all its privileges in this matter, particularly in Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina—it seemed to many British eye-witnesses (who generally failed to examine the real content of such phenomena as the continued existence of denominational schools) that Yugoslavia had an extremely democratic system of education. There were only a few secondary educational establishments in private hands—in Belgrade not sufficient to count on the fingers of one hand. It was the normal thing for children of the upper class to attend the ordinary schools, and the story is told of the high-court judge who said of a certain high-ranking officer: "Poor old D—, his son's a bit weak in the upper storey, he's had to send him to one of those private schools." To a degree strange to British eyes, rich and poor often attended the same schools, which was of course made easier by their being not boarding schools, but urban day-schools.

What, then, is the meaning of the new legislation? Is it merely part of a People's Liberation Movement desire to start everything over again, in order to erase the memory of a shameful pre-war period of dictatorship, culminating in the attempt of the then ruling class to join the Axis? Or is it designed to increase governmental control, at the same time eliminating the power of the Churches—something considered especially necessary in a country where politicians made capital of the latent differences between Catholic and Mohammedan, Catholic and Orthodox, Orthodox and Moham-

medan? Or has it some deeper, perhaps even more simple and rational, explanation?

It is better in such a matter not to have recourse for answer either to enemies of the new system or to its apologists, but simply to examine some of the facts. Turning to the Yugoslav press and to government reports, it is impossible not to be struck by one feature of the new situation: the feverish development of all kinds of educational and allied cultural activity, not merely in the large towns, but everywhere. This fever has news value too. Reports of the opening of libraries, of the conduct of examinations of former illiterates, of the propagation of chess-playing in the ranks of the Yugoslav Army, of the publication of new books and magazines, including ambitious schemes of translations of world classics, of the repair, building and opening of new and old schools, of the visits of foreign academicians or the foundations of societies for cultural relations with other countries, of schools for apprentices and libraries for villages, fill endless paragraphs in the press of the capital and of the provinces. Nor is this simply imposed propaganda, for reports agree on the demand for newspapers containing a wealth of cultural news. A conference of the Union of Domestic Employees was held in Zagreb. The President of the Croat National Assembly was present along with other dignitaries of the new state. A resolution was passed calling for federal legislation regulating the conditions of employment for domestic workers, but a major part of the report on the conference given in the Trades Union organ *Rad* was given to the discussion of the question of a drive to eradicate illiteracy and raise the level of culture (i.e. not merely the degree of literacy but also its standard) of domestic workers.³ It is notable that these people, who showed such acumen that they preferred to rise in March, 1941, against the Axis, though already surrounded by it, are not likely on the average to maintain a demand for a kind of news, unless they really want to read what is printed.

Data issued by the Ministry of Education in Serbia show that in 1945 the number of village reading-rooms increased by 29 per cent. and the number of books by 86 per cent. To assist in a proper solution in this question and to equip the countryside with good books the Municipal, Cultural and Educational Committee of Belgrade has resolved to commence a general collection of books for country libraries . . . (20 October, 15 February, 1946).

³ It is interesting to observe in the Serbian press, in this matter of the campaign against illiteracy, the appearance of a new verb, *opismenjivati* = to equip with literacy.

The educational workers of the Sava-Tamnava district have set themselves the task of planning their work for 1946 in the cultural-educational field. So far the following results have been obtained: 26 courses for illiterates opened, with 2,100 pupils . . . (*Glas Podrinja*, Šabac, 7 February, 1946).

In the county of Kruševac, leaving out the town itself, the organisational state of cultural and educational work in 1945 was the following: 74 courses for illiterates completed by those attending, 149 courses still running; 4 higher education courses; 12 executive courses; 2 domestic science courses; 7 teachers' training courses; 3 Centres of Culture instituted and 220 Centres for Youth and Pioneer activity, 156 reading-rooms instituted, 56 of these with their own library . . . etc., etc. (*Pobeda*, Kruševac, 18 January, 1946).

The Vojvodina before the war had only about three people's universities in the towns. Now 66 have been founded and opened in Novi Sad, Titel, Stari Becej, Bačka Topola and Senta, some of these in Hungarian. During this year 333 people's reading-rooms, with about half a million books, have been opened. About 350 amateur dramatic companies have been founded, 32 Chess clubs, 24 choirs and 3 orchestras . . . (*Slobodna Vojvodina*, Novi Sad, 4 September, 1945).

These are four random extracts from the press of Serbia alone, but the same story could be repeated almost *ad nauseam*. From every corner of the country there is a flow of newspapers, not only in the national languages, Slovene, Serb or Croat and Macedonian, but also in the minority languages—Hungarian, Italian, Slovak, Ruthenian, Wallachian and Albanian; and a high percentage of them contain similar reports in practically every issue of educational and cultural activities. There seems to be a fever of educational work in the body of Yugoslavia. The temperature remains high, even seems to rise higher. Perhaps it is not a fever caused by introducing a foreign organism, but a natural and proper characteristic of the body when making a noble effort to make up for lost time. Having regard to the historical development of Yugoslavia, and the frustrations which Balkan geography and history have forced on the Yugoslav peoples, this fever may be a normal and even healthy development.

In other words, we may have to read events in the following way: since the war has completely shattered the ramshackle, badly-planned state erection inevitably associated with the name of Kara-georgevitch, we see the leaders of Yugoslavia, approved and supported by the people, making a great drive towards a new universal system of education. Are we in fact to regard this as partly due

to chance? Are we to assume that if the Axis had not attempted mastery of the Balkans, as part of a larger strategic plan, the people of Yugoslavia would have continued to drowse, with a percentage of illiteracy of 46 per cent of the population (1931 Census and later pre-war official data)? Are we to assume that the Axis invasion provoked resistance; and that only then could a handful of communist idealists begin their educational drive? It would be a simple, and to some people a comforting thought, were this the case. It would justify all kinds of real "iron curtains," all forms of obscurantism. It would justify that pessimism regarding the human being as an individual and social unit, which is the inspiration of all dictatorships. It would imply conviction that human society has certain static forms and limited possibilities, and deny all the "troublesome" or disconcerting social processes by which faith in progress is realised in actual life.

Unfortunately for those who refuse to recognise a dialectic process in human development, pre-war Yugoslav statistics concerning education do not in the least bear out concepts of human society being static save for the way dominant *élites* may shape it. On the contrary, they shed a rich and fruitful light on the whole process of Yugoslav development. They give new reason and purpose to the events of 27 March, 1941, and make clear so much in the People's Liberation struggle which to the scientific social enquirer would be puzzling.

The Statistical Board even of pre-war Yugoslavia issued very detailed and indeed fascinating year-books. It had inherited two good traditions, that of the old Statistical Board of the pre-1914 Kingdom of Serbia, and that of the parallel body of Croatia. In its returns for the pre-war years we find an analysis of education which enables us to see by classes (i.e. by class origin of parents) *who* attended courses at the Universities; and another analytical table shows how these were distributed among the faculties, or by sex. They also show, with commendable honesty, the distribution of schools of all kinds, of pupils, and of teaching staff. Let us examine these figures in the broad outline which they reveal, about the attitude of the body of the Yugoslav peoples to education in pre-war Yugoslavia and (since to judge, we must judge by some standard, and one with which we are well acquainted is far better than a theoretical one with which we are not acquainted) make some comparisons with similar figures for Great Britain. In point of fact, for practical reasons, we shall have to content ourselves with guess work, for even after having provided material for the pre-

paration of a new Educational Bill, the Ministry of Education is still unable to provide complete statistics of primary schools in England and Wales!.

* * *

There were, to take the year 1934, 8,159 elementary schools in Yugoslavia, with 772,946 boys and 586,400 girls in attendance, taught by 14,930 men and 12,089 women teachers. This makes an average of one school per 15 square miles, 87 pupils per 1,000 inhabitants, and 53 pupils per teacher.

Turning to Great Britain, and taking the figures for England and Wales alone—excluding moreover the numerous private schools, attended by the children of the upper strata of the population, for which no reliable figures are available—we see (in 1939) 4,000,412 children attending elementary schools, against an estimated population of 41,169,000 persons. This makes 97 pupils per thousand inhabitants—a figure which, it must be emphasised, would be much higher were statistics for private schools available.

However, before we compare the Yugoslav and British figures, we must note that the child incidence in Yugoslavia was much higher than in Great Britain. In 1931 in Great Britain the proportion of the population in the 10–14 age group was 8.00 per cent. In Yugoslavia the relative figure was 12.75 per cent. Thus the number of children attending primary schools in Yugoslavia expressed per thousand of total population, should have been *at least 50 per cent.* higher than that of Great Britain. In actual fact, it was fully 25 per cent. lower! In addition, in passing, we may note that economic and social disabilities forced illiteracy more on the girls than on the boys.

In regard to secondary education, the situation in Yugoslavia was interesting. In 1934 there were 168 secondary schools, staffed by 4,314 teachers, 1,387 of whom were women, to deal with 89,459 pupils. There were thus about 21 in an average class, and it may also be observed that almost four times as much per head was being spent on the secondary school pupils as on the primary school pupils. But in Great Britain, even excluding the public schools, there were as many as 470,003 pupils receiving secondary education. In Yugoslavia, the chance of a primary school pupil proceeding to a secondary school was 1 in 15. In Great Britain, however, it was at least 1 in 10! Social and economic factors in Yugoslavia were even more inhibiting at the secondary than the primary level. Moreover, the feature we observed in primary education—that the obstacles were

greater for girls than boys—appears here too ; whereas the ratio of girls to that of boys receiving primary education was 77 per cent., the ratio at the secondary school level was as low as 43 per cent.

When we come to the universities, however, we find an astonishing change. In the whole of Great Britain out of a population of 46,024,000 (1937) there were 50,002 university students. In Yugoslavia, out of a population of 13,934,038 (1932) there were 14,743 students ! In other words, in Great Britain in 1937 there were 11 students per 1,000 head of total population, but in Yugoslavia (1932 figures) as many as 9.8 per 1,000 !⁴ The chances of a Yugoslav child going to the university were about the same as those in Great Britain, while the chances of a child receiving primary education going to the university were very significantly higher in Yugoslavia than in Great Britain. Somehow, at the highest level, the barriers were overcome, and this overcoming of the barriers is also expressed in the proportion of women to men students. In Great Britain 23.3 per cent. of the students were women, in Yugoslavia 20 per cent. In Yugoslavia, as compared with Great Britain there was a relatively better chance, as between the sexes, for a girl who received primary education to get to the university.⁵

Thus was produced the alleged top-heaviness of Yugoslav education—too little in the body of the people, too much *relatively* at the head ! On the other hand, this may be understood to indicate that, whereas social and economic barriers compelled the population as a whole to put an unduly large proportion of its children to productive work at an early age, the urge towards education was so great that the population as a whole thrust on to the highest level a relatively high proportion of those who could be spared from immediate labour.

It is therefore at the university level that we must look for light

⁴ I leave out of account the influence of incidence of persons in the student age period to the total population. It would admittedly make the comparison less striking ; yet the influence of this factor is less than in considering the elementary school age period, the relative figures being roughly—Great Britain 8.6 per cent. of the total population, Yugoslavia 9.5 per cent. Corrected by this factor, the incidence of students in Yugoslavia to the population would be not 9.8 but 8.6 per thousand. The Yugoslav child has therefore less chance than the English ; but, bearing in mind other factors, not significantly less but significantly greater.

⁵ The proportion of Yugoslav women students to men students becomes still more striking in comparison with the relative British figures, if we bear in mind that the incidence of women to men in the 15–19 and 20–24 age groups was 1/1.03 in Great Britain against 1/0.98 in Yugoslavia. In other words, if in Great Britain 23.3 per cent. of the students were women, the exactly comparable percentage for Yugoslavia, corrected according to male/female ratio of total population in the relative age range, would be 20 per cent. $\times 1.03 \div 0.98 = 22$ per cent. There was thus, to all intents, even before 1941, an equal chance of a Yugoslav girl going to the university, as compared with a British girl.

on the attitude of the body of the Yugoslav population towards education. Let us therefore analyse the body of the students according to their class origin.⁶

Seventy-seven per cent. of the people were peasants. Out of 14,743 students at the universities, only 2,709 or 18.5 per cent. were the children of peasants. The merchant and trading class numbered 3.85 of the population, but there were 1,623 students at the universities whose parents were traders or business people, that is to say 11.0 per cent. of the number of students. By this comparison of classes, for there to be a proportionate number of peasant sons and daughters at the university, the total number would have had to have been 32,500, or more than twice the total number of students of all classes!

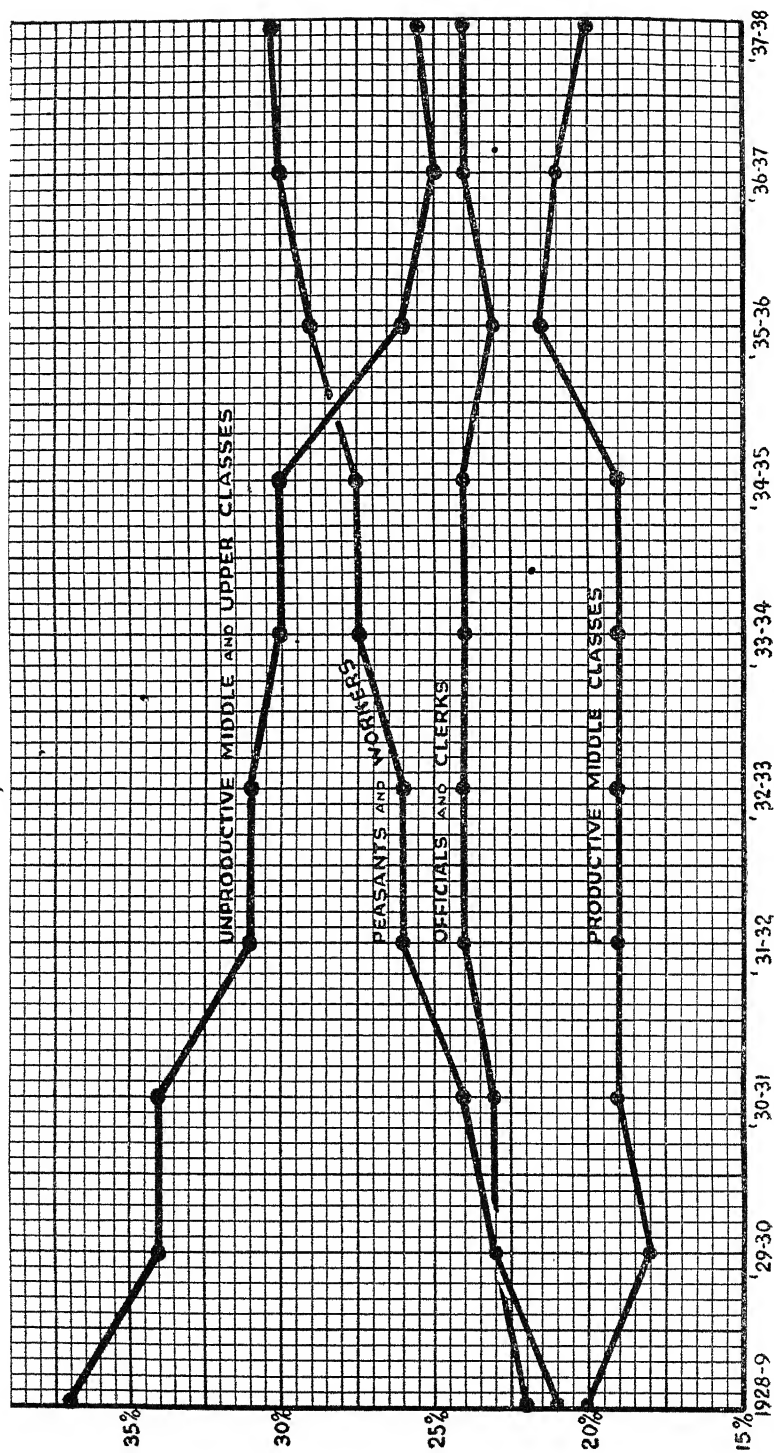
This throws new light on the top-heaviness of Yugoslav education. There were significantly far too few peasants' sons and daughters reaching the universities,—while there were far too many from the other classes. In other words, the social and economic disabilities were overcome in the superior strata—they were largely unsurmountable for the main body of the population.

Was the action of those social-economic disabilities constant? Annual tables classifying students according to the occupation of their parents are instructive. Here are the figures for the years 1928-1938, accompanied by a graphic representation of changes in proportions over this period, and also graphical representation of the whole process. (See Table and Figures 1 and 2.)

For reasons of graphic expediency the class-of-parent classification used in the tables prepared by the Yugoslav Statistical Board has been simplified in the graphs and diagram. The simplification has been done into four groups (1) peasants, workers, handicrafts men and seamen; (2) officials, including government employees and the employees of private corporations; (3) the productive middle classes, including such groups as doctors, educational workers, engineers, etc., and (4) the unproductive middle and upper classes, including not only *rentiers* and priests, but also such groups as the distributive trades, and hotel and restaurant keepers. The inclusion of the latter groups as unproductive may seem arbitrary, and it must be emphasised that there is no suggestion in this classification that these groups are not socially necessary. However, in the case of a country in a semi-colonial position the distributive trades do mainly constitute part of the intermediary exploitation

⁶ There is good reason for adopting this approach, if we wish to assess the nature of the popular demand for education. Yugoslavia possesses or produces enormous natural material resources (timber, ores, agricultural primaries) and power resources (water-power, and the labour-power of a virtual unemployed peasant proletariat amounting to upwards of 23 per cent. of the population). These resources can only be fused together to produce a higher level of living by means of scientific leadership, which requires ever more widespread higher education

Fig 1 —Proportions of students in the four groups—Peasants and workers, Officials and clerks, Productive middle classes, Unproductive middle classes, as a percentage of the total studentship in each year



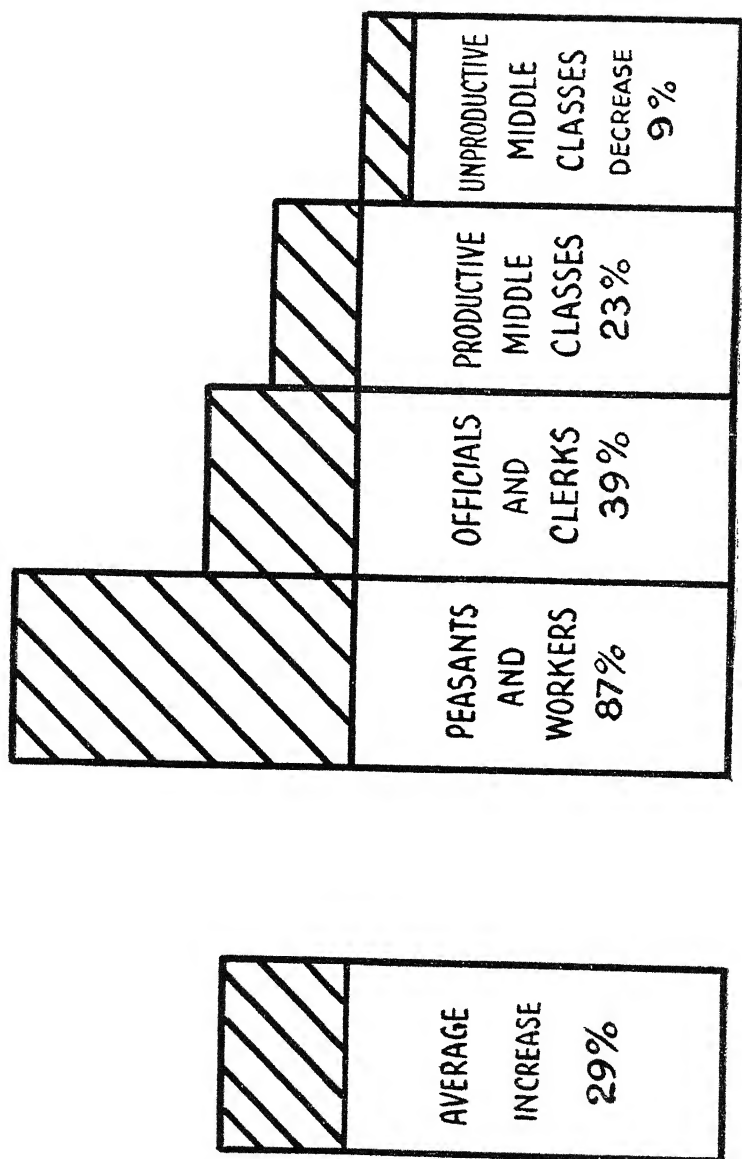


FIG. 2.—Proportions in which in ten years the groups change in size, compared with the *average* student increase over the period, shown in the separate column

TABLE SHOWING TOTAL NUMBERS OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, 1928-1938 ACCORDING TO CLASS

	Priests, etc.	Educational Workers	Doctors and Dispensing Chemists	State Officials—active and retired	Officials of Self-Governing Corporations	Lawyers	Publishers	Private Employees	Peasants	Industrial Magnates	Handicrafts	Traders	Skilled Workers	Persons with Independent Income	Army	Unskilled Workers	Café and Hotel Proprietors	Various other employed persons	Seamen	Engineers	Remainder, including unknown
1928-29	352	1,189	359	2,360	115	278	22	333	1,731	55	729	1,410	103	52	557	63	185	401	26	190	2,024
1929-30	390	1,281	396	2,399	195	255	33	536	2,157	78	726	1,692	156	101	686	110	209	477	9	227	1,431
1930-31	423	1,308	367	2,352	241	275	25	462	2,117	88	570	1,186	197	1,544	726	110	174	359	8	238	1,923
1931-32	413	1,434	374	2,835	289	323	43	578	2,707	88	898	1,897	266	84	880	107	211	537	12	244	1,202
1932-33	367	1,336	333	2,694	272	304	28	559	2,709	104	813	1,623	258	67	768	160	201	536	34	224	1,353
1933-34	380	1,375	355	2,880	319	319	22	725	2,871	121	939	1,701	243	115	793	159	232	860	56	229	1,438
1934-35	359	1,270	368	2,812	323	325	25	654	2,989	103	838	1,581	308	82	689	172	215	785	52	214	1,749
1935-36	347	1,205	384	2,623	281	288	29	616	3,073	92	850	1,470	260	75	667	182	189	966	46	217	1,315
1936-37	361	1,168	387	2,767	316	276	17	620	3,172	79	880	1,456	230	90	627	183	186	968	42	211	1,272
1937-38	398	1,224	376	2,901	305	265	28	687	3,564	79	839	1,543	285	81	653	199	210	964	75	193	1,338

of the class which stands between the body of the people and foreign capital. Moreover, the analysis is here made precisely in order to single out the interest in education of the classes which are most vitally interested in the productive development of their country, and to compare their changing attitude towards education with that of the other main social groupings.

It may be noted that, if the absolute numerical changes over the ten-year period in students originating in the various class groupings are compared, these will be found to be still more to the disadvantage of indisputably unproductive groups, such as the priesthood, than the graphs and diagram show.

It will be observed that while the interest of the upper strata either decreases or remains constant, in the great body of the people the interest increases. (It must remain for a later, more detailed, study to examine the very interesting changes in the sex and faculty distribution of Yugoslav students.)

We are able now to consider drawing some objective conclusions from all these facts. But before doing so, we must fill in some of the general outlines of the Yugoslav past. It will scarcely arouse dissent that the Yugoslav peoples, between 1912 and 1918, separated under five different dominions (Serbian, Montenegrin, Hungarian, Austrian and Ottoman) after having for centuries been split apart, at last, *of themselves*, by a tremendous liberation effort, succeeded in establishing their first state including all Yugoslavs but mainly some 600,000 in Italy and a smaller number in Austria. Their desire was not for a national state as something good *per se*, but for such a state as the *sine qua non* of proper individual development.

So much is surely common ground. It was as the fruit of those general aspirations that the first common education laws of Yugoslavia were elaborated. They may not have gone far enough. Nevertheless, had their full implementation been socially and economically possible, they would have proved a fair framework for cultural work. In the elaboration of the basic principles of that first educational legislation, however, it was not the ideals embodied in the framework of the law, but the social and economic realities of the Yugoslav state, which proved to be the decisive factor. As a non-industrial state, producer of primary products, and subject for all-too-easy development to the whim of foreign capital, Yugoslavia was in a semi-colonial position. This required, not an ever more rapidly increasing educated class, but rather an ever more drastically reduced educated class.

We may observe two ways in which this affected matters. Firstly, the elaboration of the framework of law. In its limited requirements of an educated class, what did the first Yugoslavia,

as a semi-colonial state, require? Not a progressively-minded increasing corps of men and women, who would spread the broadest humanities among all ranks of the people, and do so, apart from the cultural needs of the healthy individual, in order to provide engineers, scientists and doctors to develop Yugoslav primary resources at home. The first Yugoslav state being primarily the instrument of older foreign industrialised states, required a *minimum* core of men and women as obedient as administrators of a semi-colonial country. This indeed was the form taken by Fascism in Yugoslavia—true to the form of Fascism elsewhere.

There was, therefore, a terrible strain set up in the first Yugoslavia. That country had come into being as the result of a popular urge. Its realisation acted further as a catalyst, releasing a further, many times more powerful, popular urge. And this urge, despite all restrictive measures, resulted in a steady increase of the workers and peasants in education—an increase so great that it overcame even the economic and social conditions which made one child out of every two remain illiterate. It is significant when, though discouraged by the state, a simple peasant people has produced proportionally as many university students as Great Britain, and when despite the subjection of women, there were virtually as many women students as men. The significance of this is further thrown into relief by the reaction to educational facilities of those classes which, for the most part, accepted the semi-colonial status of their country. The percentage of those students, male or female, whose parents were servers of that semi-colonial state, remained constant: proportionally, indeed, it tended to fall. As a class these people wanted not progress—an expansion of culture—but a static condition in that field. A semi-colonial country needs a certain number of officials, but no more; a certain number of engineers, but not more—and so on.

This is not the place to examine in detail the causes of the war in Yugoslavia. It is necessary however, in passing, to observe that as the war years went on it became increasingly clear that the country was by common capitalist consent marked out as a field of exploitation by Germany, the main partner in the Axis. It is as unscientific to ascribe the position of the Balkan states as economic vassals of Germany to Schacht's financial methods as it is to ascribe measles to the characteristic eruption which is one of the results of the disease. Schacht's "brilliant" devices were merely the book-keeping methods by which certain brutal facts were recorded, among them the fact that the sixteen million Yugoslavs were to be *rayah*

—lower caste slaves, producing primary products, for the German super-man. The adherence to the Axis pact of Prince Paul and his myrmidons came neither accidentally nor by reason of Paul's own personal pusillanimity—though that indeed played a great part in the actual realisation of the act of adherence. Nor did the reply of the Yugoslav nation to the signature of the Axis pact come accidentally. It came as the culmination of a long struggle; and the establishment of schools for illiterates and newspapers in every division of the Partisan army was not a mere propaganda device, or the invention of brilliant leaders intended to facilitate their command—it was simply the essential realisation of a great popular demand. It was the continuation in the broad body of the nation of the upgrade graphs of pre-war Yugoslav (peasant and worker) youth attendance at the universities.

At last we can perhaps glimpse the general perspective of what is now happening in Yugoslavia. Examination of the objectively recorded pre-war facts, alongside later events, makes it not only possible but necessary to reject most categorically the facile view that the fever of education is an activity achieved through a totalitarian organisation imposed by a group dictating from above. It would at the same time be equally faulty—a romantic assertion—to say that this astonishing fever has come entirely from below, i.e. from the people, and that the leaders of the new Yugoslavia are the mere instruments rather than the dictators of what is happening. Much is heard of “spontaneous” activities of all kinds in Yugoslavia, and those who are ideologically opposed to what is happening, and are concerned with party politics rather than observation of history in the making, allege that there is nothing spontaneous about all these activities, they are all organised by the country's new dictators.

In this connection, the following quotation is not without interest. It explains a great deal

Parallel to the organisation of the Trade Union Movement in Belgrade, cultural committees, groups and in time societies are being set up. The past year of work of the Trade Union Movement in Belgrade has comprised work in the awakening of interest of the broadest body of the working people in culture and art. On this anniversary of the foundation of the united Trade Unions, it is possible to observe with some satisfaction that within the framework of the Trade Union movement there is a rich and varied cultural and artistic life. This admittedly is still insufficiently organised and insufficiently systematised, and most frequently appears in a form of very crude dilettantism, but such as

it is, it constitutes a positive factor . . . (20 *October*, Belgrade, 18 January, 1946)

One sees that the urge towards these activities is genuinely spontaneous, as pre-war education statistics reveal. The effective harnessing of these spontaneous forces, however, can only come from the leaders of the new society. The unconscious or rather non-cerebrated urge, which is indisputable, is spontaneous and largely blind—it is given direction and intelligent purpose. Both that popular fever and that vigorous leadership are organically connected features of a crucial stage in the development of a well-knit and now thoroughly independent national community. The demand for more and more education did not arise overnight, or yesterday. It has roots which are and have been deep and widely extended through long centuries; but only in our time have they suddenly broken surface with powerful above-ground vegetation. Similarly, Yugoslav leadership, in whichever section of the country it appeared, from the first days of Karadžić, Obradović, the first Karageorge, Vodnik, Njegoš and others, through the Strossmayers of the 19th century to our day, has had a properly organic growth, parallel to the growth of the popular urges. One cannot be thought of without the other; both are features of the same body.

It is in the light of such understanding that we should endeavour to view every individual incident or "eye-witness" report, whether favourable or unfavourable. It behoves us, looking on another nation, to concern ourselves not with this or that passing incident, or with this or that difference of manners from those which our own development happened to produce, but with the broad outlines, the generic characteristics, and the general state of health. When doing so, with due regard to the statistical evidence given, we cannot but draw the conclusion that at long last this nation, or these complex nations, still chiefly peasantry, and occupying upwards of a hundred thousand square miles, containing great national resources, has marched on to the broad highway where education will provide leadership for the development of the whole community: and where this will be coupled with a maximum of facilities for the development of each individual in his or her own right. This indeed is what is meant by the Yugoslavs who insist that their peoples have at last achieved full liberation, full freedom, with equality and fraternity among all—that they are democratic. These terms of description are not merely party catchwords, designed to deceive the foreigner, they are simple labels denoting the nature of a living reality.

ALEC BROWN.

THE CULTURAL STRUCTURE OF EAST ASHKENAZIC JEWRY*

THE earliest Jewish settlers in Eastern Europe were Byzantine Jews. During the first thousand years of the Christian era, they came from the Balkans and the Black Sea regions—that is, from East Rome and the Khazar empire (which stretched from Kiev to the Caspian Sea and Armenia). They were followed by Jewish immigrants from the west of Europe, and were absorbed by the newcomers.

We are dealing here only with those arrivals who settled in the north-western part of this area. They had started coming from the 10th century onwards, arriving in successive waves that for several centuries rolled eastward from the Rhine, Central Germany, Bavaria and Austria, to the lands of the Bohemian and Polish Crowns, and from there on to the adjacent countries. These Jews are called Ashkenazim.

In differentiation from those they left behind in their former homes—the West Ashkenazim—they might be termed the East Ashkenazim. They are sometimes called the East European or Eastern Jews, but we shall not use either of these terms. The first leaves out of account the existence of a number of other (less important and smaller) Jewish groups in Eastern Europe, while the second is open to the objection that *eastern* also has the special meaning of oriental, and the Oriental Jewries are, of course, something different.

The East Ashkenazim. By the 19th century the territorial distribution of the East Ashkenazim can be indicated by the following borderlines: in the west by the eastern pre-War frontiers of Germany, Moravia and Austria, in the south by the Danube, in the north by the Finnish Gulf; in the east, two decades ago, the eastern frontiers of the Ukraine and White Russia were the border.

In other words, they lived side by side with Poles, Slovaks, Magyars, Rumanians, Ukrainians, White Russians, Estonians, Lithuanians and Letts, or if we want political frontiers, they inhabited Poland, eastern Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and the western Soviet Union. The Jews of Slovakia and western Hungary formed a transition group to the West Ashkenazim.

The East Ashkenazic is the largest of all Jewish groups. While

* This paper was read as part of three public lectures in the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, Lent Term, 1946.

about the year 1700, the whole Ashkenazic group formed approximately half of world Jewry, before the last War the East Ashkenazim alone constituted three-quarters—roughly twelve millions.

The slaughter of a great part of this community during the last few years has created a new situation. But there was no complete extinction of East Ashkenazic Jewry. Parts of the Polish and Rumanian Jewries and the majority of the Soviet Jewry have escaped annihilation. There is East Ashkenazic life outside Eastern Europe, too. Our present knowledge of the actual situation is insufficient, conditions are very much in flux, and it is impossible to visualise what developments may be expected to follow in the train of this shattering historical catastrophe. For all these reasons we cannot speak of these things simply as a matter of the past. We shall, therefore, use the present tense in dealing with our subject, although this is a makeshift.

Social Structure. Let us first take a glance at the social structure which forms the basis of East Ashkenazic cultural life. It will be helpful to compare conditions with those amongst the Jewries of Western Europe.

Here there is practically one class only—the middle class, with little differentiation into higher and lower strata.

Amongst the East Ashkenazim, however, the position is much more like that of other peoples. It contains all the elements of a normal social stratification. There is a large working-class both of the artisan and industrial type, various groups of the middle class, as well as a peasant class. The latter is partly old established and partly of 19th- and 20th-century growth; both as a result of spontaneous economic development as well as of organised enterprise. There are (or were) peasants in many places from Bessarabia to Lithuania and from the Crimea to the Carpathians, where (in Ruthenia) Khassidic peasants tilled the soil in traditional Jewish costume. Here, as pre-war statistics reveal, 28 per cent. of the Jewish population was engaged in agriculture. This was about twenty times higher than the percentage amongst German Jews. Other figures are: 18 per cent. among the Jews of Galicia, and 10 per cent. in White Russia. It might be of interest to compare the general—not Jewish—figure in this country: it was 7 per cent.

We get a corresponding picture if we look at the other end of the sociological statistics. While 50 per cent. of the German Jews belonged to the Commerce and Finance section, Soviet Jewry counted only 19 per cent., the Jews of Ruthenia 25 per cent., and those of Galicia 30 per cent.

STRUCTURE OF EAST ASHKENAZIC JEWRY. 75

Cultural Structure. Let us imagine ourselves in some town in Eastern Europe before the War—let us say Cracow.

We wander through an attractive modern city, the centre of which has preserved much of its medieval beauty. Suddenly our senses tell us that we have entered some other world.

The people who meet our eyes are in a garb completely different from what we had been seeing a moment ago. The expression on their faces is worlds apart from the expression of the others. Our ears hear a language so unlike what we had heard in those other streets, that we could tell at once that it is a different one, even if we did not know either of them. From innumerable windows and doors unusual sounds reach us. They come from congregations at prayer—those windows and doors belong to places of worship, ranging from small rooms in residential buildings to big institutes of study and large houses of prayer—where, in an uninterrupted succession, divine services follow on each other from early dawn until almost noon, and then again in the afternoon, evening and night.

Even if we had not known before what part of the town we were now in, we would at once have realised that we had entered the Jewish quarters by the fact that all the men, including youths, had beards.

Territorial Concentration. The existence of a purely Jewish quarter is a fact of great significance. In the West it is different. A Jewish district here is one with a certain percentage—often a fairly small one—of Jewish inhabitants, and where there is a real Jewish quarter, it has more often than not been created by East Ashkenazic immigrants. Complete territorial concentration of an urban character is, however, the background of East Ashkenazic life.

In many regions of Eastern Europe, the towns have been for all the centuries of their existence predominantly Jewish enclaves in a Gentile countryside. Even where the Jews were only a minority it was a large one. A figure of somewhat more than a fifth of the population, as in the case of our example, Cracow, was a comparatively low percentage. In Warsaw, for instance, with its third of a million Jewish inhabitants, the figure was one-third; in many medium-sized centres, it constituted up to 50 per cent., not to speak of small places with percentages approaching 100.

It may not be out of place here to make a few comments on the explanation that has sometimes been given for this territorial concentration. We are told that the Jews were forced into ghettos. Let us remember, however, that although in Western Europe the

ghetto was introduced much earlier than in the East and lasted much longer, we do not nowadays—apart from the above-mentioned exceptions—find such territorial concentrations of Jews in the West. Thus even though the ghetto explained how such concentration originated, it would still not account for its present existence. But what is the ghetto explanation worth in the face of such Jewish mass settlements as that of New York, where there has never been compulsion?

The real explanation is, of course, that it is natural for ethnic groups which migrate to settle in districts of their own, whether urban or rural, and such settlements are to be found all over the world and are not confined to the Jews.

Cultural Community. A visit to the Jewish quarter of an East European town makes it clear to a Westerner that the Jews here form a separate cultural entity.

The Jews of Western and Central Europe, however, do not. There are no such distinct outlines—the borderlines between them and their Gentile surroundings are more than blurred. They have the same educational background as their respective neighbours, the same general outlook and practically identical customs. Apart from certain traces in the speech of some, the language they speak is the same as that of the Gentiles round them. They take an active and creative part in their literature and a passive one by reading it. The little which is written here for the Jews as such cannot be called a Jewish literature. It follows from all this that they are split up into as many groups as are the civilisations in whose territories they live.

Cultural Autonomy. With the East Ashkenazic Jews it is otherwise. The cultural borderlines between them and their Gentile neighbours are not blurred. In other words, they are unmistakably a people apart—a distinctive ethnic or national group.

They have their own religion, their own language, their own literature, their own customs and costumes. Thus, in the cultural sphere, they live an autonomous life. It is not merely a slightly coloured variant of somebody else's life: it is not ruled by laws that have grown from another people's soul, or measured with a measure derived from another people's nature.

Not only do they form a distinctive cultural group in each country where they live, but all these groups together constitute a cultural unity. Of course, there *are* regional differences, but they by no means coincide with the political frontiers. The differentiation resulting from political frontiers dividing them is slight or nil.

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For example, a Jew from Galicia and one from Ruthenia are indistinguishable.

Religion. Let us now take a glance at some of the things which make up the internal life of East Ashkenazic Jewry ; and we shall start with religion.

In the West of Europe, extensive Jewish strata have only an extremely loose connection with religion, or none at all. This results from assimilation to their surroundings. Modern Western civilisation, especially in the big towns—and it is mainly these which the Jews inhabit—is not very favourable to religion. The Judaism of those who have somewhat more connection with religion, even the traditional Judaism of the Orthodox, is coloured by Gentile influences.

In the East of Europe, however, we still get Judaism in an undiluted form.

Nothing is, perhaps, more characteristic than the existence of religious folk songs—religious lyrical poetry—and, indeed, the rôle played by them in everyday life. Here are a few examples, and first one from a group centring round the Deity.

Forest, oh Forest, how big you are.
Bride, oh Bride, how far you are
When the forest will be taken away
We shall come together one day.

Exile, oh exile, how long you are
God, oh God, how far you are
When the exile will be taken away
We shall come together one day.

(Transl. *Joseph Leftwich*.¹)

Our next specimen is characteristic of a group whose subject is the Jewish people in its relation to God.

I was once a shepherd and
I took my flock to the pasture land.
But soon I fell asleep.
And when I woke I had no sheep.
Then on my fiddle I sadly played,
My sheep are stolen lost or strayed,
And I began to weep.

¹ This, as well as the other translation by Joseph Leftwich, is taken from his anthology *The Golden Peacock*, London, 1939.

As I walked along the way,
 I met a man with a load of hay.
 I thought I saw the heads of my sheep,
 But there were none though I rummaged deep.
 Then on my fiddle I sadly played,
 My sheep are stolen lost or strayed,
 And I began to weep.

So I wandered on until
 I found myself upon a hill,
 And on the hill I saw a heap—
 I thought they were the bones of my sheep,
 But they were stones. Then I sadly played,
 My sheep are stolen lost or strayed,
 And I began to weep.

(Transl. *Joseph Leftwich.*)

During a stay in Poland some sixteen years ago, I heard a variant of this song which makes its religious meaning quite clear. Here is the last verse :

So he did wander further,
 To a hill of straw came he.
 And his sheep he there did see.
 And he began to cry :
 "Oh sheep, my little sheep !
 And now my sheep are here again,
 And now my sheep are here again,
 Are here, are here again."
 He took his fiddle and began to play :
 Falee, falee, falah, falay,
 "And now I can go home to you,
 To you, to you, my Master,
 Because my sheep are here again,
 Because my sheep are here again,
 Are here, are here again.
 Kyvakûras roiy edroi
 mâvir tsomoi taxas šivtoi." ²

(Transl. *Irene Birnbaum.*)

The next specimen is a folk song "born" a few years ago, in a German concentration camp, during the building of hutments.

² The two last lines in Hebrew are from a very solemn prayer in which God is compared with a shepherd

"Like as a shepherd counts his flock,
 As the sheep pass beneath his staff"

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It grew from the heart of Esther Shtīb, a girl of twelve. Here is the original with a translation :

Aints, tsvai, drâ	One, two three,
Ven veln mir zân frâ ?	When will we be free ?
Hingerik, bûrvys, upgyrisn,	Barefoot, tattered, lone and hungry,
Fin taty-mamy gûrništ visn.	Where is Dad and where is Mummy ?
Got ! vi tit dus vai.	God ! It breaks the heart in me.

Aints, tsvai, drâ,	One, two three,
Dər tug vil nūšt farbâ.	Each day eternity.
Šlepm tsigl, breitar, štainər,	Dragging planks and bricks and stones,
In fin toity mentšn bainər.	Oh ! the weight of dead men's bones.
Got ! vi tit dus vai.	God ! It breaks the heart in me.

Aints, tsvai, drâ,	One, two, three,
Heir tsi mân gyšrâ,	Lord, I cry to Thee
Fin imbakonty masn-kvûrym,	Mass graves, corpses crowded high,
Klany kindər fin xadûrym,	Children without mothers lie.
Ūn mamys ba zai.	It breaks the heart in me.

Aints, tsvai, drâ,	One, two, three,
Glaibm mir gytrâ,	We turn our eyes to Thee.
Vartn mir in hofm,	Fulfil Thy word : Yissroël Khy,
Vus di ost indz faršproxn—	Israel lives and will not die.
Am isrûyl xâ !	God ! we wait for Thee.

(Transl. Irene Burnbaum.)

Finally a beautiful little song :

Tsi ken myn arofgain	And can we scale heav'n
In hıml arân,	And demand to know :
In freign bâ Got,	" Must it be so, my God,
Tsi s darf azoi zân ?	Must it really be so ? "

Sy darf azoi zân,	It must be so,
Sy miz azoi zân,	It must needs be so,
Sy ken of dər velt	It cannot on earth
Dox gûr andərš nit zân.	Be other than so.

(Transl. Irene Birnbaum.)

These verses have something of the characteristic East Ashkenazic religious atmosphere. What, we might ask, are the theoretical essentials from which they emanate ?

Perhaps they are something like this :

The Universe is the work of a Conscious Will. All natural and

moral existence have their origin in one all-powerful Creator. Hence joyous surrender to His law must be the basis of human thought and action.

Man is placed first and foremost on a spiritual and moral plane, he must give precedence to the spiritual over the material, and to the ethical over the æsthetic.

He must go further, he must completely spiritualise the material sphere, and saturate it with religious substance, from the highest to the most trifling of daily acts, so that there can be no cleavage between sacred and profane. There must be an absolute infusion of everything with religious contents and meaning. Thus, Judaism is a way of living for the totality of life and this fact is never allowed to be absent from consciousness, through the constant use, from morning till evening, of forms and symbols whose purpose is to lift man out of the material on to the spiritual plane.

All action must be based on the observance of God's Will, and this Will has found expression in the Written Teaching, the Bible, and the Oral Tradition, handed down in the Talmud. Judaism is not binding for other peoples, but constitutes the destiny and task of the Jews only.

The superstructure built upon this basis may to the outsider have a somewhat bewildering, legal appearance. But within it there is room for the whole range of religious experience and cultural self-expression.

Life here is by no means static or rigid. There is change and development within the confines of these laws and regulations, although the foundation and framework remain unaltered. This is well exemplified in the movement of Khassidism.

Khassidism. Born of East Ashkenazic Jewry, it was a religious revival within traditional Judaism. Its founder, *Israel The Baal-Shem*, aimed at a renewal of Israel's soul and regeneration from within. The way was prepared by a Cabbalistic wave, and Khassidism became part of the mystical current which has flowed since antiquity through Jewish history.

Let me try to convey something of the Khassidic spirit by quoting a few passages from *The Baal-Shem's* sayings and letters : ³

The first is an allegory : " A mighty king built a great palace with many chambers, one within the other. Many walls were round about it, each surrounded by the other. Only one gate was open, and opposite it were many doors. He who entered saw many

³ Transl. by Irene Birnbaum (*The Life and Sayings of the Baal-Shem*, by Solomon A. Birnbaum, New York, 1933).

beautiful pictures and costly vessels. The king dwelt in the innermost chamber, far removed from him who entered. When they had finished building the palace, the princes of the realm and the great men of the land were invited to come to the king. But when they came to the palace gate, they found it barred and the doors locked. They now asked one another in surprise: 'How shall we enter, seeing that such a multitude of walls separate us?'

"They looked at the gate and pondered. They saw nothing but wall upon wall. Thus they stood a long time, until finally the king's son came and spoke to them: 'Know ye not that my father is exceedingly wise and skilled in the art of conjuring up illusion? Behold, the entire palace is unreal. There is no wall here, no gate, and no door—it is all an illusion. It bears the semblance of reality to him who looks upon it. But in very truth, the space here is empty—it stretches unconfined in all directions. My father, the King—here He stands before you'".

Or: "The whole of the Tora and the whole of the Universe contain nothing but the light of the Infinite which is latent in them. All such sentences as 'There is nought beside Him,' 'The whole earth is filled by His glory,' 'Heaven and earth are filled by me,' are to be understood quite literally: that there is no place, no event, no word, and no thought in which the essence of Deity is not latent and concentrated. Hence he who gazes upon all the things which are stretched forth before his view, with the eyes of his understanding, with penetration—and that, too, in regard to their inwardness and their life, and not merely in regard to their extension and outwardness—will see in them naught but the Divine Strength which animates them and causes them to exist, and which at all times and seasons preserves them in life."

Here is another passage: "If a man suddenly look into the face of a beauteous woman, or if he behold some other fair or lovely thing, let him forthwith consider whence that beauty springs. Indeed, its source is none other than the divine strength which radiates throughout the world. The root of beauty is on high: wherefore should I then desire only a fragment of it? Far better is it to strive after the whole, the root and source of all individual beauty."

Or again: "Let not a man imagine he is better than his fellow man because he serves God with utter devotion. For everyone serves Him with the knowledge and understanding given him by his Maker. Even the worm performs its service according to the strength granted it by God."

Here is an allegory about rites and observances: "Some musicians were once standing with their instruments in their hands, and they played upon them with rare sweetness. People were listening to the melodies, and, unable to contain themselves, began to dance, swaying backwards and forwards with the music. A deaf man, who stood near by, was greatly surprised. 'Is there any reason why these people here should move so strangely merely because those people over there are plucking at those things?' So he thought. For he lacked an understanding of the loveliness of music and the new spirit it awakens in the soul of the hearer"

Here are two dicta about good and evil: "The evil which is in the world is the lowest degree of perfect good. When a man does good, then evil transforms itself to utter good. If he sins, the evil becomes entirely evil."

"The evil seen by man is animated by an inner force, namely, by perfect good. For this reason, man looking upon the evil within himself, will see only the good which is in him. Then the evil transforms itself to good to outward appearance also. In other words, evil is the seat and dwelling-place of good."

The following passages are from a letter written by *The Baal-Shem*.

"On New Year 5507⁴ my soul made an ascension by means of conjuration as you know. I saw wonderful visions, the like of which I had not seen since I attained to knowledge. What I saw and learnt during the ascension, it would be impossible to report and recount, even if we spoke face to face. When I returned to the Lower Paradise, I saw many souls of the living and of the dead, some of them known to me, others unknown—their number was infinite—hastening hither and yon in order to ascend from world to world by way of the Pillar which is known to those initiated into occult wisdom. Their joy was very great—the tongue would grow faint in describing, and the ear in hearing, it. Many a wicked man repented and his sins were forgiven; for it was a time of exceeding grace."

Here is another quotation from the same letter:

"And in the vision I saw Samael⁵ soar upwards with incomparable glee to bring accusations. And he effected doom and destruction for many, who were to die a terrible death. Horror seized me, and I staked my life and besought my Teacher and Master to go with me, as the ascent into the Upper Worlds is fraught with

⁴ Jewish New Year festival; autumn 1747.

⁵ In the original: "s.m.," i.e. *sitra mesuabha*, the Unclean Principle.

great danger. For since I became what I am, I had never attained to such a height.

"Step by step I ascended until I entered the Palace of the Messiah, where he studies the Revelation in the company of all the Tanûm,⁶ the Righteous and the Seven Shepherds.⁷ And there I found exceedingly great rejoicing. I do not know the cause of this joy I believed it had been produced by my death—God forbid—in this world. But they told me that I had not yet died—nay, more, they take delight Above in the Unions⁸ I effect on earth by means of their holy Teaching. But to this day the nature of their joy remains unknown to me.

"I asked Messiah: 'When wilt thou come, my Lord?' Whereat he replied: 'This shall be a sign unto thee. When thy doctrine shall have spread and become manifest, and what I have taught thee, and Thou hast learnt, shall be poured forth and when [all] other men shall have the power to perform the same Unions and Ascensions as thyself—then shall all the Worlds of Evil disappear, and the time of grace and salvation be at hand.' And I was amazed and sorely troubled at the great length of time before this would be possible."

Here is an extract from the *Sipîre Mâses* (Tales) of *Nakhmen of Braslev*, a Khassidic leader who lived at the end of the eighteenth century in the Ukraine. This book contains the tales he told to his disciples, one of whom wrote them down and published them after his master's death, both in his own Hebrew translation and in Yiddish. It is not easy to classify these tales. Allegories is perhaps the best name. They are a quaint combination of fantastic, Cabalistic and even fairy-tale elements, welded together to form creations of considerable originality. Even though the allegorical nature of the stories is clear enough, the details remain obscure.

"There is a hill and on that hill is a stone. From that stone runs a spring. And each thing has a heart, and the world as a whole has a heart. And the Heart of the World is a complete form with a face and with hands and feet. Even the nail on the toe of the Heart of the World is more heart than any other heart.

"And the hill with the Spring is at one end of the world, and the Heart of the World is at the other end of the world. And the Heart is opposite the Spring. And it longs and yearns always to

⁶ Tannâim, the sages of the Mishnah

⁷ Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, David

⁸ To effect a Union = to effect the correct connection between the parts of God's names, scattered and concealed within the Prayers, thereby causing the apparent separation between God and the World to disappear

reach the Spring. And the longing and yearning of the Heart for the Spring is wild. And it is always crying out because it wants to reach the Spring.

“And the Spring craves for the Heart.

“And the Heart has two afflictions. One because the sun pursues it and scorches it because it yearns for the Spring and longs to reach it, and the other because of its yearning and longing.

“But when the Heart must rest a little, a big bird comes flying there and spreads out its wings, and hides the sun from it. Then the Heart rests a little. Yet even then it looks across to the Spring, and it yearns for the Spring. And as it stands facing the hill it sees the top of the hill where the Spring is. But as soon as it tries to move towards the hill it no longer sees the top, and it can no longer see the Spring. And it might, God forbid, die of longing.

“And if the Heart died, God forbid, of longing, the whole world would be annihilated, because the Heart is the life of every living thing. And how can the world exist without the Heart?

“And the Spring has no time, for it has no day and no time in the world at all, for it is above the time of the world. And the time of the Spring is only when the Heart gives it a day as a gift. And when the day is about to end, they begin to bid each other farewell, the Heart and the Spring, and they tell each other parables and sing songs to each other, with great love and with great longing.

“And the true Man of Grace has charge over it all. And as the day draws to its end the true Man of Grace and Good Deeds comes and gives the Heart a day, and the Heart gives the day to the Spring, and so the Spring again has a day.

“And when the day comes it also comes with parables and with songs in which all the wisdoms are. And there are differences between the days, for there are Sundays and Mondays and so on, and new moons and festivals. And each day comes with its own songs, according to the day.”

(Transl. *Joseph Leftwich*)

Perhaps the most characteristic element in Khassidism is the place given to joy, as an instrument in the service of God. All worship must spring from joy. *The Baal-Shem* said: “If a prayer be uttered in great joy, it is doubtless more precious and pleasing to God than a prayer uttered with tears and lamentation.” Or this: “Weeping is exceedingly bad since man should serve his Maker in joy. But when weeping has its source in joy, then, and then only, it is very good.”

The ascetic element, which played an important part at the

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time when Khassidism came into existence, was, in consequence, pushed somewhat into the background.

The emphasis on joy had the natural effect of leading to greater spontaneity in worship. It is therefore not hard to see why singing and dancing play so great a rôle amongst Khassidim. Not that these had previously been absent, but there was now an alteration of stress.

Those accustomed only to Western religious worship can hardly imagine a congregation bursting spontaneously into song and rhythmic movement in the course of divine service. Yet there is no extravagance about the Khassidic dance. There are no ecstatic shrieks or wild convulsions, nor anything akin to the magic dances of primitive races. The Khassidim dance in ecstatic but serene joy, they do not overstep the line of artistic coherence.

The intrinsically religious nature of the dance will become clear from this recent episode related by an eye-witness :

In an extermination camp, a large number of Jewish youths were being taken to be gassed and cremated. While waiting outside the gas chamber, in view of the crematorium, they did not give way to terror and despair. They broke into a religious folk song and dance. Their last act was an expression of faith.

Perhaps the following song by *Levi Isaac Barditshever*, a famous Khassidic rabbi of the 18th century, will convey some idea of the atmosphere from which such acts are born.

Almighty God, Lord of the Universe,
Almighty God, Lord of the Universe,
Almighty God, I shall sing You a You-song.
You—You—You, You—You—
Where can I find You?
And where can I not find You?
You—You—You, You—You—

For wherever I go—You!
And wherever I stand—You!
Always You, only You, again You, forever You—
You—You—You, You—You—

If things are good—You!
Alas, bad—You!
You—You—You—You—You—You!
You—You—You—You—You—You!

East—You! West—You!
 North—You! South—You!
 You—You—You
 You—You—You
 You—You—You.

Heaven, You! Earth, You!
 Above, You! Below, You!
 You—You—You, You—You—You.

You—You—You, You—You—You, You You You!
 Wherever I turn, wherever I move
 You—You!

(Transl. *Joseph Leftwich*.)

Khassidism brought no fundamental innovations. Neither the principles nor the practice of traditional Judaism were discarded. When *The Baal-Shem* said "I am come into the world to show a new path" he did not mean a path leading away from Judaism, but towards an intensification of it.

The "new path" was a success. It was indeed one of the most important positive religious events in the Europe of the last four centuries and it has by no means yet exhausted its possibilities. Vast masses of people were elevated to an exalted plane of religious fervour.

Literature. The central position of religion in East Ashkenazic life is, naturally, reflected in their literature. It consists mainly of religious books. We must, however, bear in mind that for Judaism there is no sharp division between the sacred and profane. Thus many things which in other literatures might be classified under various headings are here included under that of religion.

A very great part of the writings is devoted to the theoretical elucidation of the Talmud and to discussions on the concrete application of its results to problems old and new. Many of those works gained importance not merely for their contemporaries, they have become national possessions and have been in constant use for centuries.

One need not subscribe to the beliefs which are the basis of all that in order to acknowledge the wisdom, the wide erudition, and the zeal which inspired these works.

There is no pure fiction in the Hebrew branch of this literature,

but the fictional element is not quite absent. We find it breaking through and enlivening all sorts of books. There is more of it in the Yiddish branch which is of a much more general character, because its circle of readers is wider.

The Hebrew section has been not only the literature of the East Ashkenazim but, to all intents and purposes, *the* Jewish literature of modern times, ever since that community suddenly emerged, in the 16th century, as the cultural centre of world Jewry.

The East Ashkenazic Dress. Before we leave the subject of the religious life of the East Ashkenazic Jews we shall say a few words about their dress. While in non-Khassidic traditional circles it had recently been losing territory, the Khassidim defended it vigorously. Its wearers regard it as a religious garb. In the eyes of the outsider it comes under the heading "national costume." Both are right, in a way. The explanation, however, that it is just the old Polish costume does not seem to be any truer than the description of Yiddish as just an old German dialect.

It is no accident that when an artist wants to paint Jews, he, as a rule, chooses bearded old-world types in their flowing garments. Is it not because he is attracted by the harmony between the psychic and the physical aspect of his model?

Perhaps the following episode will illustrate this point.

Some twenty years ago, in Russia, an old university professor, an Armenian, confided to a modern Jewish writer that he was a Shambat, a crypto-Jew, a descendant of the Ten Tribes. Here is a quotation from his words: "I experienced two pogroms in Kiev. I'll tell you the truth. When a person like you (he meant a secularised Jew) was beaten up, it touched me, it hurt me. But when I saw a man with a beard being beaten up, a man with pious, frightened, sad eyes, then I felt like shouting: 'Don't touch him! He is my flesh and blood. Beat me instead!' Oh, the eyes of pious Jews! And what becomes of that quiet grace of theirs when they get secularised?"

SECULARISATION

The East Ashkenazim did not remain unaffected by the secularisation which has, in an ever-increasing degree, been dominating Europe.

First the secularising influence of the Gentile world and their final initiative in the form of the Emancipation breached the wall of Western Jewry and created a Jewish Enlightenment movement.

Very soon this spread to Eastern Europe. But while, in the West, it had, by the middle of the 19th century, succeeded in practically breaking up the Jewish community there—that is, destroying the Jewish national body—its effect in the East was only very restricted. This was evidently due to the greater power of resistance resulting from a deeper and wider development of group life, assisted by greater absolute and proportionate numbers.

The process worked so slowly that it is only in our lifetime that the secularised section of the East Ashkenazim has ceased to be merely a minute fraction of the whole, and it has only in recent years developed into an appreciable minority.

The number of East Ashkenazim in pre-war Europe alone was about equal to the population of a medium-sized country like Holland or Belgium. The largeness of this figure resulted in the secularised section being of considerable numerical size, even when it still constituted only a small percentage of the community as a whole. This is one of the reasons why outsiders sometimes carry away the erroneous impression that there is no longer a traditional East Ashkenazic Jewry or that, if there is, it is so small as to be of no importance. Such a view would, in addition, be strengthened by the remoteness and reserve of this group, and by contrast, the activeness and contact with the Gentile world, of the secularised section.

Nationalism. We have mentioned that the process of secularisation had a very different effect on the East Ashkenazim than on their kinsmen in the West, where it had disintegrated the national community of the Jews—atomised it. The individuals were absorbed, even if imperfectly, into the national communities of their home lands. But in the East, such individual absorption into the cultural body of a surrounding majority was the exception. The intensity of autonomous cultural life, the mass character of the social structure and the influence of 19th-century ideas directed the change into a different channel. Very soon the new goal became clear. It was also assimilation to the Gentile world, but in a different way.

It was not, as in the West, the problem of the relationship between the individual Jew and his Gentile environment that was to be solved. Here the relationship of the Jewish nation to the nations of the world was the problem.

The Jewish position was recognised to be what it was : unusual, abnormal. There was nothing new in that : the traditional conception had been that, too. But there was this difference : it was now no longer recognised as being part of God's world-plan. The

secularised mind refused to accept that. If by force of historical circumstances the position of the Jews had become what it was, then human efforts must be directed towards transforming it. If the Jewish people had ceased to be a people like the others, then it must revert to normality. The secularised section became conscious secularisers. It was up to them to bring about a change. They regarded themselves as the vanguard of the new Jewish people, a people in the making.

Already in the early stages of this development, the seeds of subsequent differentiation are present and in the late decades of the nineteenth century we witness the rise of most of the various movements which present the picture of to-day.

One of the results of the metamorphosis was the birth of a new literature. It did not grow organically out of the traditional literature, and did not finally supplant it. Traditional literature is still alive. To be precise we ought to speak of two East Ashkenazic literatures, each in turn subdivided by a linguistic borderline. Any other drawing of the frontiers—e.g., according to the language—would in this case be artificial.

The secularised literature was born in the throes of a fierce struggle against traditional Judaism. Europeanisation was its goal and European literature became its model. At first artistic achievement was slender, but with the maturing of the ideological process a high standard of literary excellence was reached. The secularised literatures in Hebrew and Yiddish, young as they are, boast a large number of outstanding figures.

In the Hebrew branch some of the basic values of Judaism were at first retained in theory, and some attempt at synthesis was made. But later, complete Westernisation became the conscious as well as the subconscious goal. At this stage the actual distance from tradition had become so great that the conflict with it lost its urgency, and we even meet with positive appreciation of old values—but without a desire to incorporate them.

The old tendency has, however, not been quite outgrown. There are still occasional attacks on Judaism, in the form of neo-paganism—passionate homage being paid to Hellas, combined with the expression of a violent hatred of Judaism.

The modern nationalist movements are the ideological soil on which most of modern Hebrew literature has grown up.

The ideological basis of the secularised literature in Yiddish is somewhat less uniform, because here the Socialist idea plays as big a rôle as the nationalist.

Many authors write in both languages. Thus we have, in the person of *Mendele Morkher Sfurem*, at one and the same time, the father of modern Hebrew style and the creator of its modern Yiddish counterpart.

We shall conclude this sketch with a specimen from "The Dead of the Desert," a poem by *Kh. N. Bialik*, whose main work was in the Hebrew field, where he is acclaimed as *the* national poet of the Jewish people of our time.

What is his message? He calls upon his people to give up bowing their heads beneath the yoke, and to rise up a strong, young, and free people. It is a call to Westernisation, to liberation from external and inner slavery by autonomous human action.

'Tis no herd of lions and whelps that covers the eye of the plain,
Nor the glory of Bashan, brave oaks, that have crashed to their fall,
mighty fall.

By the side of their scorching black tents lie giants*stretched out in the
sun :

They crouch on the cold desert sands, lionesses are crouching secure ;
The sand sinks away 'neath the place where the bodies and bulk of
bone lie.

The mighty are clinging to earth, deep in slumber , their weapons are by,
The quiver and scabbard on belt, and their javelins stuck in the
sand.

Heavy with locks are their heads, with great coils they droop to the
earth ,

The hair of those locks is drawn long, like the lion's shaggy mane.
Their faces are tanned with gaunt strength but their eyes are tarnished
as brass,

Target for the sun's bright arrows and sport for the strong hot wind.
Hard are their foreheads and daring faced to the heavens and staring.
Fear dwells in those brows and a devil lurks in the cave of each eye,
The rings of their beards are tangled to mazes of serpent strife.

Fashioned or moulded of flint they rear their breasts forward sublime,
Projecting like anvils of iron, set for the hammer to strike,

As if they were hardened forever with blows of the hammer of time,
Or by wielding of fathomless power, forged and then silent for all.

The scars on those faces of terror, the weals on those breasts laid
bare,

The script of arrow and spear, the writing imprinted of swords,
They alone, as engraving on pillars of stone, tell the eagle descending,
Of spears that were countless but broken, arrows shattered when shot
from the bow,

Hurled on those rocks that are hearts, on the face of those tablets of
quartz.

And now a passage from near the end.

At times will the desert awaken and gird at the calm everlasting,
 It bestirs to avenge itself—then, take revenge for its waste on its Maker,
 It lifts itself 'gainst him in storm, insurging in columns of sand,
 And rises to hit the Creator, strike dread on His glorious throne;
 It dares to repour divine anger, to throw it with ire at his feet;
 Heaping its turmoil on God, with Chaos restored to its reign.
 The Creator is wrathful and quaking, the face of the heavens is changed,
 They are canopied over the desert, 'tis a bowl of iron at white heat,
 And there issues from them the blood anger, the red of the vision breaks
 forth
 On the space of eternity, flames to the top of the kindled rocks.
 And the desert is bitterly wroth; and, panting, shakes,—tossed to its
 depths.

.

In that hour

Seized with a fever of valiance, the mighty of dread awake;
 That race bold and mighty bestirs, the race that is doughty in war,
 Their eyes are as lightning, their faces are flame. With their hands to
 their swords
 The warriors thunder forth with the voice of the six hundred thousand;
 The shout rends the storm, with the groan of the desert in anger it vies,
 And the tempest beats round them, and round them in anger.—They
 shout

“Warriors are we!
 Last in the era of bondage,
 The first to be free!
 'Tis alone our strong hand
 That has ripped from the pride of our neck
 The weighty yoke band.
 Our head is exalted to heaven,
 In our sight, it is small
 We have roamed in the desert the waste,
 ‘Our mother’ we call.
 On the crags of the rocks, in cloud reaches
 We have quaffed from its spring
 Freedom, with eagles of heaven,
 What lord is our King?
 And if an avenging Almighty
 Shuts His desert, around
 We have our revenge, for a song
 Of revolt we can sound:

To arms! To lances: Fall in:
 To the right,—form!
 'gainst the ire of Heavens in wrath
 We'll advance, through the storm!

We are here, to advance!
 If th' Almighty denies us His hand,
 And His ark will not move from its place,
 Let's go forward without it, on chance!
 'Neath his wrathful eye, in the angry
 Lightning of his gaze,
 We'll conquer the peaks of the mountains
 And armed foes amaze.
 Attend!
 For the storm itself calls: 'Make the assault!'
 To arms!
 To lances! The hills must be shattered,
 The mountains rent,
 Or our corpses shall tumble in piles.
 We are here! To-th' ascent."

(Transl. L. V. Snowman.)

This short survey of the spiritual and intellectual personality of the East Ashkenazic group could not be more than a bird's-eye view, and even important points have had to be omitted.⁹

SOLOMON A. BIRNBAUM.

⁹ On the East Ashkenazic languages, cf my "Jewish Languages," in *Essays in Honour of J. H. Hertz* (1944), p. 51, "The Age of the Yiddish Language" in *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1939), p. 31, and *The Yiddish Language* (by Solomon A. Birnbaum) and *its Literature* (by Joseph Leftwich) (in print).

LES RÉCITS DE GUERRE DANS LA LITTÉRATURE RUSSE DU XVE SIÈCLE

LES *Chroniques* russes (*letopisi*) sont toutes pleines de récits de guerre, comme l'étaient les *Chroniques* byzantines traduites en slavon, comme l'est, d'abord et surtout, la *Prise de Jérusalem* de Flavius Josèphe, dont la traduction slavonne est devenue l'un des grands textes de la littérature russe du Moyen-Age-celui peut-être dont l'influence a été la plus considérable sur le développement de l'unique langue littéraire de la Russie médiévale, le *slavon-russe*. Certains de ces récits de guerre enchassés dans les *Chroniques* sont d'une tenue, parfois d'une beauté qui égale la sincérité du sentiment patriotique dont le chroniqueur était animé. Quelques autres se présentent comme des pièces autonomes et se suffisent à eux-mêmes. Et c'en est assez pour nous autoriser à considérer les récits de guerre comme un "ensemble", comme une sorte de "genre littéraire" : la *Voïnskaja povest'*. Un genre dont, après Speranskij, Orlov s'est heureusement attaché à dégager les traits originaux et, c'est son mérite, la valeur littéraire.

Il n'est pas douteux que le récit de guerre était l'une des tâches principales, sinon la tâche principale, des écrivains qui rédigeaient les *Chroniques*. C'est bien à eux que songeait l'évêque Cyrille de Turov, au XIIe siècle, lorsqu'il écrivait : " Les historiens, c'est-à-dire les chroniqueurs et les poètes (*pesnotvorci*), inclinent toute leur attention vers les guerres et les armements qui ont eu lieu entre les empereurs (*meždu Cesari*), avec le souci d'embellir par les mots ce qu'ils apprennent (*da ukrasjat slovesy*) et de célébrer glorieusement les braves qui ont combattu pour leur empereur et, dans le combat, n'ont pas cédé à l'ennemi ; ceux-là, les Slaves les couronnent de louanges (*těch Slavjane pochvalami venčajut*). " Cette profession de foi va presque jusqu'à confondre la chronique avec le récit de guerre, alors que pourtant la *Chronique* offre aussi nombre d'autres éléments : portraits des princes, discours à formules de rhétorique suivant la mode grecque, plus rarement fragments de dialogues familiers, réflexions morales et religieuses dans le goût et le style des homélies, descriptions de lieux ou schémas géographiques, textes de conventions juridiques ou de traités. Mais, dans cette masse

si variée, Cyrille de Turov a le mérite de saisir l'importance des thèmes guerriers, et aussi de nous faire pressentir la raison d'être de ces relations militaires où le souci de faire l'éloge des princes et des braves l'emporte sur celui d'être exact.

Le chroniqueur, en effet, n'était à l'ordinaire qu'un moine vivant loin des combats et qui se bornait à donner la forme écrite à une tradition orale incertaine, le plus souvent avec le souci de glorifier quelque prince ou d'étoffer la légende pieuse de quelque saint. Le récit de guerre devenait ainsi pour lui une sorte de composition littéraire,—et politique—pour laquelle les traductions slavonnes de Georges Hamartolos, de Manassès, de Malalas, de Flavius Josèphe et aussi l'hagiographie byzantine lui apportaient le secours de leur tradition littéraire. Mais ce vieil écolier affirmait souvent sa personnalité par son goût du naturel, par un trait sincère, par une échappée familière, et cela pour le bonheur du lecteur moderne qui éprouve alors la sensation d'atteindre un coin de vie véritable de la Russie ancienne. Quelques exemples suffiront à nous éclairer, que nous emprunterons à la *Povest' vremennych let*.

L'une des plus belles légendes historiques de cette Chronique, la plus ancienne aussi, est celle de Svjatoslav, le premier des princes russes qui porte un nom slave. Il y a là, A. S. Orlov a raison de le dire, une vraie biographie poétique où les faits historiques apparaissent associés à une poésie qui émane de la personne même du héros¹: Svjatoslav, guerrier errant comme le *bogatyr* de certaines bylines, alourdi pour ainsi dire, tourmenté plutôt par la force démesurée qu'il sent en lui-même. Il entraîne au loin sa troupe de compagnons (*družina*) pour guerroyer en terre étrangère, là "où tous les biens, tous les trésors se trouvent rassemblés" (*gdě vsja blagaja schodjatsja*), là où il fait bon vivre. Il part en campagne, abandonnant sa très vieille mère et ses petits enfants. Des ennemis inconnus, en son absence, s'en viennent assiéger sa ville capitale. Mais son nom seul, la seule menace de son retour suffisent à les mettre en fuite. Svjatoslav finit par revenir du pays lointain dont il a fait la conquête. Il ne peut, cependant, se résoudre à demeurer au foyer retrouvé. Ses domaines lointains l'attirent sans cesse, et il n'écoute pas les prières de sa mère qui le supplie de rester auprès d'elle au moins jusqu'à sa mort. Il distribue ses terres à ses fils et retourne à sa conquête. Il retourne là où l'attend une guerre nouvelle avec un ennemi incomparablement plus fort que lui. Écrasé par la masse de son adversaire, le héros est invincible au combat, mais il doit pourtant abandonner ses conquêtes et revenir

¹ A. S. Orlov, *Geroičeskie temy drevnej russkoj literatury*, M.-L., 1945, p. 10.

à son foyer. Il est assassiné sur le chemin du retour. Telle est, à vol d'oiseau, l'histoire de Svjatoslav.

Et cette histoire est dotée de tous les thèmes d'une belle histoire militaire : enfance du héros, éloge de son endurance et de sa bravoure à l'âge de jeune homme, l'amour des armes et le mépris des richesses (avec une réminiscence de la légende d'Achille), l'appel au sacrifice allant de pair au reste avec la pratique des ruses de guerre. Nous touchons ici, déjà constituée dès le XIV^e siècle, dans les recueils de chroniques remontant à cette époque, une forte tradition guerrière et même patriotique. Le retour constant de formules comme " la terre russe " (*russskaja zemlja*) et " le peuple russe " et " le pays russe " (*Rus'*) semble bien révéler le sentiment d'une patrie russe par-dessus les divisions féodales.

La légende poignante des deux frères Boris et Gleb, que leur frère aîné Svjatopolk fait assassiner pour mettre la main sur leur héritage, est surtout célèbre par sa partie hagiographique, puisque les victimes sont devenues deux bienheureux, deux saints patrons de l'Église russe. Mais elle contient une partie militaire importante : la campagne justicière de Jaroslav contre le prince usurpateur, avec mille Varègues et 40.000 Novgorodiens, cette campagne qui s'achève par la déroute des gens de Svjatopolk sur les glaces rompues du Dnepr. Il y a là une alliance intime de la piété orthodoxe et du sentiment russe qui est manifeste dans cette vie de saints.

Cette conjonction de la religion et du patriotisme est plus manifeste encore dans la *Vie d'Alexandre Nevskij* (*Jaroslavlič*) dont la composition remonte à la fin du XIII^e siècle ou au début du XIV^e : vie de saint par l'effet d'une refonte secondaire, mais à son origine essentiellement vie de soldat et de grand prince, où quelque rédacteur dévot est venu associer à la victoire sur les chevaliers Porte-glaives la protection miraculeuse accordée par les bienheureux Boris et Gleb au prince que son premier biographe, plus attentif aux grandeurs humaines, comparait à Joseph, qualifié, par lui " roi d'Égypte ", à Samson, au roi Salomon, à l'empereur Vespasien. Les évocations guerrières de la *Vie d'Alexandre Nevskij* sont parmi les plus saisissantes que nous offre le Moyen-Age russe, en particulier le récit de la bataille d'hiver avec les Allemands sur la glace du Lac des Tchoudes, où les Russes au cœur de lion ont l'air d'oiseaux qui volent alors qu'ils boutent l'ennemi hors de leur terre : *bjachu serdca ich ako lvom . . . oni že seščachut i gonjašči, jako po jaeru* " ils pourfendaient l'ennemi et le poursuivaient, comme s'ils volaient en l'air ". Les réminiscences antiques, les souvenirs de la Bible, le miracle chrétien, les clichés hagiographiques et le merveilleux des

contes se fondent ainsi en une légende historique originale où l'inspiration patriotique et guerrière tient le rôle capital.

Il faut dire, à ce propos, que le texte de cette biographie légendaire est précédé ordinairement de la plus belle invocation à la terre russe qui soit dans la littérature médiévale : " O terre lumineusement lumineuse et bellement armée de tous les ornements, ô terre russe ! " (*O svetlosvetlaja i ukrasno ukrašena ruskaja zemlja !*). Invocation qu'accompagne l'énumération débordante et fantaisiste des merveilles sans nombre de cette terre russe : lacs, fleuves, montagnes, futaies, plaines, bêtes, oiseaux, villes et villages, vignobles, églises, princes redoutables, boïars très honorables, grands seigneurs tout puissants . . . " Tu es riche à souhait de tous les biens, terre russe, terre chrétienne de la vraie foi " (terre de la foi orthodoxe) : *Vsego esi ispolnena zemlja ruskaja, o pravovėrnaja vėra christjanskaja*.

Cette étonnante invocation qui tourne court, accusant un hiatus certain, ne se trouve en tête de la *Vie d'Alexandre Nevskij* que par l'effet d'une tradition des copistes de recueils manuscrits. Les historiens de la littérature russe ont volontiers imaginé, et ils ont cru pendant longtemps que c'était là le prélude d'un poème épique dont la suite était perdue, un fragment glorieux qu'on a coutume d'appeler le *Dit de la dévastation de la terre russe* (*Slovo o pogibeli rusškoj zemli*). Nous savons aujourd'hui qu'il ne s'agit en réalité que du début d'un autre texte dans le genre de la *Vie d'Alexandre Nevskij*, à savoir le *Dit de la mort du grand-prince Jaroslav Vsevolodovič*, dont le texte ne nous est parvenu qu'en partie, mais peut être reconstitué. C'est à Michel Gorlin qu'est due cette mise au point d'un problème dont la solution romantique était restée trop longtemps en faveur. Le mythe d'un poème épique inconnu s'évanouit ainsi, mais le genre du récit de guerre s'enrichit d'une unité nouvelle. L'Institut d'Études slaves publiera avant peu le mémoire où son membre infiniment regretté, Michel Gorlin, nous apporte la démonstration de cet enrichissement qui nous dédommage d'une illusion perdue.

Le récit de guerre est un enfant de la *Chronique*. Mais il peut se présenter comme un tout se suffisant à lui-même. Tel est, par exemple, le cas de la *Vie d'Alexandre Nevskij*, de la *Zadonščina*, de la *Prise de Constantinople*, du *Sac de Rjazan'*. Il n'est, de plus, aucune de ces relations militaires qui n'ait en même temps un caractère religieux et patriotique fortement marqué : quel que soit l'ennemi, chevaliers Porte-glaives, Tatars ou bien Osmanlis, ce sont toujours la terre russe et la foi orthodoxe qu'il s'agit de défendre. Le moine rejoint le soldat : c'est lui qui donne au soldat son réper-

toire verbal, ses formules de bravoure et de défi. Ainsi le genre littéraire tient à la fois à celui des *Chroniques* et à celui des *Vies de saints* : il est aussi religieux que laïque.

Le récit de guerre est en outre un miroir historique de la politique russe, dont les historiens connaissent le prix pour autant qu'à défaut de dates et de faits précis il leur donne au moins le reflet d'une disposition morale, de l'interprétation des événements dans un milieu déterminé, d'un aspect de l'esprit public. Il a cet autre avantage pour l'historien de se situer, en tant que genre littéraire, dans une période assez nettement définie et qui va en gros du XVe siècle au XVIIe siècle inclus ; et cette constatation nous invite à grouper un certain nombre d'œuvres du XVe siècle dont l'ensemble prépare, suivant toutes les apparences, l'épanouissement de la chanson historique et de la byline au cours du XVIe siècle.

* * *

La période considérée débute par le mouvement d'immigration en Russie de Slaves du Sud distingués, prêtres et moines pour la plupart, fuyant l'invasion turque qui déborde dans les Balkans. Elle s'achève sur le rassemblement des terres russes et l'instauration à Moscou d'un pouvoir central dont les ambitions trouvent un appui opportun dans la légende de la *Troisième Rome*. Il est temps que l'histoire de la littérature russe récupère, à leur place chronologique exacte et dans l'atmosphère où elles ont été conçues, des œuvres qui n'ont guère été présentées jusqu'à ce jour qu'isolément, en ordre dispersé et sans attaches précises avec l'époque et le milieu d'où elles émanent. Notre premier souci doit être d'ordre chronologique, et plus précisément d'établir une *chronologie* des trois grands récits de guerre du XVe siècle, les seuls que nous prétendions étudier aujourd'hui.

La date de la composition de ces récits est loin de se confondre, bien entendu, avec celles des événements qu'ils rapportent. Ainsi l'événement même du *Sac de Rjazan'* est de 1237, mais la rédaction du texte que nous connaissons par Sreznevskij est postérieure à 1453, car elle accuse des emprunts certains à la *Prise de Constantinople* de Nestor-Iskinder. Seule, la *Zadonščina*, sous sa forme la plus ancienne, c'est-à-dire réduite à la lamentation sur la tuerie de Kulikovo (la *Žalost*, le *Plač*) est vraisemblablement assez proche de l'événement, mais elle n'a dû être rédigée qu'au début du XVe siècle au plus tôt, puisqu'elle mentionne la date de la mort de l'archevêque Kiprian : 1406. C'est elle pourtant qui, pour la période considérée, apparaît comme la doyenne des relations de guerre indépendantes. Puis vient la *Prise de Constantinople*, puis le *Sac de Rjazan'*, puis les

nouvelles *Zadonščiny* amplifiant la "lamentation" de la première et lui ajoutant une "louange" (*pochvala*) et un dénouement, et, à leur suite, le *Dit de la tuerie de Mamaj* (*Skazanie*). Puis, dans une période que nous ne pouvons qu'évoquer de loin, l'*Histoire du tsarat de Kazan'*, qui se rapporte à la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle, et enfin, au XVII^e siècle, la *Lamentation sur la ruine de l'État moscovite*, en 1612, l'*Histoire de la prise d'Azov* par les Cosaques du Don en 1637 et l'*Histoire du siège d'Azov* par les Turcs en 1641.

* * *

C'est au plus grand fait de guerre de l'histoire russe du Moyen Age, à la bataille de Kulikovo, en 1380, que se rattache la *Zadonščina*, ou *Campagne par delà le Don*, cette campagne des Russes groupés autour du grand prince de Moscou, Dmitrij Ivanovič, qui a réussi à arrêter l'avance des Tatars dans la plaine de Kulikovo, sur la rivière Neprjadva, et que l'histoire a glorieusement surnommé *Dmitrij Donskoj*. C'est cette œuvre, dont Erben avait pressenti l'importance, que je voudrais considérer avec vous pour saisir son véritable visage, tel que la belle édition du regretté Jan Frček, qui s'imprime actuellement à Prague, le met en pleine lumière.

Tout d'abord, cette œuvre n'est pas une : il y a plusieurs *Zadonščiny*, et chacune d'elles a son visage propre. La plus ancienne des *Zadonščiny*, celle que nous a conservée un manuscrit du XV^e siècle, daté d'environ 1470, au monastère de St-Cyrille du Lac Blanc, se réduit pour le fond à une évocation de la bataille accompagnée d'une lamentation des femmes sur les maris et les fils tués au combat : c'est un *Plač*, c'est la *Žalost zeml ruskie*, que ne suit aucun péan de victoire. D'autres rédactions, au cours du XVI^e siècle, ont reproduit ce texte ancien, mais en l'amplifiant plus ou moins et en y ajoutant toute une seconde partie qui décrit la victoire des Russes, la défaite et la ruine des Tatars, la fuite de leur khan à Kafa : ce sont les *Zadonščiny* des manuscrits du Musée historique, de la Bibliothèque du Synode et de la collection Undol'skiĭ, et c'est aussi la longue composition intitulée *Dit (Skazanje) de la tuerie de Mamaj*, dont le succès a été grand parmi les lecteurs russes jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e siècle.

C'est la *Zadonščina* du début du XV^e siècle qui, seule, doit être retenue d'abord, comme nous donnant le texte primitif, sous la forme, il est vrai, d'une copie assez fautive. C'est cette *Zadonščina* qui est la *Zadonščina* véritable, telle que l'avait conçue son auteur, Sofonij, de Rjazan'. Barsov, dans son bon sens et avec la sincérité de l'innocence, l'avait dès longtemps reconnue pour telle. Il a fallu que cette opinion mît en péril la doctrine classique de la *Zadonščina*

plagiat d'un poème du XIIe siècle, pour qu'elle fût combattue ces dernières années, notamment par MM. Gudzy et Orlov.

La *Zadonščina* n'est pas un poème, contrairement à ce que l'on a trop souvent écrit, mais simplement une composition en prose de style poétique et même offrant certaines ébauches de forme poétique : quelques clausules dactyliques à la manière des bylines, quelques assonances, des fragments rythmés et surtout un mouvement d'ensemble. La distance est grande, à cet égard, entre la relation historique des *Chroniques* concernant le même événement, ce que l'on appelle la *Povest'*, et la *Zadonščina*. La *Povest'* est plus riche de faits et de précisions, tout en présentant, elle aussi, un caractère religieux et poétique conforme au modèle dont elle s'est visiblement inspirée, et qui n'est autre que la *Vie d'Alexandre Nevskij*. La *Zadonščina* apparaît, par contre, comme une œuvre plus littéraire qu'historique à la mémoire du grand prince Dmitrij Ivanovič dit Donskoj et plus encore de la grande bataille, accompagnée de tant de deuils. L'œuvre est de contenu schématique et d'ordonnance livresque avec exorde, invocations, tableau poétique de l'invasion, discours de princes, dialogues de combattants, pressentiment des bêtes à la veille de la mêlée, évocation du combat, champ de bataille, lamentations des femmes. C'est sur ces lamentations que la *Zadonščina* primitive s'achève, et notre impression finale est bien celle d'une plainte : la "Pitié de la terre russe, de la nation russe" (*Žalost zemli ruskie*), suivant les termes mêmes du rédacteur de la version postérieure de la collection Undol'skij.

Mais un doute vient à l'esprit d'un lecteur soucieux de logique : cet accent funèbre, cette note dolente qui sont propres à la *Zadonščina* primitive ne s'accordent guère, au premier abord, avec la célébration d'une victoire, avec la louange du vainqueur. Ne faudrait-il pas supposer soit que l'œuvre était restée inachevée, soit que la version la plus ancienne est une version amputée de sa partie finale, une *Zadonščina* tronquée ? Rien pourtant, dans cette version, n'autorise une pareille hypothèse : nous n'y trouvons ni solution de continuité, ni trace d'amputation, et l'ensemble en paraît bien être intact (sauf quelques menues fautes et lacunes). Par contre, l'addition d'une seconde partie est avouée par le copiste d'une des versions postérieures, celle de la collection Undol'skij : *Preže vospisach Žalost zemli ruskie i pročee ot knig privodja. Potom že spisach Žalost i pochvalu velikomu knjazju Dmitreju Ivanovičju i brata ego, knjazju Vladimiru Ondreevičju*. On ne saurait plus nettement distinguer la Pitié de la terre russe, le texte original, de la Pitié et louange, le texte secondaire. Habemus reum confitentem.

C'est qu'à la vérité la réserve de l'auteur de la *Zadonščina* ancienne ne doit pas nous surprendre. Cet auteur est encore trop proche de l'événement pour en mesurer l'importance ; il n'a pas la perspective historique qui, seule, dégage la grandeur d'une victoire, et l'impression récente d'une grande tuerie l'emporte chez lui sur celle du succès dont la tradition élaborée par les historiens établira plus tard la valeur décisive. N'oublions pas non plus que Sofonij est originaire de Rjazan' (*starec rjazanec*), de cette principauté dont le prince Oleg avait fait pendant quelque temps une complice de l'invasion tatare et qui n'a pris aucune part à la croisade défensive des princes russes conduits par le grand prince de Moscou. Il peut n'avoir qu'un enthousiasme de commande ou qui, du moins, ne saurait être aussi spontané ni aussi ardent que celui d'un Moscovite ou d'un allié des Moscovites ; il peut même trouver dans la gravité des pertes russes comme la revanche inavouée d'une victoire à laquelle il est étranger. Les hommes penchent naturellement à ne reconnaître la victoire d'un ennemi, ou du moins une victoire à laquelle ils n'ont pas pris part qu'en s'apitoyant sur les sacrifices que cette victoire a coûtés au vainqueur. Le fait est que Sofonij de Rjazan' ne mentionne la victoire des Russes sur les mécréants qu'en évoquant le pressentiment des bêtes, aigles, loups et renards, et cette mention ne ressort même pas de la formule où l'auteur de la *Zadonščina* prononce une unique fois le mot de " victoire " : *Čajut pobědu na poganych* " elles attendent, les bêtes, elles pressentent la victoire des Russes sur les infidèles ", formule qui a tout l'air d'une glose. Non, cette victoire ne ressort que de l'apostrophe fameuse : " Tu es la terre russe, eh bien, de même qu'autrefois tu as appartenu au tsar Salomon, appartiens dès à présent (tu vas appartenir dorénavant) au grand prince Dmitrij Ivanovič " :

... a rkuči tak : zemlja esi russkaja. Kak esi byla doseleva za carem za Solomonom, tak budi i nyněča za knjazem velikim Dmitriem Ivanovičem.

On ne saurait s'incliner plus noblement devant un maître nouveau en se couvrant de l'ombre du roi Salomon, le Sage des Sages.

L'une des versions postérieures, celle de la Bibliothèque du Synode, transforme " tu es la terre russe " en " tu es la terre de Rjazan' " (*zemlja rjazanskaja*). N'est-on pas tenté de voir là comme un lapsus révélateur, et l'indication qu'il ne fallait rien de moins à l'auteur, pour lui faire accepter la suprématie de Moscou, que rappeler le précédent légendaire du roi Salomon, tsar du pays russe et ancêtre des grands princes de Kiev et de Moscou ?

L'étude de Michel Gorlin, complétant et couronnant celle de Markov sur le *Dit de Jérusalem* et le *Dit de Volot Volotovič et du tsar David*, ne permet aucun doute sur la fortune de cette légende, dans la Russie du XVe siècle, et cela probablement sous l'influence des *Tsars interprètes des songes* (*Cari snovidci*), cet écrit des hérétiques judaïsants qu'avait condamnés l'index de Zosima. La légende apparaît aujourd'hui comme singulière dans la tradition populaire russe, et de fait elle est bien oubliée. Elle s'harmonise pourtant avec la représentation byzantine de Salomon, patron tutélaire des grands rois, et la transformation médiévale du monarque de la Bible en prince chrétien, telle par exemple que M. Krappe la signale, au Portugal, dans le cycle du roi Ramire.

Ainsi la *Zadonščina* offre un intérêt historique évident. elle reflète l'impression d'un lettré de Rjazan' quelque vingt-cinq ans après l'événement même. Mais elle a aussi son prix comme œuvre littéraire, et nous nous devons de la mettre à sa place dans le genre auquel elle appartient et à l'époque dont elle reflète l'histoire. Prenons la peine, ou plutôt prenons le plaisir de la relire à la suite des relations militaires de la *Chronique* (version Laurentine), du *Chronographe de Daniel* (version Hypatienne), de la *Vie d'Alexandre Nevskij* et du *Slovo o pogibeli russkoj zemli* qu'il vaudra mieux appeler désormais *Slovo o smerti Jaroslava Vsevolodoviča*, et nous reconnaitrons, dans la *Zadonščina* la sœur de ces diverses compositions à la fois guerrières, patriotiques, religieuses—et, il faut le dire, poétiques—qui donnent tant de charme à la littérature du Moyen-Age russe. Le prélude est dans un mouvement qui rappelle deux passages de Cyrille de Turov ; le ton de bravoure et les devises de croisade sont biens communs à la famille de tous les récits de guerre ; la formule " nous boirons de l'eau du Don dans notre casque " est dans l'histoire de Vladimir Monomaque ; l'évocation géographique du vaste pays russe où se propage la nouvelle du désastre nous fait souvenir du *Slovo o smerti vel. kn. Jaroslava Vsevolodoviča* ; le sentiment de la bataille par les bêtes se trouve dans le *Chronographe de Daniel*, et le gerfaut à clochette d'or dans l'*Histoire de Jérusalem* ; l'énumération des armes et les sensations auditives et visuelles du combat font partie de l'arsenal inventorié par A. S. Orlov ; la lamentation des femmes en deuil n'est qu'un thrène de type connu, bien simple, au reste, si on le compare à celui de la princesse Eudoxie, la veuve de Dmitrij Donskoj, ou à tant d'autres thrènes des grands recueils étudiés si magistralement par notre collègue de Suisse, Mme Elsa Mahler. Mais c'est ce dernier trait, la simplicité, qui, dans les parties les meilleures, donne son prix à la *Zadonščina* : la simplicité,

une certaine sobriété de l'ensemble et la fraîcheur, la naïveté rustique de certains passages

Ainsi l'invocation à l'alouette :

Alouette, notre joie dans les beaux jours, monte jusque sous les nuées bleues, chante la gloire du grand prince Dmitrij Ivanovič et de son frère Vladimir Ondreevič

Zavoronok ptica v krasnyja dni utěcha, vzydy pod sinie oblaky, poj slavu velikomu knjazju Dmitreju Ivanoviču i bratu ego Volodimeru Ondrěeviču

Ainsi encore, la plainte des femmes en deuil :

Elles éclatèrent alors en larmes amères, les femmes des boiars, pleurant leurs maîtres et seigneurs, dans la belle ville de Moscou Elle éclate en larmes, Maria, la femme de Mikula, disant ce que voici Don, Don rapide, Don, tu as traversé la terre des Polovtses, tu t'es ouvert un chemin dans tes rives d'acier bruni, amène en le berçant, amène jusqu'à moi mon Mikula Vasiljevič.

Togdaže vosplakašaja gorko ženy boljaryni po svych ospodarech, v krasně gradě Moskvě. Vosplačetsja žena Mskulina Marija, a rkuči takovo slovo . Done, Done, bystryj Done, prošel esi zemlju poloveckuju, probil esi berezi charalužnyja, prilelěj moego Mikulu Vasiljeviča

Elles se disent entre elles : Nos sœurs, ils ne sont déjà plus en vie, nos maris. Ils ont donné leur tête, sur les rives du Don rapide, pour la terre russe, pour les saintes églises, pour la foi orthodoxe, avec des hommes hardis, avec des fils courageux . . ."

Glagoljušče k sebě. Uže, sestrici naši, mužej našich v životě nětü. Pokladoša golovy svoi u bystrogo Donn za russkujä zemlju, za svjatyja cerkvi, za pravoslavnuju věru, z dvynymi udalei, s mužeskyimi syny

Que l'on puisse, dans ces passages, reconnaître un mouvement de chanson ou de thrène, c'est là une vue assurément défendable. Mais il n'empêche que l'œuvre accuse, dans son ensemble la marque d'un lettré plus proche de la tradition manuscrite et de l'écritoire que de la tradition orale. Les ébauches de rythme et d'assonances que l'on y aperçoit ne lui sont pas personnelles à cette époque : A. S. Orlov en a relevé de semblables dans la *Chronique de Pskov* aux XVe et XVIe siècles. Ce prétendu " poème " est à l'état de devenir plutôt qu'il n'existe réellement : ce n'est, encore une fois, qu'une composition en prose, mais cette composition a de l'élan et, par moments, réussit à s'élever et à voler, alors que par ailleurs elle ne peut que voleter, comme si les ailes lui manquaient.

Il n'est dans la *Zadonščina*, outre l'écho si curieux de la légende de Salomon tsar de la Sainte-Russie, qu'une seule donnée sur laquelle les textes authentiquement anciens ne nous apportent aucun autre

témoignage : c'est, dans le prélude, la mention d'un chanteur qui a célébré la gloire des princes de Kiev, ce *Bojan* que l'auteur a nommé à deux reprises simplement pour lui rendre hommage et sans prétendre aucunement l'imiter. Il n'a pas été possible, jusqu'à ce jour, d'en apprendre davantage sur ce chanteur, qui est ainsi réduit à retrouver dans leur solitude le *Manuilo* et le *Mitusa* mentionnés par la Chronique, le premier à l'année 1137, le second à l'année 1241 : et de qui l'on ne sait rien non plus que leur nom. Mais *Bojan*, que son nom précisément dénonce comme un Slave du Sud, pourrait bien n'être qu'un compatriote de Camblak et de Kiprian et, comme eux, un émigré assez proche dans le temps de l'auteur de la *Zadonščina*. Car ce texte, on l'a trop oublié, est un texte du XVe siècle, qui s'explique fort bien par le XVe siècle, et pour lequel il n'est pas besoin d'aller dans le XIIe chercher des lumières à tout le moins douteuses. Tel est, je voudrais vous en avoir convaincus, le visage vrai de la *Zadonščina* primitive

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Il y a loin, à l'intérieur du même genre littéraire, de la *Zadonščina* de Sofonij de Rjazan' à la *Prise de Constantinople* dite de Nestor-Iskinder. Cette œuvre est d'un autre milieu, et d'une autre époque. Postérieure d'un demi-siècle au moins à la *Zadonščina*, elle est documentée, ordonnée et écrite avec une maîtrise qui décèle un écrivain d'une large culture et possédant de son métier une expérience singulièrement rare à son époque : ce *Nestor-Iskinder* qu'un manuscrit nous présente comme un chrétien enlevé par les Turcs dans sa jeunesse, par force circoncis et par force infidèle, personnage qui semble venu d'un conte oriental du XVIIIe siècle. Les recherches critiques de Boris Unbegaun et de M. Belčenko n'ont pu que nous laisser mesurer la profondeur des ténèbres où nous restons quant à l'identité de cet auteur et à la biographie romanesque qui lui est imputée. Mais l'essentiel est clair : l'essentiel, c'est-à-dire la pensée qui inspire cet auteur et qui résume sa personnalité. L'auteur du *Skazanie o Cargradě* est un patriote russe, un Moscovite conscient de l'époque d'Ivan III le Grand, le *sobiratel' russkoj zemli*. Son œuvre, sous la forme où elle nous est parvenue, peut être rapportée au plus tôt vers l'année 1472, qui est celle du mariage du tsar. C'est une œuvre de chrétien slave pour qui la chrétienté slave, ou même la chrétienté tout court, a son centre, suivant la volonté de Dieu, à Moscou. Le règne de Cargrad a pris fin par la volonté de Dieu. C'est à un autre peuple que les Grecs que Dieu confie l'avenir de la chrétienté.

Après le rappel du châtimeut céleste que Byzance a mérité par

ses péchés, c'est par une apostrophe menaçante au vainqueur que l'écrivain apporte la consolation et la certitude de la revanche à tous les pieux sujets du tsar de Moscovie, et surtout aux moines de tous les monastères de la Sainte-Russie (*svjatorusskaja zemlja*), les bons ouvriers de la chrétienté russe et de la puissance de son tsar orthodoxe :

Et c'est à la suite de ce qui a été et s'est accompli ainsi, à cause de nos péchés, que Mahomet l'Infidèle s'est assis sur le trône de l'empire le plus noble qui fût jamais sous le soleil, c'est ainsi qu'il est devenu le maître de ceux qui étaient les maîtres de deux parties du monde, c'est ainsi qu'il a vaincu ceux qui avaient vaincu Artaxerxès l'Orgueilleux . . . et qu'il a détruit ceux qui avaient détruit Troie la Merveilleuse défendue par soixante-quatorze rois. Mais, comprends-le bien, maudit, que, si tout cela s'est accompli, tout ce que Méthode de Patara et Léon le Très sage avaient l'un et l'autre prédit, le reste non plus ne tombera pas dans le néant, mais deviendra réalité. Car Léon le Sage écrit : *le peuple des Blonds vaincra tout Ismael, et il prendra la ville des Sept collines, et il y règnera . . .*

No ubo da razuměši, okajanne ašče vsja prežerečennaja. Mefodijem Pataromskim i Lvom Premudrym i znamenija o gradě sem sveršisjasja, to i poslednjaja ne preidut, no takože sveršitisja imut. Pišet bo : rusn že rod s prežde sozdatel'nyimi vsego Izmaila pobědjat i Sedmocholmogo primut . . . i v nem vcarjatsja.

Rusii že rod . . . vsego Izmaila pobědjat . . . Le peuple "Roux" ou des "Blonds", ce sont les Russes. L'anthropologie et la phonétique sont d'accord pour en convaincre l'auteur, et tous ses lecteurs avec lui : τὸ ξανθὸν γένος, *Rusii rod, Russkij rod*. Il y a loin de la *Zađonščina*, ce péan plus dolent que victorieux, de Sofonij de Rjazan', à la *Prise de Constantinople* de Nestor-Iskinder, amplifiée, réécrite et surtout repensée par un moine lettré de Moscovie. Le sentiment russe a grandi durant le XVe siècle, en même temps qu'Ivan-le-Grand (Ivan III) accomplissait patiemment son œuvre de rassemblement des terres russes et achevait de libérer la Moscovie de la menace tatare. L'imagination des moines, artisans en cellule du patriotisme russe, s'est exaltée au fond des monastères. Le metteur en œuvre du mémorial de Nestor-Iskinder évoque déjà le peuple russe dominant la ville des Sept Collines. N'avons-nous pas quelque raison de dater son travail de l'époque où Ivan, le premier Terrible et le premier aussi à essayer son titre nouveau de *tsar* dans ses relations avec les Livoniens, avait épousé une princesse byzantine, Sophie Paléologue, et accueillait à sa cour nombre de Grecs

distingués, tels que Théodore Lascaris, Dimitri Ralo, Dimitri Trakhaniotès ?

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Nous sommes déjà presque au seuil de ce XVI^e siècle, qui apportera à Moscou, dans le *Chronographe* de 1512 et dans les lettres du moine Philothée, la doctrine de Moscou, héritière de Byzance et prenant la succession de Constantinople : Moscou la *Troisième Rome*. Le *Chronographe* de 1512 offre, comme l'on sait, la traduction slavon-bulgare de Manassès, contenant les fameux vers 2546 et suivants sur la chute de l'ancienne Rome et l'avènement de la nouvelle Constantinople, avec son empereur Manuel Comnène. Le traducteur bulgare, vers le milieu du XIV^e siècle, les avait discrètement retouchés en léguant à Tirnovo l'héritage de Rome et en substituant au nom de l'empereur grec celui de l'empereur des Bulgares Assèn Alexandre. Le rédacteur russe du *Chronographe* de 1512 va corriger le texte à son tour en écrivant hardiment sans nul souci de l'original grec :

Voilà ce qu'il est advenu à l'ancienne Rome. Mais notre nouvelle Constantinople (notre nouveau Tsargrad, notre nouvelle Ville Impériale) grandit, elle prend de la force, elle a l'ardeur de la jeunesse. Puisse-t-elle grandir sans fin. Eh, notre tsar, règne sur tous (*Ej, Carju, vsëmi carstvuj*).

Et un peu plus loin :

Notre terre russe, par la grâce de Dieu et les prières de la Vierge et de tous les saints thaumaturges grandit, s'épanouit dans sa jeunesse et s'élève. O Christ généreux, permets qu'elle grandisse et s'épanouisse en sa jeunesse et gagne en étendue jusqu'à la fin des siècles (*Ej že, Christie, milostivyj, daj rasti i mladěti i razširjati sja i do skončanja vėka !*).

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C'est vers la même époque qu'un auteur inconnu, mais à coup sûr originaire de Rjazan', rappelle l'histoire, depuis bien longtemps oubliée, du sac de Rjazan' par les Tatars en 1237 : *Povešt' o razorenii Rjazani Batyem*. Cet écrivain n'est pas sans talent, à en juger du moins par la rédaction du texte qu'a publié Sreznevskij dans des conditions malheureusement un peu troubles, suivant une méthode de fusion de divers manuscrits dont il faut bien dire qu'elle nous empêche de connaître le texte véritable. Tel pourtant qu'il nous est donné, le *Sac de Rjazan'* n'est pas moins intéressant pour l'historien de la littérature que pour l'historien tout court.

Il nous apporte peu, à dire vrai, il ne nous apporte presque rien que des traditions légendaires sur l'événement même et la première moitié du XIII^e siècle : les princes de Rjazan' qu'il mentionne ne

figurent pas dans les généalogies, les précisions qu'il offre sur l'invasion de la région et sur le sac de la ville sont étrangères aux *Chroniques*. Le silence a longtemps régné sur ce chapitre de l'avance et de l'occupation tatares, peut-être un silence voulu des chroniqueurs, celui que l'on observe sur des événements se passant en terre étrangère ou, à plus forte raison, en terre ennemie; la principauté de Rjazan' a longtemps été la rivale de Moscou et parfois la complice des envahisseurs.

Mais la relation du sac de Rjazan' contribue à éclairer notre connaissance du XVe siècle. Elle n'a pu être composée qu'à une époque où la politique des princes de Rjazan' était entrée dans le giron russe au sens large du mot, on n'ose dire dans le giron moscovite, car le texte ne contient aucune allusion au grand-prince de Moscou. L'auteur s'est proposé, à n'en pas douter, de rappeler la grandeur de sa ville, de réhabiliter la bravoure de ses princes et de leurs gens, ceux qu'il appelle en style de byline : *udal'cy i rězvecy uzoročie i vospitanie rezanskoe* "les gars hardis, les vifs gaillards, fleur et fierté du pays de Rjazan'."

Il a fallu Kulikovo, il a fallu surtout, un siècle plus tard, la politique patiente et victorieuse d'Ivan le Grand pour rendre nécessaire cette réhabilitation des gens de Rjazan'. La logique seule nous eût amenés à reporter l'œuvre à la seconde moitié du XVe siècle. Mais le texte même confirme notre hypothèse : le *Sac de Rjazan'* accuse plusieurs emprunts au *Skazanie* de Nestor-Iskinder. Si donc le *Skazanie* est au plus tôt, comme nous l'avons admis, de l'année 1472, ou plus vraisemblablement, des années 80 ou 90 du XVe siècle, c'est-à-dire d'après la retraite définitive des Tatars, le *Sac de Rjazan'* peut être rattaché en toute certitude à la fin de ce même XVe siècle. Il atteste ainsi l'apogée de la puissance moscovite en même temps que la fortune littéraire de la *Prise de Constantinople*.

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Cette fin du XVe siècle a marqué d'une empreinte d'assurance et de fierté les écrits des lettrés. Elle a du même coup comme rajeuni la foi des chroniqueurs et rajeuni l'histoire dont ils étaient les rédacteurs. A la lumière nouvelle de la politique victorieuse d'Ivan III le Grand, la bataille de Kulikovo a pris sa véritable signification historique : elle est devenue le premier "temps" de la grande victoire qui a abouti, un siècle plus tard, à l'expulsion définitive des Tatars.

La *Zadonščina* primitive avait traité avec simplicité et une sobre brièveté un grand sujet sur lequel tout n'avait pas été dit. L'épanouissement de la puissance moscovite exigeait une relation

plus abondante et plus victorieuse. Deux manuscrits du Musée historique, étudiés par M. Jan Frček, l'un et l'autre du XVI^e siècle, un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque du Synode et un quatrième de la collection Undol'skij nous attestent qu'un auteur inconnu n'avait pas tardé, peut-être dès le début du siècle, à reprendre le texte ancien pour en amplifier notablement la rédaction et y ajouter une seconde partie : l'appendice consolateur attendu par les moines patriotes. Il y décrivait la victoire des Russes, évoquait la défaite et la fuite de Mamai et exaltait la grandeur de Moscou avec l'assurance et la fierté provoquante d'un contemporain d'Ivan III, sinon même d'Ivan IV

Déjà le miracle est sur terre, déjà les menaces du Grand Prince se répandent par toutes les terres 'Tire, lance tes traits, Grand Prince, tire, lance tes traits par toutes les terres' (*uže grozy velikago knjazja po vsém zemljam tekut. streljaj, kniaz' velikij, po vsem zemljam streljaj*).

Cette refonte est laborieuse, lourde de redites et d'un mouvement banal, mais elle demeure curieuse pourtant par le reflet qu'elle apporte d'un moment historique nouveau. Le seul du XVI^e siècle est franchi. L'auteur de la *Zadonščina* secondaire a le recul nécessaire pour mesurer la grandeur de la bataille de Kulikovo, et le triomphe de Moscou est plus évident pour lui qu'il ne l'était, un siècle environ auparavant, pour Sofonij, le *starec* de Rjazan'. La victoire de Kulikovo est ainsi comme une victoire à retardement : la *Zadonščina* secondaire la trasmet à la postérité, comme aussi bien cette relation plus longue et de caractère moins poétique qui a été rédigée à la même époque, le *Dit de la tuerie de Mamai* (*Skazanie o Mamaevom poboiščě*). Ces deux textes, médiocres l'un et l'autre, seront maintes fois copiés et circuleront jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e siècle ; l'évêque de Kiev, Gizel', reproduira une version de *Skazanie* dans sa *Synopsis*, le premier essai d'histoire russe que l'Académie des Sciences de Russie prendra soin de réimprimer dans la seconde partie du XVIII^e siècle.

D'autres récits de guerre apparaissent à l'horizon, celui de la *Lamentation sur la ruine de l'État moscovite de 1612*, ceux des deux sièges d'Azov de 1637 et de 1641 et surtout l'*Histoire du tsarat de Kazan*, qui date encore, elle, de la fin du XVI^e siècle, et où l'on peut reconnaître, avec A. S. Orlov, l'épanouissement du genre littéraire que nous avons étudié aujourd'hui pour la période du XV^e siècle. C'est cette période à laquelle nous nous sommes volontairement limités, parce qu'elle a été celle de grandes transformations politiques, celle du triomphe de Moscou et celle aussi, semble-t-il, où la chanson

historique et la byline ont eu une belle floraison, la chanson historique et la byline, l'une et l'autre proches du récit de guerre. Mais la chanson historique et la byline ne nous sont connues que par des textes notés au plus tôt à la fin du XVII^e siècle, et que nous n'avons pas le droit, en bonne méthode, de reporter avec certitude, sous la forme que nous leur connaissons, à une époque antérieure. Nous ne pouvons que supposer, en toute vraisemblance, que leurs racines plongent dans le XV^e siècle, que leurs rédactions primitives sont de cette époque. Et nous avons là une raison de plus de considérer le XV^e siècle comme l'un des plus intéressants dans l'histoire de la littérature russe et la *voinskaja povest'* comme un genre littéraire qui nous éclaire à la fois la grandeur de la byline et la formation (*zaroždenie*) du sentiment national qui est la force du peuple russe aujourd'hui comme il y a 500 ans.

ANDRÉ MAZON.

NOTE. Students may like to be referred to an article by Nevill Forbes entitled, "The Composition of the Earlier Russian Chronicles," in No. 1 of this Review (June 1922).

ANGLO-RUSSIAN TRADE IN THE 16th CENTURY

IN the middle of the 16th century a strong movement towards the discovery of new countries and new trade routes manifested itself in England: English merchants in their rivalry with the Spanish and Portuguese tried to discover a new North-Eastern passage to the Pacific. They did not discover this passage, but at the north-east end of Europe they discovered an unknown country, which was found to be the State of Muscovy. Despite an unfortunate beginning, a lively commercial intercourse developed between England and the Moscow State. A Mosco Company of English merchants was formed (The Moscovie Company of the Merchants Adventurers) to which we owe a great number of notes, giving information about the Moscow State of the 16th century, to be found in the first volume of Hakluyt's *Collection*. They contain the reports of the English ambassadors, who went to Moscow in the affairs of the company, letters and other business correspondence of the company's agents. The contents and the character of these descriptions and papers is determined by the practical aims the writers had in view.

Here we have fairly rich materials for the geography of the Moscow State, more especially its northern parts, for the history of commerce and industry, and generally the economic conditions prevailing in that country. The commercial contents of those papers are reflected in their style, differing very noticeably from all the other foreign reports on Muscovy: indulging very little in general reflections about the peculiarities of the country and its inhabitants, the ambassadors and agents report in their hastily written, and mostly short, letters and despatches almost exclusively bare and dry facts and observations. Yet as regards their reliability and wealth of details those notes rank among the best foreign works on the Moscow State. So far the Russian historian Klyuchevsky.¹ His authoritative opinion dispenses one from apologising for basing this chapter on Anglo-Russian relations, at least during the second half of the century when they began, mainly, if not exclusively, on the Hakluyt *Collection*. Another Russian scholar, Miss Inna Lubimenko, has covered the field for the whole period before Peter the Great and Queen Anne in a series of articles published in English

¹ *Skazanya Inostrantsev o moskovskom gosudarstve*, Ed. 1916, pp. 17-18. (What the foreigners told about the Moscow State)

periodicals; and in a French monograph she has given, as late as 1933, an exhaustive narrative of commercial and political Anglo-Russian relations.² In one or two points the views expressed by her seem disputable, perhaps for the simple reason that a good many sources have not been accessible to the present writer.

Anyone, who, like the present writer, has read carefully 230 pages of the first volume, and as many in the second volume of the *Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation* by Richard Hakluyt, in the Everyman's Library edition of 1925, will be glad to make also a discovery on p. 264 of the second volume. Here he will have found a guiding star through the maze of details—a "letter of M. Henrie Lane—to the worshipfull M. William Sanderson, containing a briefe discourse of that which passed in the Northeast discovery for the space of thirte and three yeres." Most of this letter deserves quotation, since the writer had a first-hand knowledge of his subject, which none of the students of later times can ever obtain. Of course we must first of all be able to identify Henry Lane, and also know whether his addressee was a man entitled to expect a frank and correct report. After a very close examination³ they will be surprised at finding no mention of the letter in question either in the late Klyuchevsky's work or in Miss Lubimenko's monograph, although other utterances of Lane are mentioned by them. Lane wrote from St. Margaret's near Dartforth in Kent (II, 269), but no date is mentioned. Thirty-three years from 1553 would take us to 1586, yet Hakluyt who has followed a chronological order places the letter between two documents, the one of 1583 and the other of 1584.

The addressee of Lane's letter, W. Sanderson, was one of the important, not very numerous, City *élite*, who as chief investors

² Lubimenko, Inna, "Anglo-Russian Relations during the first English Revolution," *Roy Hist Soc Trans*, 4th ser., vol. XI, 1928. "The Correspondence of the first Stuarts with the first Romanovs," *ibid.*, 1918, vol. I. "The Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth with the Russian Tsars," *American Hist. Review*, April, 1914. "England's Part in the Discovery of Russia," *Slavonic Review*, Febr., 1914. "Les Étrangers en Russie avant Pierre le Grand," *Revue d'Études Slaves*, IV, 1924. "The First Relations of England with Russia," *Russian Review*, Febr., 1914. "Istoriya Torgovyykh Snosheniy Rossi s Angliyei," vol. I. XVIIIth Century Publication of the Ministry of Commerce, Yuriev, 1912, and ten more articles in Russian, French and English by the same writer all on the different phases of the same subject. Her French monograph was published in the *Bibliothèque de L'École des Hautes Études*. 261ème fascicule, *Les Relations Commerciales et Politiques de L'Angleterre avec la Russie avant Pierre le Grand*, Paris, 1933, pp. xx and 310.

³ Lane, Henry, "And because we doe perceive the Countrey to be large, and that you have three households, we doe appoint Henry Lane to be one of our Agents . . . and to have like authoritie and power as you George Killingworth and Richard Gray have," I, 384. Other references. I, 308, 385, 386, 391, 397, 399, 405, II, 77. Letter to R. Hakluyt, II, 135, and 264-69 the Letter mentioned in the text.

controlled the various companies engaged in foreign trade ; and in some countries of the Levant, Turkey, and among others also Russia and Persia, diplomatic action was to a large extent tightly riveted to the interests of the Companies. The Companies bore most of the expenses and furnished the personnel—primarily business men with the experience and information derived from trading in the particular region of the globe, deserving careful treatment, in order to become or to be preserved as a market. William Sanderson belonged to that class of people who, for some reason or other, at the date of the letter—say 1586–1587, must have turned to Henry Lane for information as regards the position of the Moscow Company.⁴ Miss Lubimenko tells us (p. 89, *Les Relations* etc.) that the period 1566–1581 must be considered as the apex in the Company's life. In 1574 the Earl of Leicester, a member, (not, however, a business man) wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury, that if he had £10,000 in his pocket he would spend the last penny in the business of the Moscow Company. Business men among my readers will best judge of the importance of a survey like the one offered in Henry Lane's letter, keeping in mind the deceptiveness of the profit figures declared by the Company in the course of its difficult career. That the Company had to pay 12 per cent. on borrowed money need not be regarded as a recommendation, a point, by the way, not touched upon in the letter, which the writer himself calls "rough hewing," leaving to others the planing of it at their leisure, "or as pleaseth him that shall take the paines" Lane has drawn out from his own letters, perused in London, the following account "to content one that meaneth to pleasure many."

First the honorable attempt to discover by sea Northeast and Northwest named for Cathay, being chiefly procured by privilege from king Edward the sixt, and other his nobility, by and at the cost and sutee of M. Sebastian Cabota, the governor for discoveries with sir Andrew Judde, sir George Barnes, sir William Garrad, M. Anthony Hussie, and a companie of merchants, was in the last yeare of his Majesties reigne 1553.

The privilege here referred to was not signed by Edward VI because of his death shortly after the departure of the three ill-equipped ships. But the family privilege of the Cabots, granted to Sebastian's father in 1495 by Henry VII, was sufficient to start the enterprise—it is true, with the obligation to pay "one fifth of the capitall gains gotten," expenses being deducted but also with monopoly so dear to the Companies that "the lands by them found may

⁴ William Sanderson is mentioned several times in the Hakluyt Collection

not of any others of our subjects be frequented or visited without licence of the foresaid John and his sonnes and their deputies under pain of forfeiture as well of the shippes as of all goods of all them that shall presume to saile to those places so found" (V, 84). The position of Sebastian Cabot was a prominent one. In 1549 he was constituted Grand Pilot of England (V, 91).

The generall charge [of the first expedition], was committed to one sir Hugh Willoughbie Knight . . . with sufficient number of pilots, Maisters, Merchants and Mariners, having three shippes, well furnished, to wit, *The Bona Speranza*, *The Edward Bonaventure*, and the *Confidentia*

"Clement Adams, schoolemaster to the Queenes henchmen," in his narrative as he received it at the mouth of Richard Chancellor writes (I, 266) "But in this action, I wote not whether I may more admire the care of the Merchants, or the diligence of the Shipwrights . . . for the Merchants they were very seasoned planks . . . for the Shipwrights . . . they calke them, pitch them . . . make one most staunch and firm by an ingenious invention. For they had heard that in certain parts of the Ocean, a kinde of worm is bredde, which many times pearceth and eateth through the strongest oake . . . therefore they cover a peece of the keele . . . with thin leade." "The shippes were victualled for 18 months. But . . . Richard Chancellor of the *Edward Bonaventure*, was not a little grieved with the fear of wanting victuals, part whereof were found to be corrupt and putrified at Harwich, and the hoggesheads of wine also leaked," (I, 272).

The *Edward Bonaventure*, Richard Chancellor being Pilot, and Stephen Burrough Maister, having discovered Wardhouse upon the coast of Finmark, by storme or fogge departed from the rest, found the S. Nicholas now the chiefe port for Russia, there wintred in safetie, and had ayde of the people of a village called Newnox.

The native population at first was frightened by the appearance of the foreigners in their ships. Three years later, Stephan Burrough on the *Searchthrift*, exploring farther east towards the river Ob, among the things worth noting was assisted and supplied with victuals in a most generous degree by Russian fishers. One can't help wondering whether the same could have happened in the years 1920 to 1940. He was presented with "six ringes of bread which they call Colache (probably Kalachi), four dried pykes and a packe of oatmeale . . . (in return) I gave . . . a combe and small glasse." The Master's name was Pheodor. They were fishing morse and

Salmon. A certain Gabriel "gave liberally of their white and wheaten bread" and "tarried for us foresaking their own company (I, 338-39). He also lent his anker, gave Aquavitæ and meade, and received thanks, whereupon one Kerill (Cyril) quarelled with him declaring 'his father was a gentleman . . . and Gabriel but a priests sonne.'"

To go back to Henry Lane's letter to W. Sanderson, we read about the fate of the *Speranza* and *Confidentia*. The names proved adversely ominous.

Attempting further Northwards, (as appeared by pamphlets found after written by Sir Hugh Willoughbie). They were in September encountered with such extreme colde, that they put backe to seeke a wintring place and missing the saide baye fell upon a desert coast in Lappia, entring into a river immediately frozen up, since discovered, named Arzina Reca, distant East from a Russian Monastery of Monkes, called Pechingho, from whence they never returned, but all to the number of 70 persons perished, which was for want of experience to have made caves and stoves. These were found the next summer Anno 1554 by Russe fishermen: and in Anno 1555 the place sent unto by English Merchants . . .

Anno 1554 the sayd shippe *Edward Bonaventure* (although robbed homewardest by Flemings) returned with her company to London, shewing and setting forth their entertainments and discovery of the countreys even to the citie of Mosco, from whence they brought a privilege written in Russe with the Kings or great Dukes seale . . .

The privilege mentioned remains a controversial matter. However, the legal basis of the Company's activities will have to be summarised later. Both English and Russian governmental treatment of the Company never conformed entirely to the Company's satisfaction with the aspiration for an exclusive monopoly. In none of the documents is the monopoly so wide and comprehensive as to impose upon *all* Englishmen in Russia the jurisdiction of the Company. Hamel, a Russian scholar, wrote in 1865, and Miss Lubimenko accepts his conclusion, that the Russian privilege of 1555, not extant in the original, but cited by Hakluyt (I, 313, 318) is merely a draft worded by the Company. The contents of the document cited by Hakluyt, even when compared with the widest privileges granted later by the Russian Tsars, lack the plausibility claimed for them by Miss Lubimenko (*Relations*, p. 32). Yet we are unable to assert that Henry Lane, when mentioning the first Russian privilege, had any other document in mind than the one cited by Hakluyt. Lane knew Russian—he acted as interpreter to

the Russian Ambassador in London in 1566—furthermore he knew Hakluyt and probably knew of his preparing the *Collection*; and after all the most extravagant claims of the Company during the honeymoon of Anglo-Russian relations might have been sanctioned by Ivan the Terrible, who was simply thrilled by the appearance of the English. But the authenticity of the document, to which a reference is made by the same Henry Lane in 1560 in a report *On the manner of Justice by lots in Russia*, at a date when no other privilege was granted remains doubtful or dubious. The passage is worth quoting

After the coming home into Russia . . . I remaining the Agent there, sundrie Russian marchants . . . obtained letters from the Emperor to freight goods and pass in our ships for England . which thing upon good consideration I answered and refused. They were then driven to credite us and compound in value until next return. At which time, notwithstanding good account in the value of 600 robes, there grewe question by their double demand. So in April 1560, before my coming to Moscovia, they obtained trial by combat or letter to have their summe double, or as I proffered 600 robes. For combat I provided of a strong willing Englishman, Robert Best,⁵ one of the Company's servants: whom the Russes with their Champion refused. *So that we had the words of our privilege put in effect, which were to draw lots.* [The privilege of 1555 (I, 313) has no words to that effect !]

The description that follows is of interest.

The day and maner of triall appointed by the Emperor at his castle in his palace and high court of Moscovia was thus. The Emperour's two Treasurers, being also Chancellors and chief Judges, sate in court. They appointed officers to bring me, mine interpreter, & the other, through the great presse within the rail or barre, and permitted me to sit downe some distance from them: the adverse party being without at the barre. Both parties were first perswaded with great curtesie to mitigate their challenge, to wit, I to enlarge mine offer, and the Russes to mitigate their challenge. Notwithstanding that I protested my conscience to be cleere . . . yet of gentlenes at the magistrates request I made proffer of 100 robes more: which was openly commended, but of the plaintiffs not accepted. Then sentence was passed with our ~~names~~ in two equal balles of waxe made and holden up by the Judges, their sleeves stripped up. Then with standing up and wishing well to the truth attributed to him that should first drawen, by both consents among the multitude they called a tall gentleman, saying: Thou with such a

⁵ Robert Best, who went with Killingworth to Moscow (I, 308), was sworn interpreter in London when the Russian Ambassador stated the damage done by the Scots to the presents for the Queen (1566), I, 366.

coat or cap, come up where room with speed was made. He was commanded to hold this cape, wherein they put the balles, by the crown upright in sight, his arme not abasing. With like circumspection they called another tall gentleman, commanding him to strip up his right sleeve, and willed him with his bare arme to reach up, and in God's name severally to take out the two balles. which he did delivering to either judge one. Then with great admiration the lotte in ball first taken out was mine: which was by open sentence so pronounced before all the people, and to be the right and true parte. The chiefe plaintiffes name was Sheray Costromitsky. I was willed forthwith to pay the plaintifes the summe by me appointed. Out of which for their wrong, or sinne, as it was termed, they payd tenne in the hundred, to the Emperor. Many dayes after, as their maner is, the people took our nation to be true and upright dealers, and talked of this judgment to our great credite (I, 405-8).

The story is well told, but the mystery about the 1555 Russian privilege is not solved. From a report of George Killingworth of 27 November, 1555, the origin and the difficulties of securing the correct text of the privileges, by keeping a copy (I, 309) is made quite clear. It amounts to this:

"we were by divers Italians counselled to take heed whom we did trust to make the cotype of the privileges *that we would desire to have*, for feare it should not be written in the Russian tongue, as we did meane."

The following lines also throw light on a procedure which must have differed little from what was being done in other countries, say in Persia and in the Levant. The point was to get the respective sovereign to sign a "strong" privilege.

"So first a Russian did write for us a breviat to the Emperor, the tenor thereof was, that we did desire a stronger privilege: (Was the supposed and undiscoverable privilege of 1555 not eventually 'weaker' than the one printed by Hakluyt?) and when the Secretary saw it, he did deliver it to his grace, and when we came again his grace willed us to write our minds, and he would see it, and so we did. And his grace is so troubled with preparations to warres, that as yet we have no answer . . ."

Any seeker for a concession in the Moscow of Lenin will find the passage painfully familiar.

However, the privilege of 1555, found in the Hakluyt *Collection*, a very "strong" privilege indeed, and with no mention of the

judicial procedure by lot, must not have been the one sanctioned by Ivan the Terrible in 1555. Thus our predilection for Lane must not go so far as to prefer the Lane of 1586 or 1588 to the Lane of 1560.

Before citing the subsequent passages of interest in the Lane letter to Sanderson, the reasons for the London merchants for searching for the Northern route to Cathay and India must be restated, as well as their insistence to take up the trade with Russia with all its risks. First the trade to the Levant after 1550, so Hakluyt tells us (V, p. 50) was in abeyance for about twenty years. Sebastian Cabot's idea to try the Northern route answered the case. Hakluyt writes that from 1511 till 1534 and after until 1550, when Bodenham made a prosperous voyage to Sicily, Sira and other places, since which time the aforesaid, "commodious trade to the Levant (notwithstanding the Grand Signor's ample privileges granted to Anthony Jenkinson in 1533 and strong reasons of Gaspar Campion for that purpose) was utterly discontinued for twenty years. Another point of importance must have been the attitude of the London "Steel Yard"—place, where the merchants of Almaine that used to bring hither rye, wheat, and other grain" with cables, rope, masts, pitch, tar and other merchandise. (Introduction to vol. IX, by Ernst Rhys.) Some of the goods mentioned were precisely the ones obtainable in Muscovy, without numerous middlemen. This applies also to train oil, provided by the French-Canadian fleet from St. Malo. This information refers to a later year 1591, when the Russian source was temporarily, at least, obstructed by misunderstandings, Sir Jerome Horsey not being *persona grata* (Lubimenko, *Relations*, p. 71). It was therefore of interest to note that the French-Canadian fleet took 1500 morses, or sea-oxen, and brought home 40 tons of train. Cunningham, calling the 1553 expedition to the White Sea one of the principal events of the 16th century —(perhaps Drake's exploits were dependent on Russian ropes and masts and pitch)—simply says (*Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, 1, 1907) "Foiled in the west, the English merchants, who complained of a depression, turned their attention to a suggestion of Sebastian Cabot" (*loc. cit.*, 505).

A more detailed account of England's almost complete political isolation and acute financial and economic difficulties after the death of Henry VIII is given in the Introduction to *Calendar of State Papers*, Edward VI, 1547-1553. "The credit of England was on the wane." In addition to many other difficulties, the Scottish fleet was causing damage to England's trade.

An entry on page 241 (613) has a direct bearing on our subject.

Ivan Vasalovich, Emperor of Russia to king Edward VI (on the margin · Febr. 2, Castle of Moscow.) In accordance with his Majesty's request conveyed by one Richard (Chancellor ?) and his company, the Emperor permits the English merchants to have free market within his dominions. Orders have been given that if Hugh Willoughby shall land or touch the said dominions he shall be well entertained. Will be glad to receive on of his Majesty's Council to treat with and settle commercial intercourse between the two countries. [copy, translation]

There can be no doubt that the document here mentioned is the letter mentioned by Hakluyt (I, 293) "sent to Edward VI by the hands of Richard Chancellor" The contents and date correspond exactly with the entry.

Having mentioned the return of Chancellor to England with the undiscoverable privilege of 1554, Lane continues—(henceforth we shall transcribe his text in modern spelling, having given the reader sufficient matter in 16th-century orthography :

Anno 1555 (II, 265) the said company of Merchants for discovery upon a new supply, sent thither again with two ships to wit, the *Edward Bonaventure*, and another bearing the name of the King and Queen, *Philip and Mary*, whose Majesties by their letters to the said Moscovite, recommended sundry their subjects then passing, whereof certain, to wit, Richard Chancellor, Henry Lane, and G. Killingworth, after their arrival at the Bay, and passing up Dvina, to Vologda, went first up to Moscow, where, upon knowledge of the said letters, they with their train had special entertainment, with houses and diet appointed, and shortly permitted to the Prince's presence . . . They entered sundry rooms, furnished in show, with ancient grave personages, all in long garments of sundry colours, golde, tissue, baldekin, and violet, as our vestments and copes have been in England. . . . These were found to be no courtiers, but ancient Moscovites, inhabitants, and other their merchants . . . furnished thus from the wardrobe and Treasury, waiting and wearing this apparel for the time and so to restore it.

Then entering into the presence, being a large room . . . where men of more estate, and richer show, in number above a hundred set square : who after the said Englishmen came in, doing reverence, they all stood up, the prince only sitting, and yet rising at any occasion, when our King's and Queen's name were read or spoken. Then after speeches by interpretation, our men kissing his hand, and bidden to dinner, were stayed in another room, and at dinner brought through, where might be seen massy silver and gilt plate, some like and as big as kilderkins and wash-bowles . . . the prince was seated bareheaded, his crown and rich cap upon a pinnacle by. Not far distant sat his Metropolitan, with divers other of his kindred . . . there was for the Englishmen, named by the Russes, Ghost Karabelski, to wit, strangers or merchants by ship, a table

in the midst of the room where they were set direct against the prince : and then began the service . . . and still from the Princes table . . . they had his whole messes set over all in massy fine gold, delivered every time from him by name to them by their several christian names, as they sat, viz, Richard, George, Henry, Arthur. Likewise bread, sundry drinkes of purified mead made of fine, white and clarified honey. At their rising, the Prince called them to the table, to receive each one a cup from his hand to drink, and took into his hand master George Killingworths beard, which reached over the table, and pleasantly delivered it to the Metropolitan, who seeming to bless it, said in Russe, this is God's gift. As indeed at that time it was not only thick, broad and yellow coloured, but in length five foot and two inches of assize. . . .

This year the two ships, with the dead bodies of Sir Hugh Willoughby, and his people, were sent unto by master Killingworth (which remained there in Moscow Agent almost two years) and much of the goods and victuals were recovered and saved.

This summary of the second expedition would probably have culminated in the grant by Ivan of the exorbitant privilege quoted by Hakluyt (I, 313) as the "first privilege granted by the Emperor of Russia to the English Marchants in the year 1555," if such had been the result of the this second expedition. Henry Lane, immediately after the words "recovered and saved," passes to the third voyage :

Anno 1556. The company sent two ships for Russia, with extraordinary masters and sailors to bring home the two ships, which were frozen in Lappia, in the river Arzina aforesaid. The two ships sent this year from England . . . tooke in lading with passengers, to wit, a Russe ambassador, named Joseph Napea, and some of his men shipped with Richard Chancellor in the *Edward*. But so it fell out that the two which came from Lappia with all their new masters and mariners, never were heard of, but in foul weather . . . after their two years wintring in Lapland, became as is supposed, unstanck, and sunke, wherein were drowned also divers Russe merchants, and servants of the ambassdor. A third ship, the *Edward*, aforesaid, falling on the North part of Scotland upon a rock, was also lost, and Master Chancellor, with divers other, drowned. The said Russe ambassador hardly escaping, with other his men, mariners and some goods saved, were sent for into Scotland, from the King, Queen and Merchants (the messenger being M. Doctor Laurence Hussie, and others) And then as in the Chronicles appeares, honorably entertained and received at London.

The third voyage cannot be described as a gainful enterprise. Lane continues :

This year also the company furnished and sent out a pinnesse named

Searchthrift, to discover the harborowes in the Northcoast from Norway to Wardhouse, and so to the Bay of S. Nicholas. There was in her Master and Pilot Stephen Burrough, with his brother William, and eight other. Their discovery was beyond the Bay, towards the Samoyeds, people dwelling near the river Ob, and found a sound or sea with an Island called Vaigats, first by them put into the Card or Map. In that place they threw snow out of their said pinesse, with shovels in August . . . they came back to Russia and wintered in Colmogoro.

This short paragraph refers to the discovery of the North Cape by Burrough. The commercial result was again negative.

Anno 1557. The company with four good ships, sent back the said Russe ambassador, and in company with him, sent as an Agent, for further discovery, Master Anthony Jenkinson, who afterwards anno 1558, with great favour of the prince of Moscovia, and his letters passed the river Volga to Cazan, and meaning to seek Cathay by land, was by many troops and companies of uncivil Tartarians encountered, and in danger but keeping company with merachants of Bactria or Boghar, and Urgeme, travelling with Camels, he with his company went to Boghar (Bochara) and no further whoes entertainment of the king is to be had of Master Jenkinson, which returned anno 1559 to Moscovie And in 1560 he with Henry Lane came home into England: which year was the first safe return, without loss or shipwreck, and dead freight or burnings.

Anthony Jenkinson who in 1553 had shown his talents as a negotiator at the court of Solyman (IV, 36), obtained in 1567 from Ivan the Terrible what is considered to have been the widest privilege for the Company, this time in his capacity as Elizabeth's ambassador. He is one of the outstanding figures in the conduct of the commercial and diplomatic affairs between the two countries, and an instance of the close connection between diplomacy and commercial interests—the latter being at that time the driving factor. His account of Ivan the Terrible's country, court, and personality, forms part of his report covering the years 1557 to 1560, in all about sixty pages in the Everyman's Edition of Hakluyt's *Voyages* and is of great interest (I, 408–66). There is also a letter to Henry Lane showing Jenkinson's appreciation of the latter (I, 398), since he thus explains his intention to return to England: "my services shall not be needful here, for that you are a man able to serve their worships—i.e. the Company—in greater affairs than they have here to do, so far as I perceive." The word "here" refers to Moscow. Lane at the time was resident in Vologda, whereto most of the goods were directed from various parts of northern Russia, whereas Moscow at the time was quiet. "Having little business here to do, I send

you Richard Johnson to help you there (in Vologda) in your affairs (September 1559) (I, 397). The next year, 1561, Jenkinson was able to establish closer contact with the Emperor of Moscovia.

Lane returned with Jenkinson home in 1560 safely.

At this Time (he continues), was the first traffick to Narve in Livonia (Livonia of those times), which confines with Lithuania and all the dominions of Russia and the markets, fairs, commodities, great towns and rivers were sent unto by divers servants. The reports were taken by Henry Lane, Agent, and delivered, to the company, 1561. The trade to Rie (Riga) and Reval of old time had been long since frequented by our English nation, but this trade to Narve was hitherto concealed from us by the Danskers and Lubeckers (II, 268).

The trade with Russia via Narva was an open wound in the Company's system, tending towards an "exclusive" privilege. There were not only foreign, west-European, interests opposed to an infiltration of English shipping, but also the ancient well-organised interests of the Russian Market connected with Novgorod and Pskov. Here, the wider the circle of competing foreign traders, the better for the indigenous trading circles, and also for the newly-established controlling power of Moscow, eager to have the custom revenue, which privileged English traders were not ready to increase. The matter was a complicated one, as one can see from a note from William Burrough dissuading from carrying on the trade to Narva through Sweden (II, 166), though the "grosse wares," flax, hempe, waxe, tallow and hides "were badly needed" by England's shipping, mercantile and other. Narva was in Russian hands for a comparatively short time.

Anno 1561 [Lane continues] the said Master A. Jenkinson went Agent into Russia, who the next year after, passing the river Volga to Astrakhan, and over the Caspian sea, arrived in Persia, and opened the trade thither.

Yes, indeed, this was again an outstanding feat, yet was the game worth the candle? The trade route through the Mediterranean was in abeyance, at least for English ships. The alternative route discovered by Jenkinson was not destined to become a satisfactory substitute.

Also between the year 1568 and 1573, sundry voyages after Master Jenkinson's, were made by Thomas Alcock, Arthur Edwards, Master Thomas Bannister, and Master Geffrey Ducket, whose return (if spoyle near Volga had not prevented by roving thieves) had altogether salved and recovered the companys (called the old company's) great loss, charges, & damages: but the saying is true. By unity small things

grow great, & by contention great things become small. This may be understood best by the Company. The frowardness of some few, and evil doing of some unjust factors, was cause of much of the evil success.⁶

The last paragraph of the letter sounds as a farewell to a system that has served some purpose, which exactly remains undefined. The reader will have to read between the lines, as best he can.

While Russia was both interested in English imports and in an alliance, England, also in the person of her Sovereign, as Madame Lubimenko has well explained in every detail, was almost exclusively pursuing important economic advantages, and her spokesmen obtained what Hume has called an exclusive patent, or rather something approaching a monopoly of free trade into and out of Russia, at a time when such privileges were even more improbable than later. Such a privileged position the Company would not have obtained had not the political power, and more particularly Queen Elizabeth, countenanced the illusion of an alliance and an English marriage for the Russian Tsar. How long could such a foundation serve the economic scheme? Now we return to the last paragraph in Lane's letter.

Arthur Edwards (mentioned above) was sent again 1579, and died in the voyage at Astrakhan. About which matters, are to be remembered the voyages of Master Thomas Randolphe, Esquire, Ambassador anno 1567. And late of Sir Jerome Bowes, anno 1583, both tending and treating for further discoveries, freedoms and privileges, wherewith I meddle not. But in conclusion for their paines and adventures this way (as divers do now adays other ways)⁷ as worthy gentlemen sent from princes, to do their country good, I put them in your memory with my hearty farewell. From S. Mergaret, near Dartforth in Kent.
(II. 269). Yours Henry Lane.

Ivan the Terrible died in 1584. His successor revoked the privileges, which later were renewed in a restricted sense. He argued in a letter to the Queen in a way which Hume in his *History of England* described. "So much juster notions were entertained by this barbarian than appear in the conduct of the renowned Queen."

A. F. MEYENDORFF.

⁶ Does Lane contrast in this passage private endeavours to obtain commercial facilities with those applied by the official representatives of Princes?

⁷ (As divers do now adays other ways) Is the contrast between private endeavour and official representations meant?

ALEKSANDER BRÜCKNER

1856-1938

It is not an easy task to give a foreign reader a fair idea of Aleksander Brückner and for many reasons. First of all, this great scholar was one of the most prolific of Polish writers. His literary output was prodigious. His friends celebrated his seventieth birthday by publishing in Cracow a volume of essays dedicated to him. At the end of that volume there was a bibliography of his works, which contained more than twelve hundred items! Many of them were, of course, small communications or reviews of books: but the bibliography enumerated more than fifty separate books, some of them bulky; and this was by no means a complete list, because at 70 Brückner had not ceased writing. On the contrary, in his last years, there appeared some of his most important works—among them *An Etymological Dictionary of the Polish Language*, and his masterpiece, the three large volumes *A History of Polish Culture*.

The range of his scientific interests was also extremely wide. His favourite subject was older Polish literature but his literary works covered not only the whole field of Polish literature, they included Russian literature as well; and from time to time he made incursions into other Slavonic literatures of whose older phases he had a first-hand knowledge. He was also a linguist. His linguistic studies belong to the most controversial part of his work, but they are numerous. They cover the whole field of Slavonic and Baltic philology, though the greater part deal with the Polish language.

If one adds that he was keenly interested in Slavonic antiquities, especially in mythology, that he wrote a volume of studies on the Polish Reformers of the 16th century, that Lithuanian culture was not alien to him, that he was at home with the problems of Slavonic folklore, and that he was an indefatigable editor of old Polish texts, one gets an approximate idea of the range of his activity.

His tremendous vitality manifested itself not only in the bulk of his output but also in his peculiar style. He might publish his works anonymously, but after having read two or three sentences of his one could not fail to recognise the authorship. His style was sometimes confused, now and then even incorrect, but always highly personal. He himself was a personality.

As becomes a philologist, his biography is not rich in facts. Born in 1856 in Tarnopol in that part of Poland which belonged to Austria, he studied at Lwów, Vienna, Leipzig and Berlin. At the age of 24

he was appointed to the chair of Slavonic languages at the University of Berlin, and from that time onward he lived in Berlin up to his death in May, 1939. In his younger years he made scientific excursions to the chief Polish and St. Petersburg libraries, from which he derived his unparalleled knowledge of the manuscript sources of the history of ancient Polish literature. As he grew older, he no longer left Berlin so that he did not know the Poland of 1918-1939 from personal contact. Nevertheless, he was in intimate contact with Polish literary life, and every year he brought out more of his reviews, communications, articles and books. He wrote in German, particularly in his younger years, but nine-tenths of his literary production was in Polish. To us younger people, this grand old man, whose name we came across in so many Polish literary and philological periodicals, whose books we continually consulted, but whom we never met personally—unless we happened to go to Berlin—was indeed a legendary hero.¹

When Brückner started his work, the most representative people in the field of Slavonic philology were such scholars as F. K. Miklosich (1813-1891) and Vatroslav Jagić (1838-1923). Their chief interest was in language as known exclusively from literary monuments. The main emphasis was laid on ancient mediæval monuments, and on earlier phases of the history of language. Some years after Brückner began to write, there came into being a new linguistic school—the *Junggrammatiker*—which considered the spoken language to be the most valuable source of knowledge about linguistic facts, and elaborated far more subtle methods of linguistic investigation, especially in phonetics. Brückner could never come to an understanding with these people. Their methods, patient and full of precision, were completely alien to his vivacious temperament. From the point of view of methods, his linguistic papers are not edifying. They are confused in their presentation, arbitrary in the choice of details and arguments, always blurring the lines between a solidly established, generally accepted fact, and a risky hypothesis.

In spite of these obvious defects his linguistic papers are not without worth; indeed they are even at times of great value. Brückner had tremendous erudition at his disposal. Very often he pointed out data which had not been recorded till then, many unearthed by him for the first time. But the importance of his linguistic papers lies principally in the ingenuity with which he expounded them. His hypotheses may possibly be risky, but they

¹ One must distinguish him from another Alexander Brückner (1834-1896), a German historian of Russia, who wrote chiefly on Peter the Great and Catherine II.

are often fresh and ingenious ; and sometimes strike one like a revelation. For this reason, his papers are difficult to read : even a well-prepared reader may easily feel lost in a mass of facts, assembled without any strict method, stated carelessly and briefly, as if on the assumption that the reader knew all about the problem and that the author may, without preliminary explanation, pass on to those aspects of it which he finds interesting. Nevertheless these papers are always stimulating.

In addition it must be said that his attitude towards his own hypotheses was highly capricious ; he changed them often and easily. Sometimes they gave the impression that his habit was to put down every hypothesis that had come into his mind. When charged with inconsistency, he would reply angrily that " only a fool does not change his mind." But woe to the scholar who attacked his most recent hypothesis ! Then Brückner grew angry and obstinate and defended it—sometimes against obvious arguments—with extreme violence. His polemics were known for their vehemence. It may be mentioned as a curiosity that one of his polemics with Henryk Ułaszyn on the etymology of the Polish " pchła," Russian " błocha " (" flea ") led to a court case in Leipzig, in which Brückner was found guilty of offensive language. In his works there are many controversial passages often written in coarse terms. Frequently he does not mention his opponents by name ; but for people who knew the subject sufficiently well to take the hint, these allusions added a special piquancy to his work.

Not only questions of methods set Brückner at variance with the new school of linguists. Their aims also were different. Roughly speaking, the *Junggrammatiker* were interested in the mechanism of language and above all in its methods of functioning. For Brückner such knowledge was never an aim in itself, and he used to talk contemptuously of that sort of linguist as " a linguistic zoologist." The knowledge of language was for him rather a means to an end—a tool with the help of which he strove to get a better knowledge of old customs, old habits of thought, and old creeds. His chief interest was that of an historian of culture, who endeavours to trace as far back as possible, with the help of extensive linguistic data, the history of the culture of the Slavonic race, and especially of the Poles. Such aims led to the connection of his favourite field of investigation with the study of vocabulary and etymologies ; phonetic and morphologic problems interested him only incidentally. In the introduction to one of his books he contemptuously inveighed against the new linguists when he wrote that his book would give

"a short sketch of the development of our literary language . . . without asking how language in general originated, what are the exact phonetic values of its sounds, or what minute laws and petty rules may be deducted from different linguistic details."

The differences which divided Brückner and the "Cracow School" of Polish linguists (as the Polish *Junggrammatiker* were called) were brought vehemently to the fore in his discussion with them concerning the origin of the Polish literary language. According to Nitsch, one of the leading Polish linguists, some characteristics of contemporary Polish dialects reveal that literary Polish had its origin in *Polonia Major*, in the region of Poznań and Gniezno. The thesis which Nitsch put forward in 1910 was soon challenged by Brückner, who not only contested it with historical arguments (according to him Polish literary language had been formed in *Polonia Minor*, in the region of Cracow), but also propounded a general methodological problem: was it possible to answer with the help of contemporary linguistic evidence alone questions concerning ancient cultural history? On that point Brückner was extremely sceptical. The dispute flared up again in the late twenties.

Brückner's greatest linguistic work was his *Etymological Dictionary of the Polish Language*. It might be expected that the mechanical, yet strictly alphabetical, order of a "dictionary" would have imposed on Brückner a certain discipline in the arrangement of his material. Nothing of the kind! Naturally, all the key-words were arranged alphabetically; but while discussing the etymologies of these key-words, Brückner indulged in the wildest digressions. The book, to be really useful, is desperately in need of a good index. The lack of such an index explains, I think, the fact that, when published, the work was accorded—practically speaking—no serious review. It is a labyrinth, but a monumental one—in so far as a labyrinth may be monumental.

Among his linguistic works should be mentioned his *History of the Polish Language*, published for the first time in 1906. Its strictly grammatical paragraphs were rare, and were soon superseded. Far more valuable are those parts of the book which show the larger cultural perspectives as they are revealed in linguistic facts; e.g., when the author deals with such problems as by what means various cultural ties with other nations have been reflected in words borrowed from other languages, or how the introduction of Christianity in the 10th century and the Reformation movement in the 16th century influenced the language. The book was popular and ran into three editions. Already in 1901 he published a special work

on foreign influences in Polish culture as reflected in the history of language: *Civilization and Language*. The book was republished in revised and extended form in 1917 under the title *The Fight for Language* (*Walka o język*).

Brückner's books dealing with mythology, his *Slavonic Mythology* (published in Polish and then translated into Italian), and his later and more popular *Polish Mythology*, were based mostly on linguistic data. His attitude towards Slavonic mythological lore was highly critical. His basic thesis was that practically nothing is known of it. As to Polish mythology, he thought that most of it was simply invented by Jan Długosz, the Polish historian of the 15th century.

As became a philologist of the old school, Brückner was fond of editing early texts, i.e. mediæval and those of the 16th and 17th centuries. Many of these texts were discovered by him, among others the mediæval Latin legends and poems, some dialogues by Rej, two Latin poems by Kochanowski and many poems and collections of 17th-century literature. His most important discovery was the fragments of the *Holy Cross Sermons*, published by him in 1891. The text of these Sermons dates from the beginning of the 14th or even the end of the 13th century and its importance is paramount. It is the earliest literary text in Polish—the *Bogurodzica* hymn, as linguistic evidence shows, is rather earlier, dating from the 13th century—but the earliest-known copy of it is later, dating from the 15th century. Brückner discovered in St. Petersburg (Leningrad), in the inner part of an old binding, a few fragments of the text of these Sermons, cut up into narrow strips of parchment. The editing of these fragments was not an easy task. In order to appreciate both the difficulties and the importance of these Sermons to the history of the Polish language, it must be borne in mind that some old Polish grammatical forms were preserved exclusively in these Sermons. Brückner acquitted himself of the task with distinction. The edition of the text, though desperately fragmentary, difficult to read, and calling for many bold conjectures, was exemplary and scholarly.

As concerns the merits of others of his numerous textual collations and editions, they vary in different cases. It may be taken as a rule that the more difficult the text, the more interesting the problems it presented and the better the editing. Brückner's vast knowledge, the boldness of his conjectures, his inventiveness—all served him well. On the other hand, his editing of texts that did not present special difficulties was somewhat inferior, because carried out with but little care. He lacked the patience indispensable for

such work. The author of this paper had startling proof of Brückner's negligence while preparing, before the war, a critical edition of the poetical works of Andrzej Morsztyn, the Polish Baroque author. Some of Morsztyn's poems were to be found in a vast manuscript anthology, collected under the title of *A Poetical Garden* (*Wrydyarz poetycki*) by his contemporary, Jakób Trembecki. This anthology was published by Brückner in 1910. While checking Brückner's edition with the original manuscript—then in Lwów—the writer found it full of minor errors. Moreover, he discovered another feature of that edition. In his notes Brückner compared the text of Trembecki's Anthology with texts familiar from other manuscripts, but the selection of the variants which he noted down was completely arbitrary; e.g., he sometimes noted the slightest and most meaningless differences, while at other times he omitted really important variants from the same manuscript. It was difficult to resist the feeling that Brückner would collate two or more versions of a poem from memory, without having recourse to the texts.

Both as an editor and as an historian of literature he had his favourite authors. Two of them headed the list: Mikołaj Rej (1505–1569) and Wacław Potocki (1625–1686). They have much in common: neither of them was a great artist and both were but slightly affected by foreign influences: they made up for the incontestable primitiveness of their art by a great vitality: both belonged to the breed of simple, robust writers who fail to please by the use of artistic devices (Potocki is at his worst when he tries to do so), but who give pleasure by the readiness with which they reveal their character and their ways of thinking. With Pasek as the third author of that group they are the most representative figures of that strange, genuine "Sarmatian" breed of old Polish literature, and their works provide an inexhaustible mine—since both were prolific writers—for anyone who wishes to know the habits and ways-of-living of the old Polish gentry. That settled the matter for Brückner. In the last instance his literary likings were determined not by artistic reasons, but by his interests as an historian.

As regards Rej, Brückner not only provided us with critical editions of some of his most important works, but in 1905, to mark the fourth centenary of his birth, he published a bulky tome which was to become the standard work on Rej.

For Potocki he did, at one and the same time, both more and less. Only a small fraction of the poet's vast literary production had been published during his lifetime; his masterpiece, the epic poem *The Chocim War*, was printed for the first time as late as 1850,

and most of his works were left for Brückner to discover, appreciate and publish. Further, he published important studies on Potocki and his language. It might have been expected that he would have finally given us a book on his favourite author, but unfortunately such a work never materialised.

He published many articles and studies about other older Polish writers. No historian of Polish literature had such an intimate knowledge of the writers of the 16th and 17th centuries. None of the artists of that period was too insignificant to be worthy of his attention. Even third-class poetasters, completely unreadable for anyone in search of artistic values, found in him an eager reader and investigator. He read them in order to find fruity or queer expressions, and above all, survivals of old customs or of this or that peculiarity of ancient ways of living. It is not surprising that he was unequalled in deciphering difficult allusions or in explaining an old and obsolete word.

Such an attitude had its serious drawbacks. In a search of this kind after interesting materials to add to the knowledge of ancient culture, the artistic proportions of individual writers might easily become distorted. Yet it cannot be said that Brückner lacked artistic susceptibility. When his peculiar interests did not clash, he was able to reveal himself as a subtle and sensitive critic. In 1923 he published a short study on one of the masterpieces of Polish Romantic literature, Malczewski's Byronic poem *Maria*. This study affords us a fine measure of his perceptibility and of the freshness of his impressions. Especially revealing are those pages which show how the use of an "incorrect" medium, tainted with borderland provincialisms, could serve the peculiar aims of the Romantic poet.

The trouble was that when his feeling of artistic values conflicted with his interests as an historian, the latter always got the upper hand. Brückner was unable to appreciate independently the literary value of a book and the value of the same as a source of interesting historical material. On one occasion, when reviewing a newly discovered epic poem of the 17th century—*The Siege of Jasna Góra*—he took objection to the fact that it contained but few interesting words. That trend of his mind is to be seen also in his eccentric attack on the greatest Polish Renaissance poet, Jan Kochanowski, whom Brückner reproved for having led Polish literature astray from the trodden paths of genuine tradition, such as were seen in Rej, into those of classical generalities. In his later years Brückner changed his opinion about Kochanowski, yet these criticisms are highly characteristic of him.

In 1901 he published in German his one-volume *Geschichte der Polnischen Literatur*, the second and revised edition of which appeared in 1922. In 1902 he published in Polish two large volumes of his *Outline History of Polish Literature* (*Dzieje literatury polskiej w zarysie*). The book—which ran to three editions—was not a translation of the German text, but a completely new version, much larger than the German one. It is his most important work on Polish literature, and one of his best books—although far from faultless. Its most obvious defect lies in a lack of balance in the treatment of particular periods. In the first volume, when writing on the literature of his favourite 17th century, he indulged in details, sometimes highly interesting for specialists but without any special value for the general reader. In the second volume, which deals with the literature of the 19th century, such passages are much more rare. Still, all in all it is a remarkable work, vivid in presentation, rich in new views, and abounding in highly successful formulæ. The peculiar feature of the book is that it pays far more attention than any other Polish work to the ties which link Polish literature with neighbouring countries, e.g. to Czech influences in 15th-century Poland, and to Polish influences in Kiev, Muscovy and Moldavia in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Almost everywhere is to be felt the firm grasp of a man who has a first-hand knowledge of his authors. Only towards the end of the book, when dealing with the contemporary "Young Poland" movement, he sometimes based his knowledge not directly on the authors but on the highly popular compendium written by Wilhelm Feldman. The more strange it is that, when in 1935 the Polish Academy decided to publish a new edition of its collective history of Polish literature, not only did he consent to write a chapter on the 17th century—on which he was an unchallenged authority—but also a chapter on contemporary literature. That chapter—based on a hasty reading of some more important works of a literature with which Brückner had no intimate contact, and which was judged by him mostly from irrelevant points of view, was a sad failure.

In addition to these larger works Brückner published two smaller, popular outlines of Polish literature in Polish and two in German, (one of them in the widely circulated *Sammlung Goeschen*, a German counterpart of the "Home University Library"). The lack of proportion in his treatment of the subject in these books was at times glaring. In one of the Polish outlines he mentions third-rate Baroque poets, such as Karmanowski, but does not devote one word to a

writer of such stature as Norwid! Nevertheless they were widely read, as were also his larger books.

And here we come to one of the paradoxes of Brückner's literary career. In spite of great defects in his work, his lack of balanced composition, his ambiguities, and in spite of the fact that his texts were overloaded with unnecessary proper names, dates and unimportant details—he was eagerly read not only by experts but also by the general public.

The key to the mystery lies in the author's vitality and originality. The ordinary reader did not understand this or that passage, he skipped over scores of proper names and missed certain allusions; but he was fully compensated by the impact of Brückner's great personality, by a highly personal and always vivid style which he could fully enjoy, by the freshness of his views, and the vigour and malice of his polemical digressions.

Far less numerous were Bruckner's articles and special studies devoted to Russian literature, although he regularly reviewed in learned German periodicals new books on this subject. His *History of Russian Literature* is his most widely known work. The book was originally published in German in 1905 and then translated into Czech, Russian and English (the last in 1908, tr. by G. H. Havelock). In 1921–1922 he published a Polish version in two volumes, much larger than the German book, in which the ancient literature, up to the 18th century—which in the German edition had been compressed into one small chapter—received more generous treatment.

This book—the only one translated into English—met with a devastating criticism in Prince D. Mirsky's *History of Russian Literature*. The verdict ran as follows: "The author, a Pole, strongly anti-Russian, erudite, but with no sense of literary values."

Was Brückner really strongly anti-Russian? In order to pass judgment on the matter, the best thing would be to refer to the view of another Russian. A detailed review of the German edition appeared in 1906 in the then leading Russian monthly *Vestnik Evropy*. It came from the pen of the well-known Russian historian of Western literatures, Aleksey Veselovsky. Veselovsky reproached Brückner for certain errors and misjudgments, especially in his treatment of ancient literature; but his most striking general impression was one of deep sympathy with Russian literature. He emphasised the fact that Brückner writes "not like a cold and indifferent analyst of a far-away foreign literature, but like a friend and a man who can feel sympathy with it."

Moreover, in the Polish edition, Brückner accused his com-

patriots of lacking in due attention to Russian literature, to its greatness and its deeply human values. It is true that from time to time he employed a harsh word when characterising this or that aspect of Russian life, but he used it also when dealing with Polish subjects and even with regard to himself. On the other hand, Bruckner's admiration for Russian literature is evident. The reader, in order duly to appreciate Prince Mirsky's remarks, must bear in mind that Russian bias against Poles is at least as frequent as is Polish against Russians.

Did Bruckner possess "no sense of literary value"? This time the censure was greatly exaggerated, but it is not without some foundation. Only, when judging Brückner's book, we must bear in mind two facts. First of all, that it was published forty years ago. Secondly, that it was published originally in 1905, which is the year of the First Russian Revolution. It is hardly surprising that in a book written at that period, the social and political aspect of Russian literature, the struggle with Tsardom, came to the fore. But Veselovsky, the reviewer of those times, found Brückner's presentation of Russian literature "brilliant and expressive"—*blesk i vyrazitelnost' izlozenia*.

His work on other Slavonic literatures was only intermittent. In 1887-1892 he published a series called *Böhmische Studien**, and towards the end of his life he wrote a popular manual of the Slavonic literatures in Polish. It was by no means an outstanding book. He had no first-hand knowledge of modern Czech and South-Slavonic literatures, and based his survey of them on antiquated manuals, so that Czech reviewers had no difficulty in proving that his presentation of these literatures was erroneous and not up-to-date.

We have seen that in Brückner's literary and linguistic studies his interests were not purely literary or purely linguistic but rather those of an historian of civilisation. In 1879, he published a paper entitled *Die Slavischen Ansiedelungen in der Altmark und im Magdeburgischen*, in which he used linguistic data to elucidate the history of old Slavonic settlements. Then followed his Polish paper on the Magdeburg Law in Poland. Some years later, in 1905, he published his very important book on *Polish Reformers*, a series of biographies of Protestant leaders of the 16th century, with John a Lasco at their head, specially dealing with the Antitrinitarian movement. The study of the Reformation movement had been sadly neglected by Polish historians in the 19th century. Brückner's book showed people a new and highly interesting field of research, which was afterwards to be intensively investigated in the works of

Sobieski, Kot, Halecki, Górski, Chmaj and in the volumes of a special periodical edited from 1921 by Professor Kot under the title of *Reformacja w Polsce*.

It thus becomes clear that the work which Brückner published in 1930-1931—the three volumes of his *History of Polish Culture*—was the organic outcome of lifelong studies. It is his most important book—in fact, his masterpiece. No other Polish historian was so well equipped for that enormous task, because no other historian had at his disposal such vast knowledge with which to embrace so many various spheres of cultural activity.

Brückner intended at first to conclude this work with the Third Partition of Poland (1795); but in a lengthy "Epilogue" to the third volume he extended it to 1831. This date is not so arbitrary as it would seem to be at first sight. The November Rising of 1830-1831 put an end to the semi-independent Polish Kingdom and to Polish institutions connected with it. The first volume deals with prehistoric and mediæval times, the second with the 16th and 17th centuries, the third with the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. The word "Polish" in the title of the book stands rather for the "state" than for the "nation." The book covers not only Polish cultural life, but also the life of other nationalities living in ancient Poland: Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Jews and Tartars. In every period the book embraced such themes as social strata and political ideologies, the Church and religious life, schools and intellectual life, literary life, music, architecture, painting and sculpture, foreign influences in the country, and those exercised by Poland on neighbouring countries. Only chapters dealing with music and the fine arts are entirely based on other people's researches. They are rather short and far less vivid than the rest of the book. In all other chapters Brückner was able in great measure to rely on his own researches and his first-hand knowledge of the sources: and one of the main reasons of the outstanding value of the book is its vividness and freshness. Of course the author did collect, at times, highly capriciously, data from the works of other people; but he was almost always able to illustrate them with new details, or to present them in the light of his own views. He almost always had to hand a wealth of striking, picturesque details.

From the point of view of the general reader the book is uneven. The whole first part of the first volume, dealing with abstruse and controversial questions of primitive civilisation, and written in a peculiarly allusive and "shorthand" manner, is almost unreadable, although it is stimulating for the specialists, as the reviews of it by

Tymieniecki and Rudnicki show. In the second part of the first volume and in the second, the work, although everywhere throbbing with life, is sometimes rendered tedious by the accumulation of too numerous details. The third volume is the least affected by that error, and from the literary point of view it is the best. Its closing chapter, "A thousand years of Polish culture," rises to the heights of great historical prose. The book is the greatest achievement in the field of contemporary Polish historical writing. No other work can bear comparison with it, in the vastness of the theme and the individual stamp of the workmanship.

The success of his work decided Brückner to change his original plan, and to add to the three already written, a fourth volume devoted to Polish culture of the 19th century. The printing of the book—the last he wrote—was interrupted by the outbreak of the war. It would be useful to know what happened. Was it destroyed or is there perhaps a chance that it might be printed again?

In the interval between the appearance of the first three volumes and the writing of the fourth he managed to write another important book, *An Encyclopædia of Ancient Poland*, meant to explain in alphabetical order all the possible *realia* of ancient Polish life. It replaced the now obsolete, though still useful, *Encyclopædia* of Gloger. This work, which was being printed in instalments, was also affected by the war. All but one instalment were published before hostilities broke out, but it has so far not been completed.

The author of these words met Brückner only once. In 1936, on the way from Paris to Warsaw he stopped for some hours in Berlin in order to see him. His first impression was of an old and extremely feeble man. His hands trembled, his face was seamed with wrinkles. We started to talk about the leading Polish Baroque poet Andrzej Morsztyn on whom the writer had been working for some years. Brückner was never especially interested in Morsztyn; his cosmopolitanism, his artificiality, his involved poetic diction—all that was not to his taste. But when he started to discuss some points of Morsztyn's poetry, his knowledge of the poet proved to be amazingly vast and thorough. Not less amazing was the vivacity of his remarks. If one closed one's eyes, one could forget a certain harshness in his voice, and could almost have the impression that it was a young man arguing. There was something momentous in it. And the impression was similar when one strove to grasp the whole extent of his manifold activity. One got the impression of a tremendous elementary and living force, defying all our ideas on human possibilities and limitations.

WIKTOR WEINTRAUB.

THE INTERRELATION OF PAINTING AND LITERATURE IN RUSSIA

IN so far as they are expressions of the same spiritual quintessence all the arts are interrelated, and cases of parallelism are, therefore, not infrequently to be met with in their history. Parallelism in itself, however, does not testify to the existence of any interrelation ; it may merely be that the same spiritual process has given rise to similar manifestations. Nevertheless, there are periods when one of the arts becomes predominant, when its development determines the development of the others.

Such was the position of literature in Russia in the 19th century. It rapidly acquired the lead and drew into its orbit all the other arts, particularly painting. Thus subject-matter came to be of primary importance, and in the hands of the vast majority of painters painting degenerated into illustration. Nor did this end with the 19th century ; in different guise, vanishing and reappearing, subject-preoccupation has persisted to this day. Some critics, as for instance Stasov, have even considered this subject-preoccupation, this literariness to be the distinguishing characteristic of Russian painting, indicative of its originality

A dangerous kind of originality, if indeed it may so be termed ! The rationalist element fetters and corrupts a painter's talent. And in sacrificing æsthetic integrity in favour of emotional effects, Russian painting perpetually runs the risk of passing into the realm of tastelessness, one more step and the picture will no longer be a painting, it will have become a group taken from a travelling show or a scene from a didactic play.

One of the most talented Russian painters, Repin, who was himself deeply tainted with literariness, wrote some bitter and feeling lines on the subject. In the 1870's he chanced to be in Paris where he yielded, although indeed not for long, to the charms of Impressionism—the charms of pure painting. In the autumn of 1879 he wrote to his teacher and friend, Kramskoy :

" I have now quite forgotten how to reflect, nor do I regret the loss of this faculty which was corroding me—rather do I wish that it may never return, although I feel that back in my dear country it will once more exercise its rights ; such is the nature of things there. May God at least save Russian art from corrosive analysis ! When will it finally force its way out of that fog ? It is a terrible disadvantage fettering it to barren accuracy of etching-tool and

brush in technique and to rational concepts, ideas drawn from the mine of political economy." ¹

Fortunately the influence exercised by literature was not confined to "corrosive analysis"; to some painters it was a help in the evolution of their art. Achieving independence at a stroke, literature revealed to painting all the idiosyncrasies of Russian life and nature. It showed the artist the uttermost depths of the Russian soul and helped him to find himself. Provided that he avoided the pitfall of subject-preoccupation, the artist could boldly follow literature and seek in it inspiration for his creative work. And such, indeed, was the influence of literature on the foremost Russian painters. Although they drew part of their inspiration from the works of authors, they did not confuse their categories and did not become mere illustrators. They succeeded in retaining their independence, while remaining close to literature, and at times in their turn they even influenced it.

Here it was no longer a question of subordination but of intimacy, frequently accompanied by close personal relations. It was partly personal liking but also a similarity of outlook on art and life that led to the friendship between Gogol and Ivanov, Tolstoy and Gué, Chekhov and Levitan.

The interrelation between literature and painting, which was fated to play such an important rôle, did not exist from the outset. Up to the 1830's literature and painting developed along independent lines and the brilliant Pleiade of portrait-painters who inaugurated the history of Russian painting remained entirely unaffected by literature. No signs of its influence are to be seen in the works of Levitsky, Borobikovsky or Kiprensky. When Kiprensky, for example, painted his picture "Poor Liza," he was far from any literary leanings. His "Poor Liza" is simply a half-length portrait of a young girl with a flower in her hand and could equally well have borne some other title.

Nor did literature insist on narrative content in painting. The poet Batyushkov's article, "A Walk in the Academy of Arts," is a model of purely artistic approach to works of art. In it Batyushkov records the æsthetic qualities which have impressed him: "the firm, regular, beautiful lines" of Egorov, the "freshness, harmony and vivid colours" of Kiprensky. At the end of the article, however, a characteristic episode occurs. The author and his companion, a young painter, go up to a picture called "The Spartan at Thermopylæ," by a certain Kurtel'. It depicts the death of a

¹ Igor' Grabar', *Repin*, Moscow, 1933, p. 81

beautiful youth who had been fighting for the freedom of Greece. Covered with wounds the handsome Spartan is dying, his last gaze fixed on a medallion portraying the features of his beloved. This melodramatic theme greatly appeals to the author, who makes no attempt to hide his delight, but the painter argues that the figure is badly drawn and that the theme itself disturbs the harmony of art. Thus Batyushkov reproves himself out of the mouth of his painter.

It must be admitted that, generally speaking, literature at that time was not greatly interested in Russian painting. Batyushkov's article was an exception. In the 1830's, however, the situation radically changed, and painting suddenly claimed universal attention, for in 1834 Bryullov's picture, "The Last Day of Pompeii," was exhibited at St. Petersburg with resounding success. Literature ceased to be indifferent; Gogol came out with an enthusiastic article in which he called Bryullov's painting, "a luminous resurrection of painting which had long lain semi-defunct."² Pushkin attempted to describe in verse the scene portrayed by the painter.³ It was as if all canvases previous to this one no longer existed; it alone was the starting-point of Russian art, and public opinion was summed up in an impromptu, attributed to Baratynsky:

You brought peaceful trophies
To your ancestral halls and home,
And Pompeii's last fateful days
Brought Russia's artists their first fame.⁴

What was the reason for this success? Bryullov had departed from the rigid rules of art and had set art on the road that had so attracted and terrified Batyushkov: the road of subject-preoccupation. Properly speaking, he had created not a picture but a stage production, he had painted the closing scene of some bombastic play. Actually his painting was inspired by the finale of Puccini's opera, "L'ultimo giorno di Pompeia." A brilliant colourist, he did not spare his effects, but the literariness of the conception ruined his work. Bombast and sugary beauty were a poor substitute for true depth.

Not only Russian writers were impressed by the literariness of

² "The Last Day of Pompeii" in *Arabesques*, by Gogol.

³ Draft of 1834, "Vesuvius opened its jaws (Vezuviy zev otkryl)," *vide* A. Efros, *A Poet's Drawings*, M., 1933, pp. 55-56.

⁴ This impromptu is first quoted in an anonymous article, "Material for Baratynsky's Biography," *Russkiy Arkhiv*, 1893, vol. I, p. 313.

Bryullov's picture Bulwer-Lytton saw it in Italy, where it had been painted, and it inspired his famous novel. The following extract from his diary clearly shows the full literariness of the canvas :

It (the picture) is making a considerable sensation at Milan, and the subject of it is "The Last Days of Pompeii." This picture is full of genius, imagination and nature. The faces are fine, the conception grand. The statues toppling from a lofty gate have a crushing and awful effect. But the most natural touch is an infant in its mother's arms :—her face impressed with a dismay and terror which partake of the sublime ; the child wholly unconscious of the dread event—stretching its arms towards a bird of gay plumage that lies upon the ground struggling in death, and all the child's gay delighted wonder is pictured in its face. This exception to the general horror of the scene is full of pathos, and in the true contrast of fine thought ⁵

"The Last Day of Pompeii" founded a school. Bryullov and his followers began to vie with each other in the race to paint pictures like "The Capture of Rome by Gaiseric" and "The First Christian Martyrs." ⁶ Russian painting entered upon the first phase of its literary life, melodramatic academicism. This melodramatic academicism was an entirely Russian phenomenon. True, the same tendencies were appearing everywhere, but it was in Russia, where the susceptibility to literature was keenest, that they reached their highest point of fulfilment and achieved their widest popularity.

But the interconnection of painting and literature displayed itself in yet another form. At the end of the 'thirties Gogol and Ivanov met and their acquaintanceship soon ripened into friendship. Gogol became intimate with Ivanov in Italy, where the latter had for many years been working on his picture, "Christ's Appearance before the People." Shunning Bryullov and his followers, Ivanov strove to resurrect religious painting, and in feeling his way towards a new style he foresaw and foreshadowed much—his sketches, for example, anticipate the Impressionists. At the same time he was deeply sensitive to the glorious past of Russian art ; learning from the quattrocento masters he, instinctively rather than consciously, went back to the methods used in ikon-painting. In his search to regain complete integrity of religious feeling, Ivanov led an almost ascetic life, read the Bible and laboured to achieve inner self-perfection.

⁵ Vide Lytton, *The life of Edward Bulwer, first Lord Lytton*, London, 1913, vol I, p 440

⁶ Bryullov was undoubtedly very gifted and his gifts were most in evidence when the artist did not cramp himself with literary thematics. His portraits can boldly be placed on a level with those of Levitsky, Borobikovsky and Kiprensky.

Precisely at that time Gogol too was experiencing a crisis in his spiritual development. Like Ivanov, he was striving towards religious art and integrity of religious feeling. It is not, therefore, surprising that they should be amazed and mutually attracted by the similarity of their aims. In his article on Ivanov, Gogol dwells on it at length. He writes, defending Ivanov against the charge of slackness :

No! until the artist himself has experienced a genuine conversion to Christ, he cannot depict it on canvas! Ivanov prayed to God, that he might be vouchsafed such a complete conversion, wept in secret for strength to fulfil the idea with which He had inspired him; and at that very time he was accused of slackness and urged on! . . . Do not think that it was easy to converse with people during such a spiritual transition when, please God, there would begin a refashioning of the nature of a man I know this myself, and have even to some extent experienced it.⁷

The figure of Ivanov captured Gogol's imagination, and when he was rewriting "The Portrait," changing it from a romantic tale into a manifesto on the religious significance of art, he endowed his painter with Ivanov's features.

How did Gogol's influence reflect itself in Ivanov's work? It is impossible to give any details; nevertheless the influence was there. Ivanov deeply respected Gogol and considered him "the most important man he had met in his life."⁸ "It was only in my conversations with you that my spirit did not weary,"⁹ he wrote to Gogol in the spring of 1847. In these conversations Ivanov's Christianity was fortified and grew. By supporting and directing his religious bent, Gogol strongly influenced not any particular detail of his work but the very focal point whence this work proceeded. Gogol's influence was almost that of a preacher. "I regarded you with the deepest of respect and I believed and submitted to you in everything,"¹⁰ wrote Ivanov to Gogol in 1848, remembering their life together. The strength of this influence may be gauged from Gogol's letter which Ivanov so prized that he pasted it into the album where he put his new compositions, as a kind of talisman. . . .

My dear Alexander Andreevitch,

God grant you His aid in your labours, do not lose heart, be of good courage, God's blessing be on your brush and may your picture be

⁷ Gogol, *Selections from Correspondence with Friends* XXIII. "The historical painter Ivanov."

⁸ M. Botkin, *Alexander Andreevitch Ivanov. His Life and Correspondence*, St Petersburg, 1880, p. xii.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 247

gloriously completed. That, at any rate is what I wish you from the bottom of my heart.

Yours ever,
N. G.

I do not feel like discussing anything, everything in the world is so inferior to what is created in the lonely cell of the artist that I prefer to see nothing, and I feel that this world is not for me. I do not even hear its murmur. God bless you.¹¹

As Ivanov laboured over his picture, so Gogol laboured over his favourite work, the second volume of *Dead Souls*. Both tasks proved beyond the power of their authors, whose genius failed in the long struggle for the creation of that which it is not given to any one individual to create, however great his efforts: a new canon, a new religious style. Ivanov did not burn his picture, but he exhibited it uncompleted, i.e. tidied up the version which to his inner self was by no means the final one.

Gogol affected Ivanov primarily as a religious thinker. But it is common knowledge that this was not the aspect of his work that attracted his contemporaries. To them he was almost exclusively the portrayer of Russian reality. In the *Government Inspector* and *Dead Souls*, the depiction of manners overshadowed the rest. And Gogol, understood and accepted from that angle, exercised a strong influence on the development of Russian *genre* painting. Indeed, his civil servants and landowners were drawn so plastically, in such masterly fashion that they almost forced themselves on to paper. He taught the eye to perceive the idiosyncrasies of everyday Russian life.

Gogol himself did not draw too badly, as can be seen from his illustrations for the *Government Inspector*. Something original, purely Russian, is glimpsed behind these figures which he executed in the then fashionable European style of line drawing, as, for example, that of the chief of police and mayor, Skvoznik-Dmukhanovsky, whose uniform fails to conceal the fat little paunch of a civil servant. This was the path pursued by Fedotov, nicknamed the Gogol of Russian painting. He began to depict Russian manners, profiting by the experience of western European painting. In his picture, "The Major's Betrothal," the young bride is drawn from nature, but her softly gleaming dress clearly shows the influence of the Dutch painter Terburg. Thus the influence of literature in opening Fedotov's eyes to reality was counterbalanced by the

¹¹ M. Botkin, *Alexander Andreevitch Ivanov His Life and Correspondence*, St. Petersburg, 1880, p. xii.

influence of painting. The results of this are among the best that has been produced in Russian art.

Nevertheless it would be a mistake to consider that Gogol alone was responsible for the literary element in Fedotov's work, as the artist Kramskoy, who considered that "Fedotov was the reflection of Gogol's literature," believed.¹² Fedotov had a great respect for Gogol, but he had an equal if not higher regard for the comedies of Fonvizin and Ostrovsky and for Krylov's fables; he absorbed Gogol within the framework of Russian humour generally.¹³

It is curious to note that Fedotov himself wrote fables and humorous verse. Before drawing his "Major's Betrothal," he portrayed the figure in a short poem and also composed an "explanatory text" in the metre used by Pushkin for his "Tale of the parson and his workman Balda." This "text," with which he was extremely pleased, and which he judged to be his best piece of writing, was a kind of humorous guide to the picture with a detailed description of all that it represents. It ends with the following lines:

Here on the left the holy icons stand . . .
Now kindly stop and pray,
Then each to his own home betake you on your way.¹⁴

A sense of artistic measure saved Fedotov's work from being over-weighted with subject-matter, but the succeeding generations, who regarded him as their teacher, fell victim to temptation. Melodramatic realism came to replace melodramatic academicism. "The Last Day of Pompeii" and the "First Christian Martyrs" yielded to *genre* pictures that were strikingly tendentious. Argument finally dislodged æsthetics, and all claims of art were replaced by one requirement: verisimilitude. The leading critic of those times, Stasov, wishing to praise Perov's picture, "The Halt of the Huntsmen," points out what he considers to be of particular merit, that in it "everything is so accurate and true to life that the picture ceases to be a picture and it is as if, looking out of a window, we see these three people, this autumnal glade . . ." ¹⁵

Craftsmanship as such interested but few, it was the subject that mattered. In his reminiscences, Bonch-Bruyevitch reveals the attitude towards painting at the end of the 19th century: "Nowhere yet have the sensations of the revolutionaries been described, the

¹² *Vide Ivan Nikolaevitch Kramskoy, His Life, Correspondence and Critical Articles on Art*, ed. A. Suvorin, St Petersburg, 1888, p. 530.

¹³ *Vide Bulgakov, Pavel Andreevitch Fedotov and His Works*, St. Petersburg, 1893, pp. 18-19.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* before the photograph of "The Major's Betrothal"

¹⁵ *Vide N. P. Sobko, Vassily Grigorievitch Perov*, St. Petersburg, 1892, p. 47.

oaths we swore in the Tret'iakovsky Gallery on seeing such pictures . . . as the one where the proud member of the Narodnaya Volya, firm in his convictions, refuses the priest's blessing before execution. We used to contemplate, too, 'The Mésalliance,' and saw in it the age-old subjection of woman, paused at length before 'The Failure of the Bank' and 'The Procession with the Cross' and for a long, long time gazed at the fate of political offenders—at our fate, shown in 'At the Halting-Place for Transported Convicts.' " ¹⁶

Many of the canvases by realist painters were illustrations of the works of Russian writers, and even when they were not, they were, curiously enough, regarded as such. Repin, for example, was obliged to defend himself against critics who believed that his "Barge Haulers on the Volga" was an illustration of Nekrassov's poem.¹⁷ Another ill-starred journalist created a great deal of unpleasantness for Perov by declaring that in the portrait of the merchant Kamynin, the artist had depicted Tit Tytitch, a tyrannical character in Ostrovsky's play, "Vchuzhom piru pohmel'e"—the merchant was extremely offended.¹⁸

Vereshchagin's work marks the apotheosis of this literariness. This artist set out to render the horrors of war, and certainly did not spare his effects, in order to impress the onlooker. A heap of skulls e.g. represented "The Triumph of the Victors", while "All quiet on the Shipka," a canvas in three parts, shows a soldier gradually freezing to death. For his exhibitions Vereshchagin drew up long catalogues with detailed descriptions of his pictures and programme phrases in the spirit of Tolstoy, in which he said that "those who murder their fellow-creatures in their hundreds of thousands are not Christians." ¹⁹

His success was great, in Europe no less than in Russia. An echo of the general enthusiasm aroused by his work is to be found in a poem by Garshin, "At the Exhibition of Vereshchagin's Pictures," itself highly characteristic of the contemporary attitude towards painting. Garshin first describes the well-dressed crowd chattering of how delightfully Vereshchagin paints, then, by contrast, his own reactions:

. . . But that
I did *not* discern when looking at this steppe and on those features;
I did not see in them aught colourful or picturesque,
But I saw death and heard the cries of men
Tortured by killing and privations endless . . .

¹⁶ *Vide* Igor' Grabar', *Repin*, Moscow, 1933, pp. 140-41.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 66

¹⁸ *Vide* Ivan Nikolaevitch Kramshoy . . . , p. 449

¹⁹ *Vide* Bulgakov, *Vereshchagin and His Work*, St. Petersburg, 1896, p. 62.

That is what Garshin saw, and that is what his contemporaries saw in Repin's "Barge Haulers on the Volga," a picture which, artistically, was immeasurably superior to Vereshchagin's canvas. That too is the attitude at the base of Garshin's tale "The Artist," where the harmless landscape painter Fyodov is contrasted with the restless Rebinin who renders the sufferings of the workman and finally abandons painting in order to become a village schoolmaster.

Besides the general influence exercised by literature on painting we find, as before, examples of deeper and more personal contacts between the two arts. The friendship between Tolstoy and Gué corresponds to the earlier friendship of Gogol and Ivanov. Again the writer and the painter meet in their search for religious art. This meeting took place when they were both over fifty years of age and had begun to seek new paths. In his reminiscences Gué relates how he came to visit Tolstoy. In 1882 he was struck by a short newspaper article by Tolstoy and he determined at all costs to become acquainted with him: "I went to Moscow to embrace this great man and work for him . . . 'Lev Nikolaevitch, I have come to work for you, at anything you like—there's your daughter, would you like me to do her portrait?'—'No, if that's how it is, do my wife.' I did the portrait. But from that moment I understood everything, I was filled with an infinite love for this man, he revealed everything to me. Now I can name what it is that I have loved all my life—he named it to me, and what is most important, he loved the same thing." ²⁰

Tolstoy was Gué's teacher to an even greater degree than Gogol was Ivanov's. Gué had always been attracted to religious themes, but after he became acquainted with Tolstoy they occupied an exceptional place in his work. He gave himself up entirely to Tolstoy's teaching and began to portray Christ not as God but as a man, as a preacher and teacher, almost as a Tolstoyan. Thus a whole cycle of pictures was created, based on themes taken from the Gospels. They all earned Tolstoy's full approval but two he admired particularly: "Golgotha" and "What is Truth?" (Christ brought before Pilate). The second, he considered, was "epoch-making in Christian art." "Gué chose the simplest possible . . . subject," he wrote to Tret'iakovsky. "Christ and His teaching, not in words but in action, in collision with the teaching of the world . . . The picture rendered with complete historical accuracy the time when Christ was led through the streets, tortured, beaten and dragged from

²⁰ Vide L. N. Tolstoy and I. I. Gué, *Correspondence*, with an introduction by S. P. Yaremitch, Moscow, 1930, pp. 8-9.

one prison to another, and was brought before the governor, a kindly fellow who is not in the least interested in Christ or the Jews and even less in Truth . . . And Christ looks sorrowfully at this impervious man. Such was the situation then, a situation which is being repeated thousands and millions of times, everywhere and always between the doctrine of truth and the representatives of this world." ²¹

Thus we see that Tolstoy, like Garshin, speaks only of "what," not "how." For him too craftsmanship in painting does not exist; and because of this he exercised a far more dangerous influence on Gué than Gogol on Ivanov. This influence is to a great extent to blame for the fact that Gué's pictures on the Gospels form an odd pendant to the tendentious paintings of the realists, although, indeed, his canvases express a deep emotion which, in spite of their serious artistic defects, nevertheless communicates itself to the spectator.

In the friendship between Tolstoy and Gué a certain tyranny can be sensed on the part of Tolstoy who was, for Gué, the highest, infallible judge. There is no sign of this in the friendship between Chekhov and Levitan. Here the writer and painter have equal rights. Their influence on each other proceeded naturally from a similarity of outlook, from a deep inner kinship. Levitan was the first Russian painter to feel how unlike any other was the Russian landscape. The quiet evenings over the lake, the scarcely perceptible but already tangible breath of spring—all that literature had long discovered, he introduced into Russian painting. Tender elegiac tones, Chekhov tones predominate in his work. Literature showed Levitan the way, but his landscapes did not become literary; his defect lies not in subject-preoccupation, rather does it lie in the timidity with which he introduced what was then new to Russian painting, i.e. the methods used in Impressionism. He hesitated to break completely with the primitive conception of verisimilitude. But if we forgive him his timidity and examine his landscapes, we will see in them the world in which the action of Chekhov's stories takes place.

An enduring proof of this kinship is an episode in Levitan's life which Chekhov included in the "Seagull," and which forms the core of the play. It is the moment when Treplev lays the gull at Nina's feet, with the words: "I was vile enough to kill this gull to-day. I lay it at your feet." According to S. P. Kuvshinnikova, who related the story to Levitan's biographer, this is what

²¹ *Vide* L. N. Tolstoy and I. I. Gué, *Correspondence*, with an introduction by S. P. Yaremitch, Moscow, 1930, pp. 24-25.

happened when she was travelling down the Volga in company with the artist :

One morning we had met to go shooting on the far bank of the river. While we were waiting for the boat . . . Levitan strode abstractedly along the desolate bank with his gun under his arm. Overhead and over the river the gulls were smoothly circling. Suddenly Levitan threw up his gun, a shot rang out and a poor white bird somersaulted in the air and tumbled on the river bank, a lifeless mass.

I was terribly angry at the senseless cruelty of it, and turned on Levitan. At first he was rather disconcerted, then he too was upset. " Yes, yes, it was vile. I don't know what made me do it. It was mean and vile. I cast my bad action at your feet, he said, and actually threw the gull at my feet.²²

By the end of the 19th century Russian painting was rather tired of depicting manners and was drawn to other fields : to the fairy-tale and history. This was due partly to a desire for a change of theme, but also to a yearning after inner freedom in art. And indeed, if the historical and mythological pictures remained realistic in treatment, there was, nevertheless, greater scope in them for the purely artistic element.

The subjects were mostly culled from literature. Novelists like A. Tolstoy and Danilevsky provided the material for historical; folklore supplied the material for fairy-tale pictures. The literariness of their composition was self-evident, and it was sometimes extremely elaborate, as in the case of the picture " Sadko," conceived by Repin in Paris and based on a theme borrowed from the Russian heroic ballads. The artist describes the subject in his own words :

The subject of the picture is as follows : Sadko, a wealthy merchant, is at the bottom of the sea in the dream-courts of the sea-king and is choosing a bride. The most beautiful maidens of every century and country pass before him : Greeks, Italians, Dutchwomen, Frenchwomen, etc. Sadko, an ingenuous Russian lad carrying a gusli, is beside himself with delight, but he firmly keeps to the Sant's bidding, to choose the last, " a dark maiden " (a Russian). This picture will express my present state. In Europe with all its wonders, I feel like Sadko, I am quite dazed. In each of the beautiful women I shall try to depict one of the favourite painters of genius, i.e. their ideal—Praxiteles, Raphael, Veronese, Titian, Murillo, Rembrandt, Rubens, etc.²³

Yet in spite of the preoccupation with subject-matter, it was in this field that some of the realist artists did their best work. Repin's

²² *Vide* Sergey Glagol', *Isaac Levitan*, Moscow, pp. 53-54.

²³ *Vide* Igor' Grabar', *Repin*, Moscow, 1933, p. 78.

own "Cossacks of the Dnieper" which owed much to Gogol's "Taras Bulba," Vasnetsov's legendary heroes who hypnotised his contemporaries, and Nesterov's pictures, based on the Lives of the Saints, with their rather theatrical saintly figures, are powerless to destroy the wan beauty of the landscape. Finally, the barbaric genius of Surikov made its appearance in this field. He succeeded in transferring to painting the principle of bulkiness and variegation which form such a surprising feature of the architecture of the Church of Vassiliy the Blessed. In his historical pictures of pre-Petrine Russia he did not free himself from subject-preoccupation but he managed to overcome it . . . thanks to his colours. His "Old-Russian Noblewoman Morozova" was suggested by Mordavtsev's novel, *The Great Schism*; nevertheless, as he told Voloshin, it sprang from a purely visual impression. "I once saw a raven on the snow," he said. "The raven was squatting on the snow, with one wing outspread; it was like a black patch against the snow. For many years I could not forget that patch. Then I painted 'The Old-Russian Noblewoman Morozova.' " ²⁴

Having once departed from the portrayal of everyday life it was easy for painting to depart from realism altogether. At the beginning of the 20th century realism gave way to a new movement, also tinged with literariness, though in a different form. Attacking the ingenuous imitation of reality, a group called "The World of Art" advanced, not as one might have expected, the principle of pure painting but of stylisation, i.e. imitation, of past forms of art, particularly rococo; free imitation with a certain ironic exaggeration. With a slight, half-plaintive, ironic smile the painters of "The World of Art" began to resurrect the elegant 18th century. A series of pictures appeared, of flippant marquises and marchionesses, meetings, walks and rendezvous. And this is where the domination of subject-matter became perceptible. All these pictures are illustrations in no less degree than the pictures of the realists; only they do not strive after photographic accuracy; on the contrary, they are illustrations, such as are found in old books, and it is precisely this old-worldliness which is emphasised. Actually it was merely an enlarged form of graphic art and it is significant that this particular branch of art exercised a strong fascination over the representatives of "the group" and that in it they were at their best. Perhaps the highest achievement of the new movement was Benois's illustrations of Pushkin's "Bronze Horseman" and "The Queen of Spades."

²⁴ Vide I. Evdokimov, *Surikov*, Moscow, 1933.

The activities of "The World of Art" arrested the development of Impressionism in Russia. Serov, who had been gravitating towards it and who had given remarkable examples of pure painting in his earlier canvases, was finally caught up in a conflict between the natural bent of his talent and the stylisation of "The World of Art." Yet throughout the time he was painfully seeking his true path he proudly resisted the lure of literariness. Illustration he hated, and only once did he embark on it of his own volition.²⁵ In his search for simplified drawing, he turned to the fables of Krylov; their laconicism proved an inspiration to him. But even then he refused to be an illustrator. Before exhibiting his drawings he invented a title for them, similar to those which composers give their songs when emphasising their originality: "Twelve Drawings on the *Fables* of I. A. Krylov."²⁶

Serov occupies a place midway between the realists and "The World of Art." In this respect Vrubel' resembles him. In contrast, however, he does not reject literature but allows his work to draw sustenance from it. Like Vasnetsov, he deals in legendary themes, yet his "Princess of the Sea" and "Princess Swan" are entirely different from anything that has gone before him. There is real fairyland and magic in them, and this owes nothing to the subject; it is due to his artistic treatment. Vrubel' is an outstanding colourist. The white wings of his "Princess Swan" have a silver sheen, they sparkle, shot through with mother-of-pearl. In his youth he worked at church frescoes; he put his hand to the mystery of ikon-painting and in his own way, as once Ivanov did, creatively transformed it. Artistically, these early works of Vrubel' are unquestionably his best. Some reflection from them plays over his fairy-tale pictures: something very Russian and original in them is interwoven with Romanticism—not always of the best quality—borrowed from western Europe. A similar synthesis is to be met with in Lermontov's poetry, and it is not, therefore, surprising that Vrubel' should have been strongly influenced by him and should have composed a number of excellent illustrations to his works. Lermontov too is responsible for the figure of the Demon, which haunted Vrubel' to his dying day. He tried many times to transfer it to canvas, but each time remained dissatisfied. His spirit broke down under the strain and he drove himself mad working on "The Demon," falling on the mountain spurs in a sunset of lilac tinged with blue.

²⁵ *Vide* Grabar', *Serov*, Moscow, p. 231.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 257

Vrubel's genius, so akin to that of Lermontov, could not fail to leave its mark on the Symbolist poets. He became their favourite artist and V Bryusov, whose portrait he painted, even dedicated an Epistle to him, unparalleled for sheer brilliancy of appreciation of his genius :

From a life of hollow fame
Thy dreams draw thee far away
To the azure heights of heaven,
To the sapphire depths of ocean.

We can not attain or see,
Midst the wailing multitudes,
The seraphim that come to thee
With wings aglow with many hues.

From chambers in a crystal land,
Submissive to their fabled fate,
There gaze down in wistful sorrow
Naiads, true to thee for aye.

And at the time of flaming sunset
Thou sawest amid the eternal hills
The spirit of pride and execration
Fall to his doom from heaven above.

There in the grandeur of the desert
But thou didst grip and fully attain—
The peacock sheen of outstretched wings,
The sorrow of a face from Eden.²⁷

Vrubel exercised an exceptional influence over Blok's poetry. Blok valued his work very highly and in the preface to his *Retribution* wrote that with him died "the vast, personal world of an artist, a frenzied stubbornness, an insatiable passion for quest—that even drove him to insanity." At Vrubel's funeral he delivered a remarkable oration.

The first period of Blok's creative work is all permeated with the silvery tones of Vrubel's fairy-tale pictures. In the poet's library in Shakhmatovo hung a reproduction of the "Princess Swan."²⁸ In the 1911 edition of one of his poems of that period ("Blind are the horizons and the days without anger"²⁹) he added a footnote :

²⁷ *Vide* V Bryusov, *All the Melodies (Vse Napеvy)*, Moscow, 1909, pp. 137-38.

²⁸ *Vide* M. Beketova, *Alexander Blok*, Berlin, 1922, p. 135.

²⁹ "Dah slepy, dni bezgnevny."

" This poem was written under the influence of the painter Vrubel'." Later, when the harmony of Blok's world was disrupted, the artist's influence became even more pronounced. Blok's soul, deafened with the echoes of passion and destruction, found its own echo, not in the silvery, fairy-tale pictures but in the lilac sunset of Vrubel's " Demon." This is how Blok himself described his spiritual state : " As through a broken dam, the blue-lilac twilight of the world bursts in (the best depicter of those colours was Vrubel'), to the lacerating accompaniment of violins and tunes, reminiscent of gipsy songs." ³⁰ Further on, comparing his work at that time to that of Vrubel', he says : " It is a devilish fusion of many worlds, pre-eminently of blue and lilac. If I possessed Vrubel's medium, I would have created the Demon ; but each fulfils his given task." ³¹

Thus we bring our survey to a close. Modern Russian art is still too near us for it to be possible to determine its outstanding features. One thing, however, is apparent ; the interrelation of painting and literature is still there. As before, after a short interval of abstract " left " currents, subject-preoccupation and literariness still obstruct the free development of pure painting—and as before, it is to this connection with literature that many remarkable works of pictorial art (as, for instance, the rise of graphic art in Soviet Russia) owe their appearance. The interaction of literature and painting, so beneficial and yet so dangerous, appears to be a fatal bond in Russia which nothing can dissolve.

MIKHAIL GORLIN.

English by NINA BRODIANSKY.

³⁰ *Vide* article, " On the present state of Russian Symbolism," Blok, *Complete Works*, Berlin, 1923, p. 185.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 187

THE HISTORIAN ALEXANDER BRÜCKNER

1834-1896

(A NEGLECTED PAGE OF RUSSIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY)

THE fiftieth anniversary of the death of Alexander Brückner appears to be not merely a fitting occasion for recalling the work of this distinguished Russian historian, whose numerous Russian and German publications on 17th- and 18th-century history are still permanently referred to, but who in spite of this seems nowadays to be threatened with oblivion. For apart from the fact that his identity has become obscure to the average student—his name being easily confounded with that of the eminent Polish philologist, Aleksander Brückner—the historian has in recent years been overlooked even by experts both abroad and at home. For example, nothing whatsoever is said about him either in A. Mazour's concise *Modern Russian Historiography*, published in the U.S.A. in 1939, or in the bulky *Russian Historiography* (in Russian) by N. L. Rubinshteyn, published in Moscow in 1941. To some extent this strange coincidence may be due to the fact that neither of the two authors had much to say about any of the essential problems with which Brückner's name will always be associated; but this does not make the coincidence less surprising in view of the complete difference of the two works in approach and purpose.

Had Brückner been merely the author of the once widely known histories of Peter the Great (in German, 1879, in Russian, 1882), and of Catherine the Great (in German, 1883, in Russian, 1885),¹ it might have seemed unreasonable to search for his name in modern historiographies limited by size or ideology. Even if it be conceded that in spite of their shortcomings these two standard works have not yet been pushed as far into the background as might have been expected—the plain fact being that no works of equal seriousness have as yet been completed to replace them²—this alone would

¹ Reference is made to the first editions only. Both German works appeared in Oncken's "Allgem. Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen." The Russian publications were not translations but parallel works with many authentic illustrations. Both histories appeared in Italian as well.

² Like Bil'basov's monumental history of Catherine which began to appear in Brückner's lifetime, Bogoslovskiy's great work on Peter, posthumously published in recent years, was doomed to remain a torso.

not justify any expectation of special prominence being given to his name before scores of other Russian historians similarly left aside. Still less sound it would be to assume any particular interest for Brückner's methodological writings, although a superficial perusal of the numerous references to him in the first volume of Ikonnikov's famous *Russian Historiography* suffices to show among other things how alive he was to all problems connected with the study and teaching of Russian history. Moreover, some of his ideas have not lost anything of the topical appeal they had in his own day, e.g. the project of an exhaustive registration of Russian historical sources to be carried out by the combined efforts of all Russian historians,³ which was discussed at two Archæological Congresses, but unfortunately never put into practice. Such episodes are of course only sideshows, and room can scarcely be expected for them in modern historiographical works of a general nature.

But what is harder to bear is the complete omission of any reference to Brückner as the champion of a vital historiographical problem. For if the *Europeanisation of Russia* as a long-term development has in the course of time become almost a commonplace in Russian historical text-books, it was to a great extent Brückner's consistent spadework that helped to raise the question above philosophical strife and party polemics by putting it on a firm scientific basis. It is no exaggeration to say that the problem of Russia's "Europeanisation" was the pivot around which his work revolved to the end of his days. This is naturally not meant to imply any specific limitation of his sphere of interest. The striking variety of subjects that attracted his attention included economic and social matters as well as cultural and political developments—to mention only some of the chief categories—quite apart from the biographical element in history. At the same time all groups of problems may be said to have been treated by him with profusion. Already the first general survey of his work in the obituary published in February, 1897, in the *Journal of the Ministry of Education*, by his successor in the chair at Dorpat, the late Professor Shmurlo, comprised 229 items.⁴ In its final shape as it was included in 1903 in Brückner's biography by the same author in the second volume of the *Biographical Dictionary of Professors and*

³ See Brückner's article "Ob uchebnikh posobiakh pri izucheni istorii Rossii," in *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniya*, 1876, Pt. 186, otd. ped., pp. 1-21. Cf. "Brückner," in *Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar'* (Brokgauz-Efron), vol. IVa, 1891, p. 673.

⁴ "A. G. Brückner (Nekrolog)," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniya*, Pt. 309, pp. 117-57.

Teachers of Dorpat University the bibliography went up to 241 titles.⁵ It is quite likely that, in spite of the compiler's well-known thoroughness, this list too might prove incomplete owing to the immense number of Russian and German periodicals to which Brückner contributed. One essential publication had a story of its own. It was only in 1907, i.e. ten years after it had appeared in Germany, that Brückner's book on *The Death of Paul I* was published for the first time in Russia in a Russian translation and with the author's full name. In Shmurlo's list we still see it only in the original German edition, which for obvious reasons was published not only abroad and posthumously, in 1897, but also under a pseudonym—the mysterious initials "R. R."⁶

* * *

The limitations imposed by a commemorative article preclude any possibility of paying due attention to all of Brückner's works. However, before attempting to give a summary appreciation, it is well to point out that his literary work developed parallel and in close touch with his activity as a university teacher, which was distinguished by the same broadminded variety of interest. Fortunately the data about the man are less overwhelming in volume than the bibliographical material. Yet they are by no means scanty and provide us with a clear picture of his long academic career, the beginnings of which were somewhat unusual.⁷

A Finnish citizen, the son of a business man, Aleksandr Gustavovich Brikner (as he was called in Russian) was born in St. Petersburg on 24 July (5 August), 1834, and was educated there at the German St. Peter's School. On leaving school family circumstances induced him to take up a commercial career, and for six years (1851-1857) he worked with a Petersburg firm. However, in 1857, feeling dissatisfied with his profession Brückner went to Germany, and until 1860 studied at the Universities of Heidelberg, Jena, and Berlin. Among the teachers whose lectures he attended and under whose guidance he worked were Ranke, Droysen, and Häusser. On acquiring the degree of Dr. Phil. at Heidelberg in

⁵ *Biograficheskii Slovar' Professorov i Prepodavateley Imperatorskago Yur'evskago, Bivshago Derpt'skago, Universiteta za sto let ego Sushchestvovaniya* (1802-1902), tom 11, 1903, pp. 546-58.

⁶ Although a matter of common knowledge among educated Russians the violent death of Emperor Paul I was in Brückner's time still one of the topics strictly banned from discussion in print.

⁷ A few Russian obituaries and surveys dealing with Brückner's work are listed in O. I. Shvedova's *Istoriki S.S.S.R. Ukazatel' pechatnikov spiskov ikh trudov*, 1941, p. 31.

1860, he returned to St. Petersburg, and was in January, 1861, appointed as teacher of history at the School of Legal Studies (Uchilishche Pravovedeniya). In 1865—after having in the previous year received the degree of M A for a work on *Copper Money in Russia (1656-1663) and Money Tokens in Sweden (1716-1719)* (in Russian)—he began to lecture at the University of St. Petersburg as well, but in 1867 he was made professor of General History at the University of Odessa. In the same year the University of Dorpat awarded him the degree of Dr. Hist. Un. for a new work on financial history published in German: *Finanzgeschichtliche Studien. Kupfergeldkrisen*.

When he was in Odessa, Brückner began to concentrate on Russian history in an ever-increasing degree. In the meantime the University of Dorpat was making vain attempts to find a suitable successor for Carl Schirren, who in 1869 for political reasons had been removed by the Russian Government from the chair of the history of Russia. One of the candidates suggested had been the young but already renowned V. O. Klyuchevskiy. But this appointment proved impracticable for formal reasons, and it was decided to offer the chair to Brückner. In November, 1871, he was elected by the university council almost unanimously, and in March, 1872, followed his installation by the Minister of Education, Count D. Tolstoy, who added a special proviso that, in accordance with earlier usage, Brückner should lecture to the students in Russian only. This, in the opinion of the Minister, could cause no difficulty in view of Brückner's complete mastery of the Russian language.

During his professorship at Dorpat he not only lectured on a great variety of problems connected with the history of Russia, but also held other academic posts, and played a very active part at several Russian Archæological Congresses of the period. After completing twenty-five years of service in January, 1886, Brückner was permitted to retain his chair at Dorpat for a further quinquennium, but at the end of this period the Ministry did not confirm his re-election a second time.⁸ Instead of this he was transferred in June, 1891, as professor to the University of Kazan. However, this appointment remained purely nominal, and brought about only a rise in his pension; for Brückner did not even visit Kazan, but went abroad on leave instead and settled in Jena. A year later he retired for good.

From then on in addition to his literary work, Brückner devoted

⁸ This was the time of the radical Reorganisation of the Dorpat University which was soon renamed "University of Yur'ev."

his time to intensive research work in various European archives, thus carrying out a desire of long standing. For although he had already drawn on unpublished records for his doctor's thesis on German history, it was only in the eighties that he was able to undertake journeys abroad for research on Russian subjects. These visits to foreign archives were, however, for a long time only sporadic and short, and at the same time his occasional statements that too much attention was sometimes being paid to unpublished materials whilst enough use was not made of published sources,⁹ seemed to confirm the erroneous impression of some Russian critics that he was content merely with sifting and analysing old facts.¹⁰ In reality he had a keen wish to extend his investigations, as is apparent from his application for a prolonged leave in 1882, when he stressed the urgent need to carry out researches in archives, after having had no opportunity for this during twenty-two years. Among the first results of Brückner's work in Italian archives in 1882 and 1883 were publications dealing with the sojourn of Russian diplomats in Italy in the 17th century; whilst the researches undertaken in 1889 in Stockholm, Berlin, and Paris were connected with the voluminous edition of *Materials for a Life Story of Count Nikita Petrovich Panin* in which he endeavoured to combine the biographical narrative with a systematic publication of the papers of this Russian diplomat and statesman under Emperor Paul (7 volumes, 1888-1892).

But it was only after his final departure from Dorpat that Brückner was able to go ahead with his researches on a broad scale. The results were soon apparent in numerous articles, dealing in particular with Russia's foreign relations in the 18th century. His real aim was more ambitious, for it is known that the materials for which he was searching in the West and North European capitals were intended for an extensive history of Russia in several volumes covering the years 1725 to 1762, with which he had so far dealt only in separate books and articles. But this *opus magnum*, spanning the gap between his Histories of Peter I and of Catherine II mentioned above, had not yet outgrown the preliminary stages when his life ended on 15 November, 1896. His premature death interrupted also the completion of his last big publication in German—*Geschichte Russlands bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, in the new series of Heeren and Ukert's "Histories of the European States," edited

⁹ Cf. his article in *Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1876, Pt. 186, p. 6.

¹⁰ Cf.: "Brückner," in *Nastol'niiy Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar'* (Granat), 6th ed., vol. 2, 1903, p. 710, and in *Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar'* (Granat) 7th ed., vol. 6, p. 552.

by Lamprecht. Designed to supplement the old volumes by Strahl and Herrmann, who had dealt mainly with political events, the two new volumes gave the author the possibility of summing up and expounding all the cultural developments with which he had been preoccupied for so many years. Unfortunately he managed to publish only the first volume, which brought the story up to 1725. It appeared in 1896—the last year of his unusually productive life. For the second volume of the work, which was published only in 1913, Brückner had prepared only the general outlines; and although, on the whole, it was in conformity with Brückner's design—the book was finally written by a former student, C. Mettig.

However conspicuous in themselves, the bare biographical facts of course do not suffice to determine with accuracy the place held by Brückner among the Russian historians of his time. It is necessary to add in particular that in his lifetime, and even later, his name was known to an exceptionally wide range of readers—apart from the professional historians. For, in addition to being (as we have already seen) unusually prolific, he had a gift for popularising historical matter without debasing it; thus stimulating serious interest in Russia's past in circles otherwise indifferent to or out of touch with Russian historical studies. In this respect Prof. Shmürlo even compared Brückner's influence with the part played earlier by Kostomarov.¹¹ Moreover, writing in German with the same ease and fluency as in Russian, he materially assisted the development of Russian historical studies outside Russia by acquainting the West with the achievements of Russian historiography at a time when, in most countries, such studies were just beginning to be pursued systematically. On the other hand, his close contacts with Western historiography and his knowledge of languages were equally of advantage in the other direction, as he was quick to introduce new materials likely to be of interest to Russian historians. This rôle of an intermediary alone makes Brückner a distinct—one might almost say unique—figure among Russian historians, and this point is duly stressed in an outline of Russian historiography by Milyukov.¹² But it is not so much this rôle, nor even his voluminous literary contribution that has given him a secure claim to a permanent place in the history of Russian historiography. It is even probable that part of his massive output would have to be discounted, because Brückner's two-sided activity induced

¹¹ In the Obituary, *Zhurnal Min. Nar. Pros.*, Pt. 309, p. 122.

¹² "Rossiya. Istochniki Russkoy Istorii i Russkaya Istoriografiya," in *Entsiklopedicheskiy Slovar* (Brokgauz-Efron), vol. 38, 1899, p. 445

Cf. the Obituary in *Vestnik Evropy*, vol. VI, Dec., 1896, pp. 901-02.

him occasionally to duplicate his work by publishing it in two languages with no more than slight adaptations. He was also in the habit of collecting or summarising earlier publications and reissuing them as new works.

Decisive for the tribute due to him in retrospect is above all the part which he played in elucidating the complex historical questions epitomized as the *Europeanisation of Russia*. In order to clarify this point it is necessary to steer clear of the general difficulties which unfortunately are inherent in the problem. There is scarcely any need of saying that even to the present day the history of Russia's relations with the West has (probably more than any other Russian historical problem) been either neglected or treated emotionally under the cloak of some "historiosophy"; so that the outlines of everything connected with it easily appear blurred or distorted. In Brückner's case it is also important to avoid the danger of being sidetracked by apparently harmless criticisms of a general nature. Any remarks to the effect that all his facts were known before, or that professional historians had not much to learn from him,¹³ are beside the point. On the other hand, it would of course be just as wrong to credit him with the discovery of the problem. In his approach to it, he obviously followed the lead of S. M. Solov'ev who, in the thirteenth volume of his famous *History*, inaugurated a new and scientific study of Peter the Great's reforms in place of the old rigid and erroneous conception—shared equally by Slavophiles and Westerners—that Peter had arbitrarily changed the course of Russian history. But it was Solov'ev's younger contemporary, Brückner, who set about collecting methodically all (whether old or new) available evidence proving that the "Europeanisation" had begun long before Peter's time, and that in the 17th century in particular the development had reached a very appreciable stage. In pursuing his investigations with ever-increasing range in various publications—*Culturhistorische Studien* (1878), *Bilder aus Russlands Vergangenheit. Bd. I. Beiträge zur Culturgeschichte Russlands im XVII. Jahrhundert* (1887), *Die Europäisierung Russlands. Land und Volk* (1888), *Geschichte Russlands bis zum Ende des XVIII. Jahrhunderts. Bd. I. Ueberblick der Entwicklung bis zum Tode Peters des Grossen* (1896)—to mention only the larger works—Brückner consistently tried to show the gradual transformation of Russia, as he called it, from an Asiatic into a European state. In tracing the growth of Western influence and the channels through which it penetrated he concentrated with

¹³ E.g. in *Istoricheskiy Vestnik*, Obituary, Dec., 1896, pp. 1102-04.

particular care on the human agents who were instrumental in establishing the cultural contacts, i.e. on "Russians abroad" and on "Foreigners in Russia." There is probably no need to add that his great interest in the history of foreigners automatically directed his attention to the relevant materials, namely to the reports of foreigners, which have always been considered as one of the important sources of Russian history in general.

Since each of the two groups of cultural intermediaries just mentioned—the second in particular—was composed of various professional categories, it is not surprising to find a corresponding classification, with many subdivisions, not only reflected in the titles of numerous articles but also incorporated in the scheme of large works. In applying this method of strict systematisation and tracing the development of each phenomenon throughout the ages, Brückner tried to put into practice the ideas he propounded both in a remarkable Foundation-Day speech at the University of Dorpat in 1886, and in the Prefaces to several of his books about the necessity of transforming history from art into science by studying the past in "longitudinal cuts," and thus creating "rows of facts" which permit of making exact deductions; in order that mass observation leading to generalisation should replace the old habit of mere accumulation of an ever-increasing stock of details.¹⁴

It is interesting to note that Brückner's ideas met with vigorous criticism and opposition on the part of certain German historians. Particularly outspoken was the Baltic historian (later professor in Berlin), Theodor Schiemann, whose disdain for Brückner was very great in general—his irritation being primarily caused by the latter's conviction that Russia's historical destiny was to become and to be an integral part of Europe. Unacceptable were naturally also minor heretical opinions, e.g. Brückner's "extremely unhistorical" conception that the influence of Byzantium had been of greater consequence than the rôle of the Varangians, who, in Schiemann's words, had "founded the state." Against Brückner's conclusion that in the long run Russia would have become European even without Peter, Schiemann's retort was simple enough: Russia is not and will never be completely Europeanised; the few Europeans among the Russians had all foreign blood in their veins; and it would be a fortunate event if the "Slavo-Tartar Kolossus" would recede to the East, for its nature is contrary to Western culture. Grudgingly conceding

¹⁴ Festrede zur Jahresfeier der Stiftung der Universität Dorpat am 12. December 1886, Gehalten von Dr. A. Brückner: "Über Thatachenreihen in der Geschichte," etc., 1886, pp. 3-23.

that the book *Die Europäisierung Russlands* was a "fleissige Arbeit" (industrious work) Schiemann was to some extent willing to ascribe Brückner's misconceptions to "patriotism," and to the "unpolitical vein" affecting his judgements.¹⁵

In fairness to Schiemann, outbursts like these should of course not be divorced from their contemporary political background—it was the time of the rapidly tightening Russification of the Baltic provinces: and in our context they are quoted only as an indirect testimony, if any is needed, to Brückner's scientific integrity. These attacks were balanced (in substance, if not in form) by corresponding criticisms from the Russian side. Not only did Russian critics reproach him for unduly exaggerating the importance of Western influence and of foreigners in Russian history, but some even thought that the great attention paid to the Balts was due to his political sympathies. A prominent example of biased resentment against Brückner on the Russian side can be found in the *History of Russian Selfconsciousness* (Russian, 1884) by M. O. Koyalovich. The Slavophil author of this survey finds Brückner guilty of all the deadly sins for which he castigates the earlier "Baltic" historians. Apart from the vexing conception of Russia's transformation into a European state, it is in particular his criticisms of certain aspects of the Byzantine influence that cause annoyance to Koyalovich.¹⁶ Brückner did not ignore the attack. His reply was a long and thorough review in the *Historische Zeitschrift* (vol. 57, 1887, pp. 155-74) showing all the weak points and factual inaccuracies of the book.

This was by no means the only case in which Brückner showed his ability to hit back. That he could hit no less hard than his opponents is proved by his circumstantial article "Zur Geschichte Peter's des Grossen" (*Historische Zeitschrift*, 1881, vol. 45, pp. 468-87) in reply to a scathing review of his history of Peter by C. Schirren, his predecessor at Dorpat. Of greater historiographical interest, however, is the long and sharp controversy between Brückner and the German historian of Russia, E. Herrmann, Professor at Marburg, which developed over the value of an account of Russia under Peter the Great given by the Prussian diplomat Vockerodt which had been published by Herrmann. In the end, it is true, neither party got to the root of the problem.¹⁷

¹⁵ S. Schiemann's Reviews of Brückner's *Die Ärzte in Russland*, in vol. 62, pp. 375-76, and *Europäisierung Russland's*, in vol. 63, pp. 181-86, of *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1889. It is interesting that the editor felt the necessity to show his disapproval of such political bias.

¹⁶ *Istoriya Russkogo Samosoznaniya po Istoricheskim Pamyatnikam i Nauchn. Sochineniyam*, 3rd ed., 1901, pp. 209, 381-87.

¹⁷ Cf. E. Shmurlo, *Vol'ter i ego kniga o Petre Velikom*, Prague, 1929, p. 22.

Though always willing to stand up to his opponents Brückner seems at the same time to have been a kindly man with a keen sense of humour. There is also ample evidence that he was very popular with his students, who both at Odessa and at Dorpat were attracted by the variety of subjects on which he lectured as well as by the Seminars, to which he devoted much time and attention in connection with his lectures. Moreover, his great learning and intellectual charm has been acknowledged even by some of those German critics who totally disagreed with his historical methods.¹⁸

Reminiscences of Brückner, tinged with a deep feeling of admiration and gratitude, were published in 1913 by one of his students at the University of Odessa, A. Kolyankovskiy.¹⁹ They give an attractive picture of the young professor, who fascinated his students with his brilliant lectures, and who at the same time won their affection by his friendly attitude and by his readiness to help. The essential points of these reminiscences are confirmed with regard to a later period in an article by R. Hausmann in the fifty-fifth volume of the *German Biographical Dictionary* published in 1910. But the author of this biographical sketch, who seems to have been a student at the Dorpat University, speaks also of Brückner's "International-Cosmopolitan Standpoint" and optimistic "Weltanschauung," as well as of his close ties with Russia's intellectual and academic life. He adds that only in the last years at Dorpat did Brückner's outlook begin to be affected by the heavy political pressure which in the end deprived him of his professorship.²⁰

In summing up the picture of the historian and the man fifty years after his death, no room is left for doubt that his bilingual work reflected a fine blend of Russian and German scholarship, free of political bias,²¹ and that his intense interest in the Europeanisation of Russia was deeply rooted in his own cultural complexity.

LEO LOEWENSON.

¹⁸ See J. Caro's Review of *Geschichte Russlands*, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1897, vol. 79, pp. 521-23.

¹⁹ In *Golos Mymvshago*, 1913, No. 9, pp. 158-68, with an interesting portrait as well as quotations from A. Markevich, *25-letnie Imperatorshago Novorossiyskago Universiteta* (1890). A short summary of the article was given by L. L. in *Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte*, vol. IV, 1914, pp. 601-02.

²⁰ *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 55 "Nachträge," 1910, pp. 688-91.

²¹ It is gratifying to find the latter point stressed in the obituary by E. Guglia, in *Biographisches Jahrbuch und Deutscher Nekrolog*, edited by A. Bettelheim, vol. I, 1897, pp. 36-38.

THE ESTONIAN SONNET

I

As in Eastern Europe generally the cultivation of the sonnet came late to Estonia, and for political and social reasons later than to those countries (e.g. Poland and Russia, with Mickiewicz and Puškin respectively) where history and literary tradition have a longer record. Whereas Western Europe learnt to use this mediæval Italian verse-form (*sonnetto*)¹ belatedly in the 16th century,² Eastern Europe had no examples of it till the beginning of the 19th, and Estonia only in the 'eighties.

The Estonian poet Bernard Kangro (b. 1910), who has written a university dissertation on this subject,³ refers to the sonnet descriptively as "the strophe of strophes." But his description, though applicable to the *sonnet redoublé* of fifteen stanzas, to the seven interlocked sonnets of Donne's "La Corona," and, in our time, to W. E. Leonard's American sequence "Two Lives" (1922), as well as, less appropriately, to the looser sonnet-cycles numerous enough in Europe since Petrarca's time (e.g. Joachim du Bellay's "Olive," 1549), is something of a misnomer, because the strophic dichotomy of the form, masked indeed by the Petrarchan arrangement (viz. two quatrains and two triplets), illustrates a peculiar type of metrical association which lends itself to epitome rather than to development.

¹ Metrically complex verse is found in the works of Provençal and Catalan troubadours, and this like the Italian metric probably owed much, including perfection of rhyme and the musical background, to Sicilian and Andalusian Arabic example (Vide J. M. Milla, "Influencia de la poesía popular hispano-musulmana en la poesía italiana," in *Revista de Archivos*, 1920-1921, and J. Rubera, *Historia de la música árabe medieval*, 1929.) The sonnet, however, is first illustrated by the Sicilian School in the early 13th century. It was apparently evolved from the *strambotto* (two octaves) by adding two *volte*, i.e. a double refrain of triplets. Dante was the first major poet to use the form, and Petrarca wrote the first important sonnet-cycle. In 1332 Antonio da Tempo described sixteen varieties of sonnets.

² The sonnet was introduced into Spanish by the Marquis of Santillana (Íñigo López de Mendoza) in the 15th century and into Portuguese by Luiz de Camoës in the 16th. Clément Marot was the earliest poet to use the sonnet in French, and he was closely followed by other 16th-century Renaissance writers, e.g. Mellin de St. Gelay and Louise Labé. All these used the decasyllabic line. Pierre Ronsard and the Pléiade introduced the alexandrine. Germany received her sonnets early in the 17th century from Martin Opitz and G. R. Weckerlin, who, like the Elizabethans, followed French example. The English spelling of the word "sonnet", incidentally, suggests a French rather than an Italian origin. Vide H. Vaganay, *Le sonnet en italien et en français au xvi^e siècle* (1902); J. G. Espiner, *Les sonnets élisabéthains* (1929); H. Welti, *Geschichte des Sonetts in der deutschen Dichtung* (1884).

³ *Eesti soneti ajalugu* (Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Tartuensis, B Humaniora XLIV, Tartu, 1939).

Faithful reproduction of the compact Italian pattern seems to have given trouble to foreigners from the outset, and national substitutes like the French sonnet with the alexandrine line, standardised by Malherbe, and the Elizabethan integration of three quatrains and a couplet, the last adopted from Thomas Wyatt's experiments by Henry Howard in the first half of the 16th century, have been evolved. A more rigid adherence to the original type occurs among the Romantic poets (Alfieri, Sainte-Beuve, Wordsworth), who revived it after the Classical interregnum, and especially during the 19th century, with the petrification of received forms in the hands of the Parnassians (e.g. Leconte de Lisle, J. M. de Hérédia). Symbolism and associated tendencies abroad led to experimental changes like the shortening of the lines of some of Stéphane Mallarmé's sonnets (e.g. "Une dentelle s'abolit" and "Quelle soie aux baumes de temps") and the distorting effects in R. M. Rilke's "Sonette an Orpheus." The diverse manifestations of "modernism," including surrealism, have largely defaced the sonnet, till little more than the linear grouping properly remains, as, for instance, in George Barker's "Pacific Sonnets" (*vide* "Eros in Dogma," 1944). Similar phases in the evolution of the sonnet occur in Estonian literature, but their spacing is markedly shorter. Where it required at least three centuries to arrive at the latter-day English types of syntactically welded quatorzain, Estonian literature, primed and enriched by foreign example, has reached them in sixty years.

II

The German Romantic School (A. W. Schlegel, Lenau, Arnim, Heyse) appears to have been the starting point of the Estonian sonnet. Though by no means the first Estonian to write sonnets, Jakob Liiv, brother of the more famous and less fortunate Juhan, at least indicates one of their sources. "I read Lenau's and liked them immensely. Then I experienced a strong impulse to discover whether Estonian could master the sonnet. At first, however, I knew little about the form." This does not appear to have been the approach of the earliest practitioners—Jaan Bergmann (1856–1916), Koidula (Lydia Jannsen, 1843–1886),⁴ and M. J. Eisen (1857–1934), all of whom published formally regular sonnets in 1881. The first two seem to have been the earliest to write Estonian sonnets, but Eisen's "Salute to the Fatherland" (*Õnnesoov isamaale*)

⁴ A full biography of this important poetess will be found in Aino Kallas's *Tähdenlento*, translated into Estonian by F. Tuglas (*Täheleend*) in 1929.

was the first to appear. There is little idiosyncrasy, except in Koidula's lines like :

" Your lap is full of agony and war,
My Fatherland ! (" Come ! "—*Tule !*)

and

" Our souls are scanning heaven for the east." (" Bent on
Our Task "—*Oma teul*),

which carry the fervid exaltation of her patriotism as unmistakably as does the freer movement of her lyrics. But, generally speaking, these and subsequent Estonian sonnets down to the turn of the 19th century reflect the literary manner fashionable in the period that immediately followed the National Renaissance (*Ärkamisaeg*, 1860–1880) rather than individual personality, and very few of them emerge from a flat, epigonic level of workmanship. Stereotyped rhyme-patterns predominate ; there are rhyme-induced superfluous words and thought-movements ; the inspiration is metrical and verbal ; alliteration and assonance are freely resorted to ; and hypotaxis, with conjunctions and relatives, is all too common.

III

A new departure in the history of the Estonian sonnet begins in the 20th century with the practice of the revolutionary Young Estonia (*Noor Eesti*) group,⁵ whose purpose is given in an exhortation to contemporaries printed by Gustav Suits (b. 1883) in their first *Album* (1905) : " More culture ! (it reads) More European culture ! Let us be Estonians, but let us become Europeans as well ! " The significance of these words was that they soon became the slogans not only of a coterie of literary men, but of all Estonian society at that time. In literature it implied the end of German Romantic inspiration. The new type of sonnet, represented by the early ones of Suits, who began writing chiefly under French Symbolist influence, illustrates the change. It takes on canonical form under French and Italian direction. The first Young Estonia sonnets, " Melancholia " and " Solitude " (*Üksildus*),⁶ printed in 1909, came from the hand of Johannes Aavik (-Randvere), the reformer of the Estonian language. Suits's own " Nebulosa " (*Nebuloosa*), with that haunting echo in the quatrains, belongs to the same year and was reprinted later in the touching and masterly *Land of Winds* (Tuulemaa, 1913),

⁵ Vide A. Kallas's *Nuori-Viro-Muotokuvia ja suuntavivoja* (Helsinki, 1918).

⁶ Vide *Noor Eesti Album III*, 1909.

which confronts with this other, softer specimens of Suits's sonnet technique, like "Elegy of Roses" (*Rooside eleeigia*, I-II).

NEBULOSA

Delirium and dreams had left dark traces,
 October dribbled from the boughs in rain;
 We wandered prisoners to subtle pain
 In desolate and autumn-littered places.
 Dusk muffled the bleak stone of built-up spaces;
 At corners saffron lamps spilt pool and stain;
 We wandered prisoners to subtle pain
 In desolate and autumn-littered places.

Beyond last reach the gardens of delight
 And hope of miracles scaled from the sight,
 Love fled into the darkness and the city.
 And without dreams now at the turn of tide,
 We walked at random, mute and side by side,
 Till flagging limbs had drained the heart of pity.

Compared with those of his contemporaries, Suits's rhyme-schemes are varied. Scandinavian as well as Italian and French example seems to have been followed, and Suits himself admits that he was influenced *inter alia* by Österling. His sonnets are compact, monolithic, and countenance bold overflow and centrilinear interpunction. The theme subdues the structure, not the line the thought. The progress of Suits's sonnets pursues a pithier compression and an increasing complexity, as in the labyrinths of "It's All a Dream" (*Kõik on kokku unenagu*, 1922), e.g. in "Oasis" (*Oaas*), "Forcing House" (*Triiphooone*) and "Sympathy" (*Kaastundmus*), where landscape merges in mind and linear in musical design.⁷

Among Suits's associates in the Young Estonia storms, Villem Grünthal-Ridala (1885-1942) preferred Italian models and simple vernacular landscape. His sonnets are firm and formally accurate, his strokes like naturalistic painting. One sequence of twelve is dedicated to the Estonian spring (*Kevade*), and the seasonal *motif* colours several other pieces, e.g. "Summer" (*Suvi*), "Summer Night" (*Suve õö*) and "Swans" (*Luiged*), in his second collection of verse "Far Beaches" (*Kauged rannad*, 1914). The later sonnets are as classical and as quiet in temper. Ridala's language is the innovator's, like Aavik's, and his vocabulary rich in words of dialectal and Finnish provenance.

⁷ Most of Suits's poems are now collected in *Kogutud luuletused* (Tartu, 1938).

Ernst Enno's (1875-1934) sonnets,⁸ like his life, stand apart from the Young Estonia subject-matter and idiom and confine on the older trends of the late 19th century. They have the twilit air and blurred outlines of Corot landscapes, the musical drift and suggestiveness characteristic of his other poetry, and their style and rhythms reflect their melic inspiration. (*Vide* the sonnet "How Good that Certain Things Are Left Unsaid"—*On hea et kõike ütelda ei saa*—in "Lost Home" (*Kadunud kodu*), 1920.)

The energy and goals of Young Estonia were renewed by the Siuru⁹ group, which included several outstanding poets of what was soon to be independent Estonia. Among these an easy first was Marie Under (b. 1883), the others were: Henrik Visnapuu (b. 1889), Johannes Semper (b. 1892), Johannes Barbarus (pseudonym of J. Vares, b. 1890), Arthur Adson (b. 1889), August Alle (b. 1890), and Jaan Kärner (b. 1891), each of them later a well-marked personality. Marie Under's "Spring Songs" (*Kevade laulud*), subsequently taken up in her first published collection, "Preflorescence" (*Eelõitseng*, 1918), appeared in the Young Estonia Album for 1912. They set the type of sonnet which was afterwards familiarised by "Sonetid" (1917), and of which perhaps "Ecstasy" (*Ekstaas*) is the obvious example.

ECSTASY

Ah, earthly life burns in a myriad splendours
 Not even death's dark hazard can destroy.
 I yield, a willing prisoner, to joy;
 I never sorted with discreet pretenders.
 And as the shaken glaucous wave engenders
 Spindrift, so my green falling silks deploy
 A froth, and all is stripped to the last toy,
 And, caught in ecstasy, my sense surrenders.

Why does the blossom wanton in the light,
 The blue horizon lure me to its border?
 My body too is of their bent and order:
 My every nerve vibrates to rapt delight,
 And I distraign my life of its last treasure
 As if my mounting days had brimmed their measure.

There are fifty sonnets here in all, and these communicate a vernal

⁸ *Vide Valitud vārsid* (Tartu, 1937), a selection of Enno's poems made by Bernard Kangro

⁹ So named after an unidentified bird in The Kalevid (*Kalevipoeg*, XIV, 315).

vitality and passion through the symbols of an isolated Dionysiac landscape, compressed within the narrow contours of the strict Italian form. (*Vide* "Blue Veranda"—*Sinine terrass*—and "In Lilac Time"—*Sirelite aegu*). The later sonnets "Under the Open Sky" (*Lageda taeva all*, 1930) and "A Stone off the Heart" (*Kivi sudamelt*, 1935) divulge a new intensity, drawn from the sources of sickness and pain, an enormous awareness of common death. There are too, extending her range, sonnet portraits of Old Testament characters (Adam, Delilah) and of Christian personalities (Mary Magdalene, St. George). Between the spring and now the autumn of her literary production came the intrusion of German expressionism. In 1920 she had translated and published a selection of contemporary German lyrics (*Valimik saksa uuemast lüürikast*), and this contained the names and poems of Georg Heym, Franz Werfel, Ernst Stadler, and Walter Hasenclever. From 1927 on (*vide* "A Voice from the Shadows"—*Hääl varjust*) Marie Under's work begins to strike a balance between the esoteric and the exoteric, which has enriched her mature art with the shapes and colours of a profound humanity. As we have seen, sonnets figure in and exemplify both phases of her poetry. Her later ones are deeper and denser and depend for their unity on a careful concatenation of details.¹⁰

Henrik Visnapuu's *Amores* (1917) are the masculine counterpart of Marie Under's first book and contain sonnets which, like his early poetry in general, express the sensual intoxication, the *carpe diem* incontinence of the war and revolution years. This poet has freely yielded to the temptations of fashionable tendencies (e.g. futurism, cubism) and experiments boldly and with less restraint than Suits in the technique of prosodic expression. His verse-forms have always faithfully reflected the movement of his emotions.

Johannes Semper's "Pierrot" (1917) illustrates a colder sensuousness and his French attachments. Moreover he has felt the emancipating effect of free verse, especially Whitman's and Verhaeren's, but the experience has served only to strengthen his personal form-consciousness, and his sonnets, which comprise several on animals, exhibit the subtleties of a firm artistic discipline.

Johannes Barbarus, who also acknowledges French inspiration,¹¹ has been less bound by traditionalism (*vide Fata Morgana*, 1918, Man and Sphinx—*Inimene ja sfinks*, 1919, and *Katastroofid*, 1920) in the course of his literary development than Semper, but his formal

¹⁰ *Vide* the Marie Under anthology, "And Flesh became Word" (*Jalhsa sar sõnaks*, Tartu, 1936), which contains an appreciation by Prof. A. Oras.

¹¹ *Vide* his article, "A Glance at the Modern French Lyric" (*Pilk prantsuse moderni lüürikasse*), published in the periodical *Creative Art* (*Looming*) in 1925.

sense is nevertheless strongly developed. The French affiliation of his technique, as of Semper's, is suggested by the appearance of the alexandrine line in some of his sonnets, e.g. in "Solar System."

SOLAR SYSTEM

Not seldom have I mounted as the sun's strong light
 Into your senses' zenith and your soul's high places,
 And there at times, eclipsed by the long bastioned flight
 Of clouds, have foundered in the frigid air of spaces.
 But I have re-emerged at length bearing no traces
 Of my discomfiture, to meet your yearning sight
 And see renewed the floral marvel of your graces,
 Your fingers reaching out towards luminous delight.

Over the earth the shadows will not stint their flying,
 And when the night has come you fill its folds with crying
 And thrust cold pallid hands in to the ambient blindness.
 But when your thoughts and senses lie in dim disorder
 My heart's door stands ajar with neither lock nor warder ;
 The sun has never failed of its primordial kindness.

The quiet, earthbound art of Arthur Adson (*vide* "Ardours of the Soul"—*Henge palango*, 1917, and "Old Lantern"—*Vana laterna*, 1919) and of Hendrik Adamson (*vide* "Viljandi Province"—*Mulgimaa*, 1919)—the one in Siuru, the other outside that movement—prefers dialectal expression to the literary language: Adson uses the Võru, Adamson the Viljandi dialect. Both have written formally regular and flexible sonnets in those homelier styles, which correspond approximately to Braid Scots and the Lancashire or the Yorkshire dialect, and have shown an easy competence in craftsmanship.¹²

In sharp contrast to the resigned tranquillity of the dialect poets, who are entirely free from any *idée fixe*, is the mordant social criticism of August Alle and Jaan Kärner. Each has a notable sense of form, Alle's being partly due to his classical studies. But Alle's sonnets suffer from his congenital inability to concentrate on an all-absorbing *motif* within the restricted space of the sonnet and from his pursuit of the striking and the decorative. In Kärner social verse is counterbalanced by personal, which in its beginnings reflects the common sensual extravagances of the Siuru movement.

¹² Dialect sonnets have also been written by J. Kitzberg, J. Kärner, J. Jaik, and M. Aleksa.

Less continent and more programmatic than Karner's is the social realism of the Literary Orbit group (*Kirjanduslik Orbit*, 1929-1930), which followed Siuru and was noisily represented by the adolescent indiscipline of Erni Hiir (b. 1900). Hiir's sonnets show traces of the vulgar dadaism with which he advertised himself at the outset. (*Vide* "Boomerang"—*Bumerang*, 1926, and Favourite Songs—*Lemmiklaulud*, 1926). His feeling for strict form is deliberately in abeyance, and his experiments lead him to write *inter alia* sonnets with octopodic lines and to replace iambus with dactyl. The unity of his slipshod sonnets is in their mood only, not in the possession of a hard core of meaning and in the thoughtful development of a theme.

All these representatives of literary movements, from the pioneering Young Estonia to the centripetal proletarian Literary Orbit, reveal a use of language at many points different from that of the 19th century. During those thirty years Estonian has mastered an abundance and pliancy unknown to the National Renaissance, and this has been due for the most part to the inventiveness and pertinacity of the language reformers and renovators (*keeleuuen-dajad*), headed by Aavik and Ridala. Lexical and morphological enrichment has been made possible by drawing on the stores and practice of the more advanced Finnish, on the collected wealth of the many Estonian dialects, and on occasionally felicitous individual invention of new roots and neologisms. Formally too both verse and prose have benefited by deliberate experiment, and the difference, for instance, between the earlier and the newer sonnet is like that which in other literatures is represented by the gap of a century or more.

IV

So far we have been considering authors whose national and even personal liberty, except since 1918, were circumscribed by political and social restraints. For over seven hundred years after the German crusades and conquest Estonia had experienced no political liberty, and her cultural development had largely depended on foreign tutelage, mainly German and Russian. The growth of a national literary consciousness fills the entire 19th century, especially the second half, and with the weakening of the Russian imperial hold on its provinces in the early 20th, the pent-up ardour and pride burst into impassioned expression. A morally and technically free, if politically fettered, literature dates in Estonia from 1905; a morally and politically free literature from 1918. All the newer

Estonian writers, including those of the Literary Orbit—and they are as varied as they are numerous—have had a stimulating background of national independence. They are writers with a predominantly Estonian tradition, undisturbed by the hesitations and inhibitions of a moral and actual bilingualism. The new sonnet is more characteristically Estonian and formally more elastic than all but the best sonnets of the Young Estonia and Siuru schools. Mart Raud's (b. 1903) autobiographical "Far Circle" (*Kauge ring*), in the verse collection of that name published in 1935, may be studied as an example of the newer manner.

FAR CIRCLE

My child's ear listened with the subtle pleasure
Of ecstasy upon the sill of sleep
To an old faint cavatina that would keep
Time to the sadness of my father's leisure
I too had wished to imitate that measure,
But fingers failed and eyes began to weep,
And soon it seemed my heart was littered deep
In grief that I had forfeited a treasure.

At length the circle brought me to his side :
I took the violin his hands had tried,
And pieced the precious air of muted sorrow.
Again the tense and pliant sinews cried,
The fragile bow as then would poise and glide,
And my son slept, lulled into his to-morrow.

Other sonnet-writers—some of them distinctly superior to Raud—are : Paul Viiding (b. 1904), Heiti Talvik (b. 1904), Betti Alver (b. 1906), Uku Masing (b. 1909), and Bernard Kangro (b. 1910), and on a rather lower level : Juhan Sinimäe, E. Mänd, M. Aleksa, and F. Karlson. Many of these exhibit a new trait of the Estonian sonnet, viz. the use of assonance or near-rhyme (*irdriim*). This was introduced by Valmar Adams (b. 1899) in his first book of verse *Snowward Kiss* (*Suudlus lumme*, 1924) and propounded as a theory. It faced violent opposition, but won through. Leo Anvelt used it deliberately in 1926, and since then it has been abundantly resorted to by Viiding, who, like Semper and Barbarus, has written sonnets in six-foot iambs, Mänd (in "Songs of Man"—*Inimese laulud*), Aleksa (in "Hearthstone"—*Tulease*), Sinimäe (in "Fatherland"—*Isámaa*), who has written hexametric sonnets, and the scholarly and promising

Bernard Kangro Viiding's art is centred in analysis, including psychoanalysis, and some of his sonnets are narrative. Unlike Marie Under's, his details are not studiously integrated but nevertheless they do not disguise the basic design of each particular sonnet. In tension of thought Viiding recalls Barbarus, but he lacks Barbarus's largeness and buoyancy. Sinimäe's sonnets resemble epitomes of short stories (*novellid*), which substitute concrete events for thought-symbols. A noteworthy feature here is point, expressed in the closing lines—sometimes with sardonic force. Point in a gayer, ironic vein seasons Karlson's "On the Move" (*Rannakuil*), a book of light sonnets about hiking and seaside life. Karlson's idiom is colloquially direct, his humour broad and amiable, his sonnets—occasional diary-verse. Bernard Kangro's collected *Sonetid* (1935), of which "Vernalia" (Kevadine) is a representative specimen, favour, in his own words, nature miniatures, in which personal symbolism (e.g. the reiterated images of drowning) blends with objective description.

VERNALIA

The warm spring draws new blades from last year's tussocks
And over twigs and branches spreads a greenish
Film. The light rye-braird scuttles with the breezes,
And buttercups proclaim approaching summer.
The birch trees perched upon a drying hummock
Suspend over my head their furtive fleeces,
And the black alders have renewed their leases,
Paying the spring with darkening berry-clusters.

Over the haugh the curlew broadly sketches
Its shape on bird-limed kexes as it passes
In heavy flight. The wind-swept face of heaven
Is covering with the rain's lank hair that stretches
Towards the warm zenith. And the blackbird leavens
All this with songs that stitch me to the grasses.

In contrast to Kangro's "down-to-earth" concreteness,¹³ rarely blurred by Enno-like imagery, Uku Masing's erudite mystical sonnets use definite symbols in complex patterns of ecstatic religious experience. (*Vide* his only book of verse, "Promontories into the Gulf of Rains"—*Neemed vihmade lahte*, 1935.) "One Beautiful Day" (*Ühel kaunil päeval*) is characteristic of his style.

¹³ One sonnet is revealingly called *Maadlugu*, "Close to Earth"

ONE BEAUTIFUL DAY

Your feet are calm to-day and do not tire
 Me, but my crude eyes cannot see the hollow
 Skiff of the sky where the cloud-fishes wallow
 Between your passing toes in livid gyres.
 My rafters blossomed out of building fires,
 What death-tick beetle's patient greed could swallow?
 He too released from masquerades to follow,
 Lifts wings Your joy has tutored to aspire.

You, Lord, alone can call the tempest's hoary
 Hands from the happy woods left in my keeping
 And spread the coming days in ordered story,
 Like a green carpet blessed by prayer and sweeping
 To the year's end; for when the sun's last glory
 Fails, Yours will be the only life that knows no sleeping.

Among Masing's rare sonnets there is one, viz. "Ascension" (*Taevaminek*), whose entire octave pivots on a single rhyme (-oota). Such virtuosity, however, is no more a *tour de force* in Estonian than it would have been in rhyme-blessed Italian.

The newer Estonian sonnet, in spite of Masing's mysticism and Karlson's *gaieté de cœur*, exhibits, as with Betti Alver (e.g. "The Demon of Liberty"—*Vabaduse deemon*)—with its individual rhyme-arrangement and rhythm,¹⁴ a predominance of mind over emotion.

THE DEMON OF LIBERTY

Leave resigned content to the humble;
 We are doomed to wander and stumble
 In the wake of an errant light
 Through the swamp's enveloping night.
 Round about us the battle rages,
 But you admonish me: "Others' wages!"
 All my longings and loves seem unblessed
 When your finger touches my breast.

You shall succumb to no alien power,
 Though you bleed and your frayed thews cower,
 Though your liberty is decried.
 Let the orthodox faithful deny you;
 Heretic forces shall always stand by you,
 And ascetics in burning pride.

¹⁴ In her second volume of poetry, *Dust and Fire* (*Tolm ja tuli*, 1936).

This accounts for the modern scarcity of love sonnets and the increase of occasional (*vide* Barbarus and Jakob Liiv) and narrative types (*vide* Sinimäe and Viiding). The increase of the former is due in part to the efforts of Barbarus, who in 1933 wrote a sequence of sonnets to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of Marie Under and Gustav Suits.

Up to this point only the original Estonian sonnet has been noticed. But versions of foreign sonnets have also been made into Estonian, notably sixty, i.e. more than a third, of Shakespeare's. These versions, the work of Ants Oras, critic and scholar, possess the uncommon merit of a brilliant original technique and at the same time are outstanding achievements, which do full justice to the intricacy and lexicon of Shakespeare's art.

In the politically and morally unfavourable circumstances prevailing in Estonia since the summer of 1940 the Estonian sonnet, as an intricate art-form, appears to have suffered eclipse. The newest poetry, e.g. Betti Alver's masterpiece "Bread" and her moving shorter poems published during the German occupation in the magazine "Rainbow" (*Ammukaar*, 1942-1943) and Bernard Kangro's fourth collection of verse, "Burnt Tree" (*Põlenud puu*), which appeared in Karlstad (Sweden) in 1945, requires a less formal and more intimate metric to express the moral sufferings of defeat and exile.

W. K. MATTHEWS.

THE WORK OF SLOVAK COMPOSERS

(Translated from the Slovak by VICTORIA DE BRAY.)

UP to now the musical centres of Europe have tended to pass Slovakia by, even though it lies at the centre of Europe. The musical centres have shifted from south to west, sometimes far away from Slovakia, though sometimes quite near. (It is only a matter of a few miles from Vienna to Bratislava.) But even so, their influence has been felt but slightly. The social conditions and— even more important in recent times—the national and state prerequisites for the forming of a cultural centre have been lacking.

Before 1918 the Slovaks had almost no cultural centre. Consequently any talented musician among them was left with no choice but to sink his individuality in folklore, or to serve the demands of the church, which tended to be sporadic and excessive, or to leave his country altogether.

To the first we owe some precious gems of perhaps primitive, but nevertheless profound, artistic feeling still to be found in Slovak folk songs to this day.

The second group is formed by those tireless teachers who would spend whole nights endlessly writing out music, forced to devote their whole life to dealing with rudimentary training. A great deal of their work has been preserved, and there were some gifted musicians among them, such as Ján Levoslav Bella who wrote his symphonic poem "Osud a ideál" in the same year as Smetana composed "Vyšehrad" (1874). He also wrote the opera "Kováč Wieland." But these men had to strike a hard and lonely path, and could not but fail to realise their genuine artistic ideals.

The third group—the *émigré* musicians—represent a very sad chapter in Slovak musical history. All the sadder, as they were relatively so numerous. The majority of them became so estranged from their own people that they were *a priori* lost to Slovak music. Even Bella belongs to this group during the latter half of his life.

It was only after 1918 that social and economic conditions became such as to allow the creation of a musical centre. In the field of the other arts, though little as regards music, the ground had been prepared. But a School of Music was set up in Bratislava, and later a Conservatory of Music; the National Theatre was founded, the Slovak Philharmonic Orchestra came into existence for a time, then there was the Broadcasting Station and other essential institutions. Although these were not all, and still are not in every respect, of

the standard that might be desired, they did give the conscious feeling and hope that it was now possible to create something real and that it rested with the Slovaks themselves to show their will to do so. And in comparison with the hopelessness felt by Bella and his contemporaries this reawakened hope came as a real resurrection. It was no longer a hopeless folly for a Slovak to dedicate his life wholly to music.

There were two trends in the first efforts of Slovak music after 1918. There was, of course, the effort to create a purely Slovak national art as a new and valuable contribution, just as the older generation of composers during the national revival had striven to do. But alongside this, the young generation was eagerly anxious to create music worthy of, and in line with, the developments of contemporary music in the musical world as a whole. The first tendency culminated in V. Figuš-Bystrý, who carried the folklore element so far that King Matthias, in his opera "Detvan," becomes a figure that might well be straight out of a folk tale. The second tendency was heralded by Fric Kafenda; but, as a composer, he remained more of a prophet than a messiah. Mikuláš Moyzes and M. Schneider-Trnavský strove to achieve a synthesis; but before they had reached that point they were overtaken by the younger generation. Their finest works, reflecting this trend, are the "Malá vrchovská symfónia" of Mik. Moyzes and the symphonic poem "Pribinov sl'ub" of Schneider-Trnavský.

In Smetana's time these two tendencies—national and of a wider field—had gone more or less hand in hand; but after 1918 they were already turbulently opposed. Finding a synthesis meant creative work in the true sense of the word; and it was here that the Czech composer, Vítězslav Novák, set such an invaluable example to the Slovaks. It sometimes seems to the uninitiated that Novák, simply by virtue of being the professor who taught almost all the young Slovak composers pursuing these new ideas, handed out to them ready-made formulæ for dealing with the Slovak element in music. But such a conception of Novák's school would be an insult to Novák himself as an artist. It was Prague, as a musical centre led by Novák, which gave these young composers what they most needed: a sense of musical structure and a new world orientation. It was the Prague Conservatory, the Czech Philharmonic, the National Theatre, the Umělecká Beseda, Přítomnost, etc.

The first of the young Slovak generation to pursue this trend was Alexander Moyzes (the son of Mikuláš Moyzes), and he was immediately followed by Eugen Suchoň. They both come, bringing

a new element into Slovak music, yet each is distinctive. Moyzes is a man with a very vital sense of life. He turns away from nothing. Every artistic event, even events outside the realm of art, leaves due mark on him. The most modern harmonic innovations, jazz elements, Slovak folk song, music introduced on the wireless, classical symphony structure as well as melodic lines savouring of the romantics—all these are linked together in his work, or rather, are a vital element in it. Moyzes knows how to deal with the formal side of his work, his instrumentation is magnificent. And indeed, his instrumentation is most characteristic of his attitude to music and to the world.

On the other hand, Suchoň gives the impression that he does not live for this world, his is concentrated within himself. As a result he achieves a stable distinctive style, in which every note has its place in the structure of the whole. In Suchoň's instrumental works, although the instrumental play is undeniable, we can find no turns of phrase introduced merely for the sake of colour; they are all linked with the thematic and structural development. To Suchoň form is no fixed construction laid down in advance. His form is built up out of the music itself by following out the full range of expressive power inherent in his themes. Suchoň is a master of form, and makes it serve as a means to say what he is seeking to express.

The most representative works so far written by Moyzes are: two symphonies, the cantata "Kráľ Svätopluk," concertino for orchestra, wind quintet, the orchestral suite "Dolu Váhom," the overture "Janošíkovi chlapci," the song cycle "Cesta," etc. Suchoň's work is best represented by: "Baladická suita," Burlesque for violin and orchestra, sonata and sonatina for violin and piano, the song cycle "Nox et solitudo," the overture "Kráľ Svätopluk," Serenade for strings, the cantata "Žalm zeme podkarpatskej," etc.

Two others developing on somewhat opposed lines are Ján Cikker and Ondrej Očenáš. Unlike the preceding two, a lack of economy in turns of phrase and construction is to be found in both Cikker and Očenáš. This would be inadmissible by Moyzes, with his careful balance, or by Suchoň, with his concentrated and profound thought; but it bubbles over in the youthful *élan* of these two. Their work differs considerably, however, in structure. Cikker's work is based on a thematic polyphony rather in the style of Suk's "Zrání," but then the rhythmic force, sometimes unbounded, predominates. The source of Očenáš's music is to be found somewhere in the 16th century—in pure melodic line. Cikker reaches his climaxes by

rhythmic ferocity, while Očenáš's climaxes are reached by binding together several echoes of one theme or several themes. Cikker achieves greatest effect in his quick movements, Očenáš in free, singing movements.

Cikker has already produced many works: Prologue, Capriccio, the song cycle "To my mother," two string quartets, Spring Symphony, the cantata "Cantus filiorum," the symphonic poem "Leto," Concertino for piano and orchestra, Slovak Suite, the symphonic poem "Boj" and a Symphonic Idyll. Očenáš works more slowly and his development bears its traces in his work. He has written mostly large-scale works: Burlesque Overture, string quartet "Obrázky duše," the song cycle "Moja rodná," a three-act miming play "Na zbojníckom tanci," the cantata "Šumejú hory zelené," an orchestral suite "Povesti o rodnom kraji." His greatest work is his last: the trilogy "Resurrection."

No picture of the other composers can yet be given with any final validity (even the preceding have only been sketches in outline, on account of their age), for various reasons. With some, because they have not yet achieved a personal style which would determine their place in musical development, as Moyzes, Suchoň, Cikker and Očenáš have done. With others, because they have not yet produced representative work in sufficient quantity.

The first group includes František Babušek, more conductor than composer. He has not yet succeeded in fusing the Slovak element with the wider field. Indeed, neither the one nor the other seems to have crystallised in him. Examples of his work are: Slovak rhapsody, Prelude for string orchestra, etc.

Another conductor, of wider range and greater skill both technically and particularly in his instrumentation, is Tibor Frešo. His works are technically excellent, but they do not express a powerful individuality. His best works are: Symphonic Prologue, Meditation, Concert Overture, a cantata "Stabat Mater," and his string quartet "In the country."

A third conductor, Ladislav Holoubek, is musically the most mature. He is ploughing a somewhat neglected furrow in Slovak music—he has composed three operas: "Stella," "Svitanie" and "Túžba." In writing operas, Holoubek has at the same time not neglected chamber music, as shown by his string quartet "O láske a nenávisti." He has also written songs "Spevy o žene," and a symphony. Holoubek has shown himself to have a subtle sense of melody.

Between this group and the second, which promises rather than

has produced good work, stands Šimon Jurovský. By this I do not mean that Jurovský has not yet achieved a distinctive style—I could mention a kind of impressionistic use of harmony, reminiscent of older music, and other traits of his—but he does not clearly follow the general line of Slovak development nor a line of his own in a way we might look for.

Two other composers, Dezider Kardoš and Jozef Kresánek, belong to that unhappy generation whose best years have been disrupted by the war. Consequently they have not yet come forward with works of outstanding credit either to themselves or to Slovakia. Kardoš's song cycle "O láske," his string quartet, his wind quintet and his best work, the first symphony, all deserve mention. Kresánek is torn between composition and musical scholarship, but the following works of his should be mentioned: string quartet, piano trio, songs for tenor and orchestra, the cantata "Hore ho!", etc.

In such a brief review of Slovak composers we should mention two others, Michal Vilec and Ladislav Stanček, though space compels us to omit further names.

Slovak music, in its striving to take a worthy place in world music, is, in comparison to Czech music, a much younger sister—and it appears even younger still, when we consider the age of the different composers mentioned here. None of them has yet produced his *chef d'œuvre*; but there is *élan* and promising vitality in their work. But while they are living on the cream of the world's music, and while they are themselves contributing to this, it is hard to determine their place in it (indeed, that is only relatively possible at any time). But it is only fair to grant that they have earned a place in it. A concert at which Moyzes's suite "Dolu Váhom," Suchoň's "Baldická suita," Cikker's symphonic poem "Leto" and Očenáš's trilogy "Resurrection" were played, would certainly convince anyone of this.

DR. JOZEF KRESÁNEK.

BLOK AND GUMILYOV

A DOUBLE ANNIVERSARY

TWENTY-FIVE years ago, on 7 August, 1921, died in Petrograd Alexander Blok, Russia's greatest modern poet. Within less than three weeks of his death, another and younger poet, Nikolay Gumilyov had to face the firing squad for his alleged part in a counter-revolutionary conspiracy known as "the Tagantsev plot."

When Gogol died (in 1852), Prosper Mérimée wrote to his Russian friend Sobolevsky that a kind of *fatum* seemed to dog Russian poets. Was not Griboyedov, indeed, murdered by a Persian mob at the age of 34; Pushkin killed in a senseless duel when he was 37 and at the acme of his creative power; Lermontov, the victim of a still more senseless duel at the age of 27? Baratynsky died very suddenly when he was 44, while Gogol, voluntarily renouncing his poetic vocation in an access of religious fervour, literally tormented himself unto death. This tragic 19th-century martyrology can be continued into the 20th century: Blok and Gumilyov (one was 41, the other 35) were followed by Esenin and Mayakovsky, both of whom committed suicide at the height of their popularity, within five years of each other.

Both as poets and personalities Blok and Gumilyov were sharply contrasting. As another fellow-poet (Hodasevich) said of them: "Blok was always a poet, every minute of his life; Gumilyov only when he wrote poetry." For Gumilyov poetry was only one part of life, one of its numerous separate compartments. It was his craft. For Blok life and poetry coincided, were fused into one another; his poetry was also his life-work and (to use his own favourite word) his destiny. Everything in life he approached poetically, to everything he responded as a poet. Even politics he viewed *sub specie poesiae*, and the ardour and enthusiasm with which he greeted the Revolution of 1917 had nothing political in them. In the events of those days he heard the music of a crumbling world, and in his famous poem *The Twelve*, written early in 1918, he tried to transmute that music into images and words. His subsequent disillusionment was all the more acute, and played not a small part in the mental and physical agony which preceded his death.

Blok was a *passive* poet, an instrument of an outside poetic force, a victim of his own poetic gift, a poet possessed. The act of poetic creation was for him a torture, a tragedy. In one of his early poems he speaks of the necessity for a poet to sing and weep, so that

"beaten paths" should open "to the paradise of his exotic songs." The agony of the creative act which leaves the creator empty and exhausted is the subject of the remarkable poem *The Artist* (1913):

Finally, force inconceivable filling it,
Strains a new soul from its birth to the day,—
Curses, as thunder, attack the soul, killing it;
Reason, creative, subdues it,—to slay.

Then in a shivering cage I shut wearily
That happy bird who once flew about merrily.
This was the bird that would take death from me,
This was the bird that would set the soul free.

There is the cage. Heavy, iron I fashioned it.
Golden it gleams in the sun's setting fire.
There is the bird for you. Once so impassioned it
Swings on the hoop as it sings to the wire.

Clipped are its wings; all by heart now it sings to me—
Say, would you listen and stand by the door?
Singing may please you,—but weariness clings to me.
Once more I wait, and know boredom once more.

(Trans. by C. M. Bowra.)

In another poem, addressed to his Muse, Blok says:

For some, thou art Muse and marvel,
For me, thou art torment and hell.

* * *

Gumilyov was an *active* poet who mastered and possessed his poetic material, instead of passively yielding to it; a craftsman rather than a soothsayer or a prophet. And in his attitude to art there was something of the attitude of a mediæval craftsman to his craft. It was essentially religious. His outlook was simpler, more wholesome, his soul was not torn by irreconcilable contradictions; it was free from the morbid germs of decay. The following lines from his poem *Fra Beato Angelico* can serve as a motto to all his poetic work:

There is the world, there is God, they live forever,
And our life is transient and poor,
But the man who loves the world and believes in God
Comprehends everything in himself.

In Blok's art the feminine element is very strong. Gumilyov's poetry is essentially manly, virile. He translated Théophile Gautier, Lecomte de Lisle, Hérédia, for he felt an inner affinity with the French Parnassians. In his early book *Foreign Skies* there is a long poem called *The Discovery of America*. Here in two lines Gumilyov's attitude to life is epitomised :

In every puddle there is the smell of an ocean,
In every stone—the breath of the deserts.

This attitude of romantic transfiguration of life was condensed into a more general formula in a later poem (*Memory*) where, speaking of his different successive "selves," Gumilyov thus characterised his "second" self :

And the second—he loved the wind from the south ;
In every noise he heard the sounds of the lyre ;
He used to say that life was his friend,
That the carpet under his feet was the world.

Gumilyov was the only Russian poet of his time in whose soul the war of 1914-1918 struck some deep responsive chords, bringing to fruition some wonderful poems which differ from the general run of war poems. They speak of the war as a valuable spiritual experience. Referring in his *Pentameters* to his enrolment as a volunteer in the Russian army, Gumilyov said :

. . . I went, and they accepted me,
And gave me a rifle and a horse,
And a field full of mighty enemies,
Of roaring bombs and singing bullets,
And the sky with red clouds shot with lightnings,—
And ever since my soul has been scorched by happiness.
Full of joy, and radiance, and wisdom,
It talks to the stars about God,
It hears the voice of God in the martial alarm,
And calls its paths the paths of God.

This romantic acceptance of the war went hand in hand with the rejection of humdrum modernity for which such words as victory, glory, exploit (said Gumilyov) had lost their glamour.

In *Memory* (already mentioned above) Gumilyov tells us how the poet in him, who wanted to become "god and king," gave place to "the seafarer and the shot" ; he refers to his travels and explorations in Abyssinia and other parts of Africa ; the Dark Continent

cast over him its mysterious spell just as once it did over Rimbaud. But unlike Rimbaud it did not make him dumb: his little volume of poems about Africa (*The Tent*) contains some of his best poetry.

In Gumilyov's last two books—*The Pyre* and *The Pillar of Fire*—new notes of anxiety, of communion with the profound mysteries of life, are sounded. There is in them something of Blake and something of Tyutchev. Like Blok, he began to speak of the agonies of creation ("O! if I too could find a country where I need not cry and sing . . .", or "I am unable to tear this sinister book of my nocturnal visions . . ."). The poet listens now to mysterious nocturnal voices, he is tormented by forebodings, by visions of his own death. The grim and terrible *Lost Tramcar* sounds an uncanny prophetic note.

Here is a sign-board . . . blood-filled letters
Proclaim it's a grocer's, but I know—
Instead of cabbages, turnips and lettuce,
Here they sell dead-heads all in a row.

Red of shirt, with a face like an udder,
The headsman cut off my head too.
And it lay there, right next to the others,
In a slippery box as in glue.

(Trans. by Leonid I. Strakhovsky.)

Perhaps even more uncanny in its everyday matter-of-factness is the image of a grey-bloused German workman at work on the bullet which must find the poet's breast (in the poem called *The Workman*).

Gumilyov's last two books show us the poet grown to his full stature, having reached creative maturity. But even now, having seen death face to face and tasted of the deepest mysteries of existence, he did not turn away from life, from the world which, like God, lives for ever. In a testament addressed to his readers he taught them to remember on their deathbed

The whole of the cruel, dear life,
The whole of the strange, familiar earth:
And, appearing before God
With simple and wise words,
Quietly to await His judgment.

Blok and Gumilyov had little in common; their outlook, their

life-paths, their attitude to contemporary events were widely divergent, almost diametrically opposed to each other. In their poetry, each of them great and significant in his own way, they live on, complementing each other. And both have had a lasting and fruitful influence on Russian poetry. Gumilyov's influence is particularly felt in some of the younger Soviet poets (including Konstantin Simonov), though his name is seldom mentioned now in the Soviet Union.

GLEB STRUVE.

DIARIES FROM THE YUGOSLAV LIBERATION

(*Selected by ALEC BROWN*)

WHEN in years to come literary historians look back and try to assess the creative work of 1939–1945 in the European countries, they will find a complex picture with two main factors at work. These are the fate of the country of each particular writer, and the fortune of each particular writer within his own country. It is already notorious that in the case of Great Britain a significant majority of serious writers were during the war entirely engaged in other work; so that now, looking back over the war years, we have very little to show. At the same time, in some occupied countries, the conditions of occupation and resistance seem to have offered authors both the possibility and the stimulus to serious work. The case of Louis Aragon in France stands out in this respect. There were in Yugoslavia also authors in a similar position, and in the large, extremely instructed, but perhaps rather uninspired, work of Ivo Andrić which has appeared since the liberation we have a notable example of an author who was able to find shelter from the storm. But it already seems beyond question that the creative work of the war years will be found chiefly in the diaries of men who were actively engaged in military operations.

Four outstanding examples have already appeared; and to give some idea of their scope and quality, some extracts are published here. These are the diaries of (i) the veteran Croat poet, Vladimir Nazor, (ii) of the young Serb journalist and publisher, Vladimir Dedijer, (iii) the diary of a peasant Partisan leader of Western Serbia, Dragojlo Dudić; and (iv) the diary of another young Serb intellectual and people's liberation fighter, Čedomir Minderović.

The nature of the diary kept by each of these men was naturally conditioned by his past development and his personal outlook—they were largely engaged in the same operations. In Nazor we have an extremely sensitive commentator who looks on the liberation achievements as the culmination of a long-delayed development of popular liberation, of which over a generation earlier he had been the poet. Dedijer, the Belgrade journalist and publisher, at the same time a man of enormous physical vitality and passion for all forms of physical sport, has produced a huge two-volume work in which day by day he records events and impressions of his part in the struggle. What astounds one here is the thoroughness and persistence of the diary, its massive diligence, throughout so many changing vicissitudes—the energy and the skill with which so much was so well written. One is also struck by great clarity of style, inherited

from two generations of "Westernising" Serb authors, who have followed the best French models in sharpening their literary instrument. It would be no exaggeration to say that this diary of Dedijer's must remain one of the outstanding works of this nature in the whole world of letters.

The diary of Dudić is fascinating for its unreflecting revelation of the nature of the real peasant leaders in the struggle. We can see certain qualities in the ordinary peasant mass of Yugoslavia which are largely unknown to the outer world. By showing these, Dudić's diary perhaps throws more light on the real sources of strength of the Yugoslav renaissance than either the contribution of Nazor or Dedijer.

In Minderović's work we have something in between all three of the others, and also a new style. Minderović was a Political Commissar of great efficiency throughout the struggle, beginning in the Sava Valley district of North Serbia in the summer of 1941 and going through all the fighting in Bosnia and the Sandžak. Quite naturally, as a man of considerable education and intellectual training, Minderović brings much more to his notebook than Dudić. At the same time he does not, like Dedijer, confine himself to objective journalistic reporting. Further, when he comes to his personal impressions of men and the emotions which drive them, as a pendant to Nazor's veteran view he gives us what is perhaps most valuable, the attitude of the *rising* generation of Yugoslavia. Minderović, when departing from ordinary reporting to paint impressions, might easily have fallen into the bottomless pit of the banal literary picture. He certainly does so occasionally—here and there his pictures are trite. There is also an irritating tinge of Russian idiom about his Serbian which speaks of great saturation with Soviet political literature.¹ He is one of the new "Slavophiles." But the general quality of his work is that by the intensity of his vision he rises above these shortcomings and, as some of the extracts here produced may show, reveals perhaps more clearly than any of the others what really happened in Yugoslavia.

In the cases of Nazor and Dudić, extracts come from the opening pages of their work. From Dedijer some extracts have been made, with cuts, from early pages.² In the case of Minderović, two episodes have been selected, one given complete, the other with cuts. To the Nazor extracts has been added a poem from *Partisan Rhymes* which is connected with the incident described. Bibliographical notes are given for identification.

A. B.

¹ Either in the original or in typical bad translations full of Russicisms of style.

² This means doing Dedijer shocking injustice. It is in the later stages of his monumental work that the most impressive writing is to be found. Nevertheless, in giving a first very brief extract, it seemed essential to choose this both to fit with the extracts made from other diaries, and also for its most vital revelation (for us in the West) of the true main-springs of the Yugoslav People's Liberation Struggle. Regarding both the first point and the second, the first step of veteran Nazor—his crossing over to the Partisan side—is obviously the outstanding human (individual) act in these diaries, hence the pivot of the extracts as a grouped whole.

DIARIES FROM YUGOSLAV LIBERATION. 183

I

VLADIMIR NAZOR—"With the Partisans, 1943-1944"

EXTRACT

[Državni Izdavački Zavod Jugoslavije, Belgrade, 1945, 215 pp.; Latin character edition, 7,000.]

I

FLIGHT FROM ZAGREB

Bihać, 10 January

ONE day Goran suddenly said to me,
"They want you. Would you join them?"
"I would," I answered
"Now at once?"
"Yes."
"Shall I have a word with the sculptor?"
"You might"
That was all.

It was not long before the sculptor came, bringing with him two men unknown to me, one we called the Engineer (which he was not). The other, shorter of stature and bewhiskered, the Conspirator (which he certainly was).

"You arrange everything with them," the beardless Croat Michael Angelo said to me, and left.

The first thing we settled was how I was to leave my sister in Zagreb without help or protection.

"What shall I take with me?"

"As little as possible. Two small cases. Winter underclothes in one, winter suit and boots in the other. In the next two days we'll come and take them, and send them on ahead to our destination."

"And when will you come for me?"

"At the latest, in ten days."

"Where to, how and which way?"

They did not give me any answer.

All the same, my confidence was not shaken; I did not say another word. So my sister (dear, clear-seeing, self-sacrificing, considerate—both sister and mother!) speedily and thoroughly got things ready for me; the little suitcases set off on their journey to the unknown destination.

All the same, something held things up.

More than a month of impatient expectation passed. Christmas went by. It was only a day or two before the new year, with the first touch of hard winter and serious snow, that that mysterious silent fellow, the Engineer, came to me and took me outside Zagreb by motor-car to the little place of Dubrava, where Goran and I were met by the still more

mysterious Conspirator, a serious man, with great gumption and very attentive to us both.

The further interesting and fairly long and hard journey over the Rivers Sava and Kupa, travelling by day and night, along byways, over fields and through woods, even through what was then known as No-Man's-Land, until came the arranged meeting with a band of Partisans and the sad passage through Serb villages razed to the very foundations, past pits full of men, women and children with their throats cut, I will not describe here. Goran asked me to let him speak of all that later.

There was, however, one incident I should like to relate.

We had crossed the Kupa ³ in a frail little boat, first the Conspirator and myself, then Goran and the Partisan (a young Political Commissar who was to be our guide from then on). When I crossed the water I was still more amazed that the shallow little boat had not overturned, and the muddy water compelled us to take a winter bathe. It was not fated for the Kupa, then the boundary between the Ustaša and Partisan territories, to be my Jordan, and for me to find my first solemn Partisan christening in its waters.

On the opposite shore a small peasant cart was waiting for us, and with this we reached the village.

We entered a courtyard and crossed the threshold of a house. There was nobody waiting for us, but the Conspirator was not perturbed by this. He led us into a rather large room, with beds made up round the walls, a cooking range in one corner, and a table in the centre. A wooden armchair was drawn up to the table and in the armchair was a man. He would be something over 60 years of age, well covered with flesh, bewhiskered, with very thick eyebrows. He sat without a word, and without stirring his body rather squinted than looked at the newcomers, while two women and a number of children squeezed into a corner behind him.

"Good evening, Master Miško," the Conspirator greeted him. "Well, here I am again."

"Hm, so I see," he grunted, without stirring.

"But you see these two comrades of mine. One of them is older than you are."

I went up to him and shook his hand; he scarcely stirred from his chair. I stepped nearer to his family, shook hands with them, and then drew the smallest child into the centre of the room.

"Are all these yours?"

"Not my own," he answered in a small, husky voice. "My nearest relations. They live with me. A houseful. Here we are without food, without drink, even without wood. . . . I am ruined."

He spoke in this way, constantly frowning, but the Conspirator remained quite calm and undisturbed, smiling and winking at me.

³ One of Nator's poems, contained in "Partisan Rhymes," was written on this occasion, see p xx

"The children must not go without food," I said. "Goran, put our bags on the table and open them."

So Goran brought in our bags and parcels and opened them, putting some things out on the table. He drew up chairs and stools, and put the children on them. Out of the magic pocket in his coat, which I had already called "the cellar," the Conspirator drew a small thermos and looked about for a mug to pour out the milk. But it was as if the old Bruin had just begun to waken from his natural or pretended sleep. He looked about him, scratched the back of his head, plucked at his nose, the wrinkles on his forehead grew smooth, his eyebrows level, the tips of his whiskers began to smile; in a new voice he said, "No, you don't! Not on any account! . . . Kata, bring some wood and light the fire. Maria, milk the cow!"

He himself went to the range and began to riddle out the ashes.

Goran, who was hungry, was overjoyed and sat down to cut bread and cheese, giving the children a piece of ham each and some of the little cakes which his mother had stuffed into his bag when he set out.

We were soon all of us sitting at the table. The master of the house only remained in his own armchair after great protest. The womenfolk had been busy, bread and cream and butter had been brought, and they were already making a sort of gruel. Dark was falling, and the Conspirator drew a piece of candle from his pocket.

"No," the master of the house spoke up again. "Kata, go and find the paraffin lamp—there must be a drop of oil left."

Otherwise he sat on without a word, nor would he eat a bite. He was lost in thought, and I could not make out whether he was oppressed by anger or some sorrow. He scarcely seemed to hear our conversation with the women and children. For my part I was telling myself that if he had been an adherent of the Ustaše, the cautious Conspirator would not have taken me to his house with the idea of my spending the night there. Perhaps he was afraid of something. If it came to the Partisans leaving this district, those "others" would visit him and accuse him of having allowed the Partisans to use his house not by force but by intention. Or perhaps—that was also possible—he was simply miserly. Bands one after another had come and gone, and each of them, whether white or black, had taken something away.

The light of the paraffin lamp enlivened everything; perhaps they had not seen it for a long time.

I took a seat next to my host.

"Master Miško, I would say that there was something you and I had in common."

"Hm, well, what's that?"

"Well, we are both old bachelors and both of us in some sort masters of families."

"Ha! But all the same . . . you wander about, and I stay at home."

"But why don't you get out of your rut too? Move! You are less infirm than I am."

Indeed, he did start as if pricked by something, but immediately fell back into his former apathy.

"How many years have you been living in this house, beside the Kupa, in that old armchair?"

"Not two years yet. I spent my time in America. I have toiled very hard and earned very little. When I returned I found I was alone, so I took all these poor folk into my house, and now look at what has happened! Ustaše, Četniks, Germans, Italians, Partisans, they consume all I have."

"Not so, Master, there is something else that will consume you."

"What!" He opened his eyes to their widest and looked straight at me.

"Sorrow and bitterness," I answered him.

"But what else could I do? There is no other way."

"There is, don't give in like that. Rebel!"

"Hm, that's not for me. You know, I have had a long time under discipline in a huge American factory."

"Why should that hinder you now? Under present conditions? With that bodily strength of yours? Come, Master Miško, honour your own name."

"What do you mean?"

"Miško—that was how our former *uskoks* and *hajduks* were often called," I said, wishing to turn the conversation.

He sank into thought again and then said, "I hardly know now what sort of people those were. I have forgotten a lot of things in America."

"I will remind you, but let the children, too, hear me."

And I began to tell of the Bosnian mountains, of the sea down by Senj, and the Adriatic north wind or *bura*, of the *uskoks* and the *hajduks*. The master of the house listened with increasing attention, drawing himself more and more erect, until he began to raise his hand, to clench his fist, and to draw out his long moustaches. When I had related something of Ivo the Senjanin, he suddenly gave a wink to Kata to put wine on the table; while I was relating the story of the conflict between the *hajduk* and Radojica the Small and the Aga Bećir in the city of Zadar, rakia and smoked sausages appeared before us; while when Goran had related the story "Days of Wrath" from his own book, the story of the weakling of the family who was harried by all until a fairy made him so strong that he became the defender of all the weak and oppressed in all his country, Master Miško rose to his feet and ordered them to bring out the ham, which he began to carve himself and not the least in a miserly way, and when, what is more, Goran had begun the story of Mihovilo Tomić, inventing some bits on the way connected with the Partisan movement and weaving in some of his own "folk" verses, Miško, scarlet now both from the rakia and excitement, suddenly gave

orders—a most unusual event in his house—for some of the neighbours to be invited in to sit and partake both of what was to drink and what was to be heard.

That night we went to bed long after dark, for Miško himself was indeed a man of some substance, who wanted to tell his own story of struggles in America.

“You proclaim a Republic of Croatia, and I am with you Partisans every instant,” he shouted.

A bed was found for everybody. I closed my eyes in Miško's own enormous bed, while he went to sleep stretched out on the floor. I woke up about midnight, and saw him slowly getting to his feet to prow! about the room to see that everything was in order, including the range, where he got the fire going again. Carefully he lay down again on his coat, smoking and grunting contentedly to himself.

“Damn those Partisans! If a man didn't keep his wits about him, they would trick him into doing all sorts of silly things.”

The next morning the master of the house treated us to coffee with milk, and himself arranged for horses and a cart to take us on farther, he was full of attention for us, clearly moved.

At last we exchanged parting kisses like old friends.

When we reached Slunj it was pitch dark and snowing. We were received by the Headquarters of the Croat Partisan Army. It was here that I came upon my first little misfortune; there was not a trace anywhere of the little case with my winter underclothes. I was thus practically naked, having nothing more than what I stood up in.

We remained at Slunj for a day or two. I got to know my Croat comrades; at a youth meeting (at which every person was already in the fighting ranks) at their unexpected, unanimous demand, I made my first speech to the Partisans. I said:

“Comrades, and may I add, lads and girls! I had no idea I was going to speak to-day, nor any inkling that I should have the fortune of seeing you gathered together here, of looking upon your smiling faces and bright eyes full of will and a desire full of fire which I hope will never be quenched but will burn until something is razed to its foundations. Razed so that not the smallest coal is left in the ash, so that the reptile can never come to life again and never bite again. You are going to do what a man does when, walking along the road, he sees a snake, and with his heel immediately crushes its head.”

“In the last few days I have been on the road, and I am glad that my journey is so lengthy, that it is still not ended. I have travelled from house to house, and through ‘No-Man's-Land’ to this country where it is you who rule, that is to say, where we rule. (Applause.) I have entered various poor, peasant houses, and slept on beds offered me so that I should get a little sleep; I have seen poverty-stricken children, but nowhere have I seen a trace of lack of spirit. I saw one hope in everybody. Will you young people see that you never betray that hope? It is in your hands to accomplish the hope even to-day. We must take the Communists of Russia as our guide.”

They too at the outset argued a great deal ; now they are working, the hammers are busy. It is up to us to have done with our traditional 'Croat wordiness,' and once and for all time, to smash and break up certain things in order to ensure something new. Well, yours is the desire, you have the will, and I hope the desire will be realised.

"A comrade a few minutes ago mentioned that yesterday somewhere or other I remarked that this is the first time that at last the Croats are fighting for themselves. Indeed, ever since our old Croat kings ruled, the Croats have been compelled to fight for somebody else, for the Hapsburgs, for certain Hungarian kings ; then Jelačić rallied them to fight for Franz Josef. They fought first with one General, then with another, always to the profit of others. But never had these poor Croats given their lives for their own land, and while they were fighting for others, their families were dying of hunger. Our Croats once fought in Italy, while their poor wives at home had only one miserable cow or goat, yet even that too was requisitioned. Things are different now ! We are giving our lives, but giving them for ourselves. With that feeling in us we breathe and work differently, for we know for what we give our lives. (Applause.) You will be remembered in history so long as the Croat people exists, and the Croat people will continue to exist if to-day you refuse to let the Germans and Italians destroy it.

"I am speaking as a Croat, you heroic Communists are fighting and working to-day along communist lines. That means fighting and defending yourselves, refusing to give in ! You are the first who can save the Croat people from the critical pass in which until the day before yesterday it stood. You might put it like this, that Hitler has succeeded in pushing a heavy stone to the top of a peak, that stone has already got out of his control, and is running back again downhill. Its strength is like that of an avalanche. The farther it goes the greater it becomes, until in the end it is dispersed, or ends miserably in an abyss. So bear yourselves stoutly, always think well in advance and fight with energy ; never lose hope, so as not to lose a single instant.

"I, as you see, am a man who is 'getting on.' I am very sad to-day about that. I have never before felt sorrow to see the years slipping away from me ; yet to-day I really am sorry. I feel it very irksome that just to-day my former physical strength should fail me. Were I younger and stronger I should not be speaking from this platform, but sitting there among you. I should have preferred, like that comrade over there, to be holding a rifle in my hand and seeing somebody else stand here speaking.

"But that cannot be. I will express myself 'poetically,' but please don't laugh : 'I am going to be with you in spirit.' Being with people in spirit is the expression of all cowards anxious to avoid work and to have an easy time, but that is not my case.

"My only desire is for God to grant me sufficient life to see the destruction of the enemy and to behold that new thing which must come after a cyclone like the present, after an evil as great as the present, and after the opposition of such stout will as that which is now being put against the evil."

II

I should have liked to have stayed longer at Slunj, but we had to go on farther.

We were taken to Bihać, where we immediately called on the Supreme Commander, Tito, a man with a face like that of a young lion. That half-mysterious, and already half-legendary person immediately captured my heart by his bearing and his language.

At Bihać I met the members of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council of Yugoslavia. Goran immediately got in touch with the younger Partisans.

In a large courtyard a show arranged by the actor, Afrić, with singing and recitations, was given in my honour. At this show I spoke as follows :

" Comrades ! When, together with Ivan Goran Kovačić, I escaped from the principal town of the so-called " Independent State of Croatia " (which in point of fact is neither independent nor a state, nor, upon my word, even Croatia), and while I was travelling through plains and forests, crossing three rivers to reach this Bosnian country, I did not really know whither I was going. But when at last I had happily reached the aim, I was delighted to find that I was in Bihać of all places. I was delighted, not only because I know Bihać, this lovely and ordinary town upon the river Una, or because it was here in Bihać that I met our Comrade Commander-in-Chief, Tito, but also because our future life is being shaped precisely in a place called Bihać. This place has an antique charm and ancient might for all Croats, particularly for our maritime folk. Comrades, it was in a place called Bihać that in ancient days, way there beside the seashore, somewhere between Trogir and Kaštel near Split, that our ancient Župans and Bans began to build their new courts, planting the foundations of our first truly independent state. It cannot be pure coincidence that our new joint future and our new state are being shaped in a place which bears the very same name as the cradle of our first free state ! Oh, City of Bihać, it is as if it was fated long ago for this which to-day we see to take place within your walls, and that which at the end of a long migration and such suffering our ancestors succeeded in achieving in the Bihać beside the sea, the Partisans will achieve in Bihać on the Una at the foot of Mount Pleševica. When I think of all these things, I cannot but express my delight in being here of all places, and seeing how the people of Bihać live, what delights them, with glimpses of their home life and the opportunity to shake them by the hand. Here I can see how our peoples have found the way to join hands in fraternity. Moslems, Orthodox and Catholic at long last are together. The wise old words which tell us that only misfortune, oppression and sufferings bring true men together, have been proved true. Agonies and suffering are the strongest bonds, the firmest of cements by which individuals can be cast together and enabled of themselves to lay the foundations of the edifice of their future.

" Oh, proud and glorious Bihać, where in this historic hour the groundwork of our common happiness is being laid !

" But that future happiness of ours is built on something which is the source of the successes we have so far achieved, and will bring us to final complete Partisan victory—and that something is our younger generation, men and women . our youth from all parts of our land, from the plains and the mountains, from the waterfalls of our rivers and the waves of our Adriatic Sea. It lightens my heart to look upon them to-day and to hear them. The honour which these young people here to-day have shown me, I consider no honour shown me personally, shown this half-bald head of mine and its few grey hairs, but a desire by this inflamed enthusiasm of theirs to waken from sleep and to warm to this sacred ideal those hearts too who perhaps would prefer to remain cold and limp, making the excuse that they have already done their share of beating, and that the years which lie behind them compel them to adopt an attitude of passive observation and inaction. It is the younger generation that is most conscious of what is proper. The human heart, so long as man has life, never ceases to burn. Age says to youth : ' Work, put your back into it, but . . . steady, cautiously, careful ' ' But youth says to age : ' Very wise, yet without what you call our lack of caution and our headstrongness, we should never be able even to begin some tasks.' From all sides I find people pressing me to take my place among the older, if not among the old men, but I tell you I am with the young, with their boldness, with their lack of caution, with their desire to leap every fence, every ditch, every stream, losing not an instant of time on seeking fords, for shallow places or bridges. We, Croats and Serbs, Catholic, Orthodox, Moslem, have all lost far too much time in the race of the peoples ; we have to hurry now. We need to run, to rush, to leap over barricades if we are not to be late. For at long last we are to be masters of our fate. No more the tail to somebody else's horse, the fence to somebody else's yard, the bridge to somebody else's river.

" I thank our youth, not only for the attention which they are showing me personally, but also I thank them in the name of all older men whose enfeebled physical strength no longer permits them to take gun in hand, or to take their place here in the depth of the winter, travelling over hard and dangerous roads. There have been times when the young have indeed looked askance at the old, or vice-versa. Now another, a new age, has begun ; a lofty ideal, both national and social, binds us all together ; we have come to common ground in our view of the world ; our hopes and our yearnings are shared ; there is one spirit that we breathe : those too young live at high speed and are ripening ; those who are too old are reinvigorated ; side by side with Comrade Tito all becomes one and the same thing. Here at Bhač we might proclaim something which would at first thought seem empty words, yet in fact is of great importance in fateful hours ; we might tell the world that just as there are no longer any chauvinist Croats, or chauvinist Serbs, just as there are no more chauvinist Catholics, chauvinist Orthodox, or Moslems, there are also no more crazy, wild, Young Ones, nor timid, wiseacre, Old Ones. We proclaim here that we are all one, for our people has only to-day begun to breathe with its own breath and build from the foundations its true ' manliness.' Our future and our fortune are now being born.

" *Oh, Bihać, be our cradle.*

" *Comrade Tito, lead us to victory!*

" *May the Partisan fortune of youth, from now onwards as hitherto, be with you always!*"

Nevertheless, two cruel serpents bit me.

The rapid change from scanty Zagreb food to the solid and well-fatted Partisan food brought me intestinal trouble. Incautious sleeping on the road in the army bed to hand (I had to sleep fully dressed!) had given me the itch. The itch I immediately set about curing very energetically, but the powerful medicament I used irritated my skin, so that a persistent and unbearable ailment, *prurigo*, began—also not unconnected with my intestinal trouble—and caused me great trials, robbing me of sleep.

Now, moreover, came a third misfortune.

Against us, from all sides (Germans, Italians, Ustaše and Četniks), a fierce new offensive (they called it "the fourth"), using weapons which we did not possess, tanks and aircraft.

We cannot take up the fight here.

My resting was interrupted, my cure cut short.

The enemy advances.

Retirement is indicated.

To where?

That only Tito knows.

THE BOAT ON THE KUPA

(From "*Partisan Rhymes*.")

So frail, so narrow, so shallow
how do you carry me, ferry-boat
with the dead weight of my worries
with the dead freight of my hatred
with the lead load of my waiting
over the flood unabating?

But also my hopes you will ferry
my loves and my longings and feverish
fire over the furious river
whose deep-bottom bed is the barrier
'twixt Evil and Good.

O wonder, tossed on the flood,
Like a great trireme triumphant
sets course to the Fair Haven,—
Oars shaped of old Slavic oak
spars trimmed in our home clearing
sails home woven and sewn
banners our maidens embroider.

Frail, narrow and shallow
 mistress of troubled waters,
 take all others who suffer
 all who after me follow !
 Ferry my whole Croat country
 to that far shore I see,
 where the paths are hard but holy
 to freedom and decency !

II

VLADIMIR DEDIJER—"Diary 1941-1942"

[Part I, 420 pp. ; Državni Izdavački Zavod Jugoslavije, Belgrade, 1945 ; Latin character edition, 9,000. Part II ; Državni Izdavački Zavod Jugoslavije, 1946 ; Latin character edition, 30,000.

EXTRACTS

(1) *From the Introduction*

It is understandable that while I was in Belgrade, under German occupation, during the summer of 1941, I could write nothing, and notes of those days were made on reaching free territory in the Šumadija. But even then I had to omit many details, including some names, so that the enemy would not be able to make use of the information should the diary fall into his hands. . . . Protection against rain and damp, which ruined many precious diaries, was a problem. . . . Before starting out from Foča, in May, 1942, I had a special wallet made for my diary, from some impermeable material taken from an *ustaša* aeroplane we had brought down. In spite of this, water penetrated through small holes, so that on the march over the Tuskavica I had to keep it next my skin. . . . I generally wrote it up after each march, in poor light, with scanty information ; there were occasions when the length of the entries was conditioned by insufficiency of ink. . . . For all the reasons I here adduce, this diary is neither history nor literature, but the notes of a journalist.

(2) *"Third day of the war"*

Confusion at Valjevo. Met Žikica Jovanović. There is a whole group of comrades here, trying to join up. . . . Some 30 of us reported to an artillery regiment. They said they could not enrol us, we should have to have approval of the Supreme Command, and that is in Užice or Sarajevo.

(3) *Tuesday, 6 May, Belgrade*

Together with Mitra Mitrović [now minister of education in Serbia] typed out twelve copies of the Resolution for the meeting of the Central Committee in Zagreb. . . . Djido [Milovan Djilas, Chairman of Pre-

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sidium of Montenegro, husband of Mitra Mitrović] told me to stay at home, as the Old Man [Tito] was to call.

Thursday, 8 May, Zemun

A girl messenger from Tito called on me this morning. The Old Man is at the Café Central. She brought me some pictures of *ustaša* atrocities and German carousals, also identity cards, and told me to take them to Belgrade. Five minutes later the Old Man passed my house on his way to the port. Smartly dressed. He waved while I stood at the window with my daughter Milica Olga [the late Mrs Dediđer, killed by the enemy] took the material to Belgrade in the afternoon. All well.

Sunday, 13 July

The Old Man comes nearly every day. He is living somewhere nearby. . . . To-day he came in to share our chicken stew. The Germans have ordered a count of all poultry, but Comrade K. did not intend to report hers, and gave me two. I was carrying them home by Dedinje, when one got away and raced across the park, I at its heels. I ran into some townspeople detailed to guard the cables . . . they helped me . . . how stupidly a fellow might suffer.

Thursday, 17 July, Belgrade

Last night, at ten, listened to Radio Belgrade. That revolting letter "V." Then the names of Vule Antić, Slobodan Skerović and many other comrades, were read out. Shot! Then Lilly Marlene was sung.

Friday, 18 July, Belgrade

To-day Lola Ribar and I issued a special number of *Radio-Review* in honour of Montenegrins, who have risen in arms. . . .

(4)

Comrade Žujović has told me I'm to take over duties of political commissar of the Kragujevac Detachment.

Here is what Comrade Žujović thinks of the development of our struggle to date—mid-September—in Serbia: The setting up of partisan detachments should mean the first armed form of people's liberation struggle against the invaders. Quite apart from all objective conditions for armed struggle, i.e., for the people's liberation struggle, in fact the creation of detachments and their fighting capabilities are dependent on the political influence and organisational ability of our Party. In the early days, the Party could reckon on its members. The communists indeed have been the driving force of the people's liberation struggle. By that political influence it was possible for various sabotage groups to grow into companies and detachments. In all this it was necessary to break down that "it's-not-time-yet,-we-have-no-weapons" spirit. Fifth columnists have already entered the service of the enemy and have been trying to introduce a commissar policy by setting up Acimović's commissar authorities.

The basic task before detachments at first was: to incapacitate, to

break up and to destroy the invaders' administrative system by every possible method. The second part of that task was political work in the field, exposure of the enemy and of the traitorous policy of the commissars.

By execution and realisation of these tasks, conditions for the following big task were created. The detachments meanwhile became not merely the armed force of the people's liberation struggle, but also protectors of the people against enemy terror. Among the people, resistance to the invaders has increased and there has been increasing enthusiasm for active participation in the people's liberation struggle.

The detachments set up by the formula first agreed (five companies of fifty men each) have proved too narrow, on account of the intake of new partisans. The people's liberation struggle, from its inception in small clashes with the enemy, has begun to develop apace and take on the character of a general uprising. Such conditions have given rise to the question of definitive elimination of the enemy from certain areas, and occupation of such areas by detachments of partisans—the creation of liberated territory. Outlook: mobilisation on liberated territory—on the voluntary principle. Need to force on the enemy such conditions of struggle that he feels as if in a besieged fortress. By planned destruction of communications the occupation forces in various towns to be isolated, making of them islands, cut-off, in which the occupying forces have to fight relying on own resources.

The plan for realisation of liberated territory would run as follows: to include basin of Western Morava (communication line Užice-Čačak-Kraljevo) with south-west Serbia as rear, backing on River Drina and at other end reaching Mt Cer.

At this council various detachments received precise tasks. The Valjevo detachment already had its tasks, and together with Mačva-Podrinje detachments, also Posavina detachment, was realising them magnificently.

The Čačak and Užice detachments received task of isolating Požega, Užice and Čačak, each separately, to clean up territory freed of enemy and occupy Požega. Occupation of Požega to serve for further occupation of Čačak and Užice.

The Paraćin-Cuprija company, grown into a detachment (Second Morava Valley) given task of attacking Paraćin with operational assistance from Second Šumadija detachment, covering rear, together with Belica company, which was to bring off attack on Jagodina. 28 September appointed for action.

The First Šumadija Detachment was to continue, but with much greater effect, destruction of vital strength of enemy, completely destroying enemy transport and finally destroying enemy occupational authorities. Further, to assist Sava Valley and Valjevo detachments in their operations and particularly in mopping up Mionica-Ljig-Lazarevac triangle.

Kragujevac Detachment—complete destruction of communications,

the isolation of Kragujevac and an attack on the Medna munitions dump.

Kraljevo Detachment · same as Kragujevac, and assisting Čačak folk.

All detachments have been given the task keep in touch with neighbouring detachments, so as to be able to act as a whole at given moment.

In conclusion : " all detachments have fulfilled task given them in the main."

* * *

While I was at Duleni, the peasants from the villages round sent a touching letter, asking for protection from plunderers ⁴ who were members of the " Gledić Detachment of Draza Mihailović, under the command of Lieutenant Mojsilović. An officer of our staff was despatched to arrest the plunderers. The Gledić Detachment numbered twenty men, twelve of them " commanders." Moma brought in Mojsilović and his comrades, during heavy rain, without much trouble. Fica cross-examined them. Mojsilović was found not to be the guilty party. We detained six men only, of whom it was established that they had looted, but Mojsilović and the rest were released. Certain of those six were to have been shot, but Raja released them. They were peasants, led astray, who promised to mend their ways.

Mojsilović was killed in the middle of October in a skirmish with Germans on the way to Miloanovac, together with our own deputy commander of the Third Company of the Second Battalion, " schoolie " Vlada from Šenj.

The evening before leaving Duleni a review of all three companies was held. The second company arrived late, and unarmed. Fica and Rocko spoke. The men were full of enthusiasm.⁵ After that, towards nightfall, we started out on action—to carry out given tasks.

⁴ On the highroad towards Jagodina a certain Toža Muštklar, of Kragujevac, had appeared. He had imposed a sort of *harac*, or poll-tax, paid by everybody using the Jagodina highroad, he also attacked women and committed other excesses. Later Toža Muštklar adhered to Nedić, and the fascist press in Belgrade sang his praises. He was killed by another band of plunderers in a squabble about money.

⁵ On this occasion the whole detachment took the oath before representatives of the Chief Staff for Serbia, Comrades Čolaković [Chairman of Presidium of Bosnia-Herzegovina] and Kljajić. The oath began with the words : " I, a son of the Serbian people, swear on my honour . . ." [cf Dudić's diary]. This oath was written by Comrades Žujović and Čolaković. At the village of Trešnjevica they had sworn the First Sumadian Detachment with this oath. But at the same time, Comrade Tito in Belgrade had drawn up the following text for the oath : " We, the people's partisans of Yugoslavia, have taken up arms for a merciless struggle against the bloodthirsty enemies of our people, who have enslaved our country and are wiping out our people. In the name of liberty and justice of our people, we swear to fight on, with discipline, stubbornly and unflinchingly, sparing neither life nor blood, to the complete annihilation of the fascist invaders and of all traitors to the people "

III

DRAGOJLO DUDIĆ—"Diary 1941"

[Prosveta, Belgrade, 1945, 240 pp; Cyrillic edition, 6,000.]

EXTRACT

AUGUST

Bukovac,

1 August

BED in a loft over a stable. *Action for to-day*. ambush on Bukovac-Rakjović turnpike. One patrol of 3 men to the Krčmar parish rooms, another group of 6 men to the Oseka and Breždje parish room, a third, of ten men, to the Rajković-Djurdjević; a fourth of seven men to Petnica-Paune. *Tasks*: to inform mayors they are to close down courts and cease work, as anything they do is of assistance to the enemy. If they continue to function even after this notice, to take them as hostages. The remainder of the men—to harvest work, and propaganda among peasantry. Distribution of League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia leaflets. *Results*: before the units had left on their tasks, we received orders from headquarters not to disperse forces.

During the day, conference of whole staff with the Chief Staff. Then a conference of the whole unit with staff present. Changes made in the company staff. The O.C. was removed, and a regular officer appointed in his place. The O.C. and doctor were expelled from the party, and the political commissar was reprimanded on account of the poor work of the company and for retreating in face of the enemy when driving against our platoon. In the presence of the comrades of the Chief Staff the company took the following oath. "*I, . . ., son of the Serbian people, swear by my honour that I am joining the Valjevo People's Liberation Detachment in firm determination to fight against the fascist invaders and their servants. In that struggle I undertake not to spare strength or life; to maintain the iron discipline of the Detachment; to execute the orders of my superior officers without murmur and to suffer the consequences of infringement of discipline or failure to carry out the duties of a fighter for the rights of the people and for liberty.*"

Before and after this event three comrades spoke. During the ceremony it rained. Bed the next night on the loft over another stable. Food—boiled beans for dinner, supper—dry.

The peasantry are on holiday to-day: *St Elias' Day*. There will be no fair at Valjevo through action undertaken in the villages about, to prevent peasantry bringing in livestock to market. Morning clear. Reveillé 4.30. Breakfast—warm milk and a chunk of bread.

Action for to-day

A group of ten to Dračić—tasks: capture mayor and bringing him as hostage. Group of ten to Divčibare—task: attack on gendarmery post. Two groups to villages for food—tasks: distribution of youth leaflets, agitation against going to market or fairs, meetings, with small groups of peasantry, explanation of our fight.

The group from Dračić back. Result negative. In place of mayor they brought in a boy—the mayor's grandson by his daughter. Those responsible examined, and their action severely reprimanded and criticised before whole company. Youth nevertheless detained in camp, on opinion of majority of responsible persons. Letter sent to mayor, threatening him so as to take no action against families of our partisans, we keeping the lad as guarantee nothing will happen.

In camp preparation of leaflets of League of C.Y. of Y.⁶ Doctor, commissar of food and political commissar took part in discussion.

The group back from Divčibare. Result: gendarmes fled before the post could be invested, conclusion indicated by fresh food on table; judging from quantities of food, one or at most two persons. Files seized, one rucksack, a telephone and two small sacks of flour, set of government underlinen and a summer tunic. Flour distributed to peasants who were short. Leaflets distributed and agitation carried through.

Food group from Mratišić returned. They did not meet with too bad a reception from peasants to-day. Leaflets distributed and meeting held. Food group from Krčmar came in late. Leaflets distributed, men split into groups and talked with peasantry. Concerning food things went badly, as peasants without bread. They were not willing to let comrades into homes, being afraid of the mayor. The mayor was ordered to close down municipality and cease all functions.

At nightfall our group, which four days ago set out on action to Bukve, came in. They numbered 8 men. To-day they came into conflict with a rather strong detachment of gendarmery at the house of the Mayor of Dračić (ten gendarmes in ambush, with later reinforcement of 15 men) where our men were during the night. One lad of our group wounded, and had to be abandoned. Judging by comrades' reports, losses of gendarmery number 6, some killed, some wounded. Without delay we dispatched a detachment of 23 partisans under an O.C. to bring in the lad if they could find the site of the fight. Guards were strengthened in camp. There is great enthusiasm about this fight.

During the night a girl comrade arrived with messengers. She brought some linen and clothing. Two copies of *The Making of a Hero*⁷ and leaflets.

To-day for both meals the men had bread and cheese.

⁶ "S K O J" in Serbian = Communist Youth of Yugoslavia

⁷ Russian novel by Nikolai Ostrovski—the original title is *How the Steel was Tempered*; the English version, slightly abridged, was published, in a translation by Alec Brown, in 1937 by Messrs. Secker & Warburg.

*Bukovac,**3 August*

A fine day, clear sky. Reveillé at 7, as it is Sunday and the men are tired. The group of 23 men which last night went to Dračić on task, arrived. They could not find the wounded comrade, a youth of some 16-17 years of age, who had been in two sanguinary actions against gendarmery and one battle with Germans. There is probability that he was taken to hospital together with the wounded gendarmes. They brought in some army clothing, one typewriter, a suitcase with 80 packets of cigarette tobacco and 20 packets of pipe tobacco and about 10 kilos of loaf sugar. Municipal officers had seized the tobacco and sugar somewhere (according to story of peasant guards at parish rooms), and it appears they served the municipal officers for black market activity. The most likely thing is that the sugar had been stolen from the people by false measure being given when issuing rations, as since the occupation the municipal authorities have been giving out sugar to the population. Neither sugar nor tobacco could have been the property of private individuals, as nobody could possess those quantities; that is why it was seized. Some money, amounting to about 200 dinars, was left, as the party-member responsible imagined it belonged to some individual. One rifle was seized.

Action during the day

Four groups to the villages for food, distribution of leaflets, holding meetings and to get the Krčmar mayor as hostage, as he has not closed down his offices. A meeting was held with the following agenda:

1. Responsibility of Comrade Miloš for false execution of action at Dračić last night;
2. Report of comrade O.C. on Dračić night operation;
3. Important action during day and preparations for action during night;
4. Examination of comrades of 2nd platoon concerning mistakes in Mionica-Ljig actions;
5. To hold a public meeting at Bukovac if possible,
6. Question of new candidates, and
7. Other business.

The first point of the agenda was postponed, as comrades responsible had not returned from action. Similarly point 4, for same reasons. The report of the O.C. concerning last night's action was exhaustive and objective. The action was carried through without a mistake. One little incident. A corporal—brother of the O.C.—showed a touch of self-will when the O.C. gave him instructions. The O.C. faithfully reported all this and demanded punishment within the unit, not hesitating to characterise his own brother as a poorly disciplined partisan. The comrade was cross-questioned, and after a lengthy exercise of educational pressure, punished by reprimand. There was particular discussion con-

cerning the captured tobacco and sugar, to elucidate whether any individual had not been harmed by the seizure. It was established that it was a case, either of acquisition of other's property by the municipal officers, or of hoarding of goods for purposes of illegal speculation. It was resolved that the O.C. had acted correctly in taking the goods, leaving the mayor a letter about it all. He only omitted to state that he had left the money *in situ* and that was the only thing not quite in order. According to the O.C.'s account, the peasant guards were informed on that point. As most important present action planned: to hold public meeting at Bukovac, to close parish offices—Krčmar at Bukovac, also Paune, Rajković, and Oseka. The Dračić offices are already closed. The lad—grandson of the mayor of the Dračić parish—brought in as hostage to exert pressure on the mayor and make him put an end to terrorisation of families of our comrades from Dračić, was released. At the same time a letter was sent to the mayor, and the offer of 1,000 dinars, which he had sent in as voluntary contribution to our detachment, through the Jovanovičs, was rejected. The letter addressed the mayor read:

People's Kolubara Company, Liberation Detachment

3 August

To: Vukadin Tabaković,
Dračić.

In this, its second, letter, the People's Liberation Detachment emphasises, that by our principles any form of terrorisation or force against individuals is excluded. We resort to that method only when our opponents treat the families of our men in that way. We took your grandson as hostage in order to teach you to drop persecution of innocent families, so you would know what pain is.

Our fight is directed to the liberation of our people from the régime of the invaders, also against all traitors from among our own citizens and gendarmery, who serve the enemy in these sore days.

We count you among those citizens who are traitors, serving the enemy, who out of love of authority and position refuse to see that if they serve the enemy, even only as public officials, they do great harm to the people's liberation struggle and soil the honour and name of the Serbian people.

Our conditions to you as mayor are the following: to prevent as you best know how, any further persecution of the families of comrades fighting in this detachment, or of any other citizens who aid the people's struggle. Otherwise, without delay or waiting for your resignation to be accepted, you are to abandon the position you have hitherto occupied; for in that position you have not served the interests of your people. Fulfilment of these conditions does not exclude your responsibility to the people for any misdeeds hitherto committed.

We have rejected the monetary assistance offered our detachment. In place of that, when we in future apply for food for the people's warriors, you

shall offer our friends your co-operation in so far as concerns the collection of food.

We are informed of how you have looked after the boy of our detachment who was wounded in front of your house in the battle with the gendarmes and are glad to take note of that.

*(signed) Dragojlo Dudrić,
For the People's Liberation Detachment.*

The former O.C. is taking on the functions of commissar of supply, to ease the work of the political commissar. An educational-propaganda committee has been set up, including : comrade Soja, comrade Jovanović and the former O.C. of the company. They are to organise everything concerning educational and propaganda action.

The group dispatched to close the parish offices has brought the mayor to the staff headquarters. The mayor has been informed of the resolutions of the staff of this detachment and ordered to close the parish offices, his functions to cease as from to-day. All municipal services aid the enemy, as parts of a system for the support of the enemy authorities set over our people and for the economic exhaustion of our people to the advantage of the enemy. Further, he is to endeavour by assistance in kind to assist the justified struggle waged by the people's liberation detachment in this district, and thereby to show his loyalty to his people. This group also held a public meeting with some 50 peasants present, distributed leaflets and returned on time. The leader of that group was the former O.C. He executed his task to the general satisfaction, and it is clear that he is suitable for such functions. Other groups have come in, having distributed leaflets and had talks with groups of peasants. The situation has improved a little regarding approach to the peasants ; that can also be seen from the fact that all groups have come in with fair quantities of food and that at a minimal cost.

During the day two more partisans joined.

Some young fellows who joined the detachment with Lieutenant Jovanović have left the company, without a word to anyone. Such persons are given to plunder and refusal to submit to collective demands. They did not like discipline, order or collective life, and withdrew without anybody to check them so as to go on with their old job—plunder. The case of the O.C.'s brother was dealt with in such way as to thoroughly examine his mistake before the whole parade and communicate the punishment of reprimand.

About 7.0 hours, departure for Mionica. At Bukovac the parish records were burned and the parish offices closed. A meeting was held in front of the inn in the presence of 15-20 peasants, and another at the parish offices with 7-8 present. One peasant was placed as guard to make sure that the burned records did burn out, and to prevent the house catching fire. The bearing of one comrade with regard to a peasant was incorrect. He will be taken to task about this at the next assembly.

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We distributed leaflets and sang songs. The peasants, particularly the womenfolk, showed their sympathy for our ideas. A number of empty chests found in the parish offices were distributed to them, and a number of wooden chairs. The group of peasants whom we harangued at the inn gained courage a little when they learned of the tasks before the people's liberation struggle and of our fight with the gendarmery at the house of Vuk. Tabaković, and of how we let the boy go again. Then we went on our way.

At Rajković somebody fired. It was night and impossible to see from where the shot came. The company broke up into individual sharpshooters; the shooting was all over in a few minutes. We went on our way. Supper at night in the open country. We had a hot meal. I cannot say what it was like, as it ran out before my turn came. In our detachment we have the principle that the leadership comes last in enjoyment of any rights, while concerning duties they come first, that is, the opposite. We also had some milk. The men ate well, as during the day. That is necessary, as they are put to great effort.

Six men did not turn up for supper, as they failed to notice that the company had withdrawn after breaking up into sharpshooters. Here at supper we lost about two hours, waiting for those six.

Having lost enough time, we hurried on. While on the way we heard a great barking of dogs on our heels. On orders from the O.C. we halted on high ground known as Djurdjevac Height. The men flopped down like so many partridges on the fallen leaves in the shelter of the wood, beside the road, the moon lit up the spaces cleared ahead. At our rear was placed a machine-rifle for cover, and advance patrols for scouting. The caution was necessary, as we had been fired on from the direction of Rajković, and also because we reckoned that secret gendarmery units might be about. At the same time it was the general assurance that those were our men. And so they were; they soon came up, and, thanks to the caution of both lots of us, there had been no clash during the journey.

We immediately resumed our way. . . .

IV

ČEDOMIR MINDEROVIĆ—"Following Tito"

[Državni Izdavački Zavod Jugoslavije, Belgrade,
1945; 340 pp.; Latin character edition, 15,000.]

EXTRACTS

THE MARCH INTO BOSNIA

10 January

Brvenica on the Četini

NOVA VAROS—DRINOVA—LIM—TOCI—BABINE—GORNJE JUGOVO—BRVENICA.

Conifers in the snow. Drifts. We tramped from Lim at midnight

on Christmas Eve A march through a waste of snow. Moslems, Četniks, Italians. Our battalion has become part of the 1st Proletarian Brigade, and is fighting its way through to it. Without a halt

Mountain heights, the roar of the Četina under us. We are making for Bosnia. The conifers are silent. The clouds get caught in the peaks of the mountains which we are crossing.

14 January

Prača

Brvenica — Boljanić — Metalijka — Zaborak — Medinrečje — Kopaći — Prača.

We crossed the Drina yesterday afternoon over the bridge at Kopaći. The bridge was guarded by a huge young *četnik* with a cockade on his *četnik* cap, bandoliers, and drunk. He did not want to let us cross the bridge—said that the Germans had arrived and were in the neighbourhood.

We have completed a long forced march over snow-covered mountains through fog and dead conifer plantations weighed down by thick layers of snow. We are travelling by railway from Kopaći as far as Renovica on our route to Prača. Later at midnight we reach Prača. We have been on the road 23 hours.

Moslem corpses in the Drina, tied with wire. Moslem villages laid waste. Burned down smouldering Moslem villages. Moslem villages without a single man.

We are in Bosnia.

14 January

Brne

Prača—Suva Česma—Miošići—Dobra Voda and positions before burned-out Stajna.

Long columns of Ustašas and Germans based on Romania. Betrayal by the right flank—*četnik* flank. Retreat on the whole line until mid-day through Renovica, through the snowdrift woods and mountains towards Mount Jahorina.

. . . Boldly, high above all else, rises Jahorina. Silence, snow and silence. At night the sky so low, the stars huge and warm, you could reach with your hand.

22 January

Since we arrived we are in a Moslem house with dirty, dusty *kilims* on the floor and an ottoman in the corner, a wooden partition for ablutions in another corner. The room floats in clouds of tobacco smoke. The village has been plundered and laid waste like the majority of Moslem villages. Just before we arrived a murder took place a man came down into the canyon to the mill and remained there in the stream with his throat cut. When we arrived near the village all the men fled into the forest. They are still turning up, although we have been here three days

already. The Partisans had never been in this village, this is the first time they see the five-pointed red star.

The Battalion is resting in similar rooms to this, distributed among a number of hamlets. Security and patrols are working on short shifts because of the great cold. Our diet consists entirely of mutton without salt.

The evening before last the Commander and I went to Boškovići to make arrangements with the staff of the Kraljevac Battalion. We staggered through the snow in the starry, frosty night from hill to hill. We were to move the Battalion at once, but orders came for it to remain.

Beneath us is a deep canyon. The snow blinds us. The white trees between the houses still in the sun as if they were artificial trees of glass. Our men are resting. Their homes are far away, possibly destroyed by bombs, possibly transformed to ashes. They are resting from a difficult, exhausting journey ready for a new difficult, exhausting journey.

The end of January is drawing near. February and March will pass, everything about us will become green again, and new blood will flow through the veins of our weary men. We pass through the land, we pass through the spaces of snow, mountains, rivers and forests. We advance. We retire. And once again we advance. (Pp 60-61)

(EXTRACTS FROM)

RAZVIGOR ON THE MLADJ

9 April
Pariževići

No news of Rogatica. We withdrew from our position on orders just before dawn. Advanced posts, sentinels remained. The enemy has so far not tried to break through on our flank.

We made our way down the Mladj, stumbling in the darkness on the stones from patrol to patrol, from ambush to ambush, from sentinel to sentinel, scattered about the *karst*, behind huge piles of stones, behind bushes and timbers, behind fences and stony waste, behind the scattered remnants of burned-out houses. The whisper of the password and the reply lost in the whining of the wind.

* * *

It is mid-day. Dark clouds. The wind howls and beats against the small clean windows of the Moslem cottage under the roof of which, tired out by that strange night before Sokolac, night without sleep, I am writing. An aeroplane flew low over us a few minutes ago. It dropped no bombs, was on reconnaissance.

Below this cottage, on all sides down the grassy and stony slopes, the village is scattered. From this cottage not far off I can see the house of the first peasant, a member of the Communist Party, whom I met on this journey into Bosnia. Or rather he found me. . . .

A young cleanly-dressed peasant, thin in the face, with slight hint of pocks, entered the low-pitched room. He greeted everyone curtly, looking at the comrades present with an open and slightly sharp glance, and enquired about the Political Commissar.

"I would like to have a word or two with you alone"—he shot a slightly shy glance at those present and at me.

We went outside into the snow, on to the young grass just showing green.

"I am a member of the Party," he immediately told me in a swift half-whisper, as justification for calling me out.

Delighted, I put my hand on his shoulder. It seemed as if after a long space of time I was looking again on an old and dear friend. Under my hand I felt the bony powerful shoulder jutting out hard from peasant labour and innumerable blows with adze and mattock. His glance too became warmer and more intimate.

So we stood there in the sun, suddenly silent. Out of the chaotic criss-cross of a multitude of impressions on this great journey through massacred Bosnia, out of the black labyrinth of spiritual waste of the villages through which hitherto we had made our way, there was this clean peasant with his lean, clean-washed face, suddenly standing there before me lit by the sun, saying, "You know, I am a member of the Party."

Among the orchards just awakening from their sleep and past the half-ruined houses we made our way slowly down by the winding little path to the headquarters of the Glasinac Detachment. He had asked assistance of me. I was to see the wall-newspaper of the Glasinac Detachment which he had edited, the first wall-newspaper on this stone mass within reach of rebel Romania and distant, icy, silent Jahorina.

At the end of the low-pitched room, long un-whitewashed, in the murky corner above the table at which his Detachment comrades were seated—a portion of food was steaming in front of each of them—hung three sheets of paper odd in size, covered with a stiff, untrained handwriting, nailed on to the dirty, flaking wall. The latest news, an article on the struggle of the Glasinac Detachment, and a song about the fight against the Ustašas in rough ten-syllable verse which did not scan, a long poem by one of these warriors with red scarf about his head.

"You know the comrades have entrusted me . . ."

We shifted the three odd unequal sheets outside on to the porch. Daylight flooded over them. They were more visible and easier to read. They were poorer too in the clear light of day.

That evening, before setting out for our position, I sent for him. I handed him a large envelope stuffed with material.

I watched him turn the thick envelope over and over in his hand, undecidedly, even a trifle confused. That nameless great pioneer of the new struggle. He couldn't bear to wait. It was obvious that he only wanted to be alone, alone with his envelope. And he did not bear it long.

Hastily he saluted and strode rapidly off down the winding path to the editorial office of his newspaper.

I watched him as he went. He increased his pace. He went faster and faster on into the future, into the new, towards the sun. As he went he grew, and behind him the many columns of new men, men of labour, and men of liberty.

Somewhere, probably Sokolac, there suddenly rattled a short burst of machine-gun fire

Night had fallen. We were on the Mladj. Through the wind and the darkness across the thickets and scattered stones of Mladj, came the hushed exchange of password and answer . . . (Pp. 96-98.)

SLAVONIC STUDIES IN FRANCE

THE progress of Slavonic Studies outside the Slav countries has always been related to the growing rôle of those countries in world affairs. This is an evident fact, a fact which the English have taken account of at the end of the first World War in founding, on the initiative of President Masaryk, the School of Slavonic Studies in London, and at the same time in encouraging more study of Russian subjects in the various universities of Great Britain. The Americans, at the same time, bowed to the same forces in multiplying the centres for Slavonic, or at least for Russian studies, in the U.S.A. Further, the Italians founded in Rome the *Istituto per l'Europa orientale*.

As for the French, the evidence and the dates reveal clearly the factors which have determined the growth of Slavonic studies in their country. This evidence is as follows: that of Louis Leger in many of his articles, and above all in *Russes et Slaves* (2nd series, 1896, pp. 207-42) and in the *Souvenir d'un Slavophile* (1905, pp. 1-218), that of Louis Eisenmann in *The Slavonic Review* (Vol. I, No. 2, December, 1922, pp. 295-305), the historical table of Slavonic studies in France given in *La Science française* (2nd edition, Vol. 2, 1933, pp. 451-74), and even, in spite of the feeling of mistrust which animates it, the memoir of Ernest Birke, which appeared in *Jahrbucher für Osteuropäische Geschichte* in Breslau, 1934, and the separate volume, *Das Nationalitätenproblem der Donaumonarchie in der Beurteilung der französischen Publizistik seit 1840, I teil*. Other dates also speak for themselves. In 1840 there was founded the Chair in the Collège de France, designed for Adam Mickiewicz; which corresponded to the particular attitude of France toward Russian policy under Nicholas I, and toward the Polish *émigrés* in France. The years following the Crimean War were accompanied by a flowering of French *rossica*. The years following the disaster of Sedan (1870) were followed by the visits of Louis Leger and Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu to Russia, and the visit of Ernest Denis to Bohemia; by the introduction of the teaching of Russian, in the *École des langues orientales*; and, at the beginning of the 'eighties, by the publication of the great works by Leroy-Beaulieu, Ernest Denis and Vicomte Melchior de Vogüé. The year of the Franco-Russian Alliance (1891) led to the founding of Chairs of Russian at Lille (1892) and then at the Sorbonne (1902). The victory in 1918, which meant the emergence of the young Slav states, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, called forth a succession of happy initiatives—the founding of a Russian Chair at the University of Lyon and of a Chair of Slavonic Languages and Literatures in Strasbourg; the creation by the Czechoslovak government of a Chair of History and Civilisation of the Slav peoples at the Sorbonne; the introduction of the teaching of Polish, Czech and Serbo-Croat at the *École des langues orientales*; and, with the support of the French, Czechoslovak and Yugoslav (as well as later on the

Polish) governments, the founding by Ernest Denis of the *Institut d'Études Slaves* in the University of Paris, a centre for the co-ordination of Slavonic studies in France. The last twenty years (1919-1939) have been marked by steady progress in the developing of Slavonic studies in our country, just as for that matter in Britain, Italy and the U.S.A.

What is the present condition of these studies in France? What will it be to-morrow?

After a sorry period of existence that was slowed down by the menace of Nazi occupation, the *Institut d'Études Slaves* is opening widely the gates which it could only keep half ajar during five years; and it is busy distributing to readers its books and the numbers of the *Revue des Études Slaves* which were published *sub rosa* and kept in stock. It is restoring its contacts with colleagues abroad, above all with those of Britain and the U.S.A. and in an atmosphere of recovered freedom it is making an effort to meet the demands of the younger generation, which in growing numbers are coming to it for Slavonic studies. This new epoch in the history of our work has opened under the banner of the liberation of the Slav peoples, aided in their resistance effort by the goodwill, the power of organisation and the sacrifices of the U.S.S.R., acting in collaboration with the Allies of the West. A wave of curiosity and of sympathy has urged the youth of France in the direction of getting to know this new world which has just disclosed its power, and for which a great future is in store. This feeling could be felt from the end of the year 1941, even before victory was won; and it has not ceased to grow during the last three years. The number of people learning Russian by themselves has multiplied, and the number of students registered for the study of Slavonic languages, especially for courses in Russian, has grown ten times since the session 1944-1945—the academic year following liberation. So far as I know the situation is not different in Britain or in the U.S.A. One could also say that, just as peace is “indivisible,” so it is with the progress of Slavonic studies.

But the situation is a new one. It is not a case any more as it was in 1919 of an extension of our studies, thought of by a small number of men of science or of far-seeing politicians; and involving the organisation of groups, where the students who apply will find the kind of teaching that a forward-looking instruction has prepared for their needs. It has been the students themselves, who, without waiting to be called together, have come forward and taken a place in the existing groups, and who, finding these too narrow in scope, are demanding that they be widened. It is not a case any longer of progress in our studies dictated from above, but of progress demanded from below, and responding to a spontaneous movement of the people interested. This new situation has demanded appropriate measures to meet it. It has been necessary at once to assure to mature students the possibility of acquiring the knowledge of Russian affairs towards which they are striving. The teaching arrangements in the universities and the higher schools have had to be expanded and

adapted to the needs of a public that was more numerous and of very unequal education. It has become a matter also, and pre-eminently, of preparing the future by introducing the teaching of Russian in the *lycée* on the same plan as that already existing for other European languages—English, German, Italian, Spanish. Learning, as it is taught in the universities, has been less interested in the measures to be taken for the average training of pupils of the schools and *lycées* in the light of their future life as civil servants, soldiers, business people, industrialists, financiers, etc., who are called on to maintain relations with the U.S.S.R. and with the other Slav states of Eastern Europe. The time of pure learning, of science for its own sake, has receded—life has demanded a political acquaintance with Slavonic affairs in keeping with the interests of the state at the present time. The notion of utility has demanded a place alongside the concept of learning.

It is important now, and it always will be, to keep the right balance between these two concepts. Teaching will not achieve the maximum of usefulness unless it is given by professors who have the proper scientific training: whether we are concerned with language, in which case sound grammatical teaching facilitates uniquely the time of preparation, or whether we wish to initiate people into a knowledge of a country, in which case the work can only be exact, clear and efficient if it is directed by a teacher with a wide culture and experience of sound methods. Far from excluding the need for scientific training, practical teaching, when rightly understood, demands of a teacher precisely this equipment. The considerations that have inspired the decisions in regard to the organisation of Slavonic studies in France have had to take account of the needs manifested by the public, but also of training professors as well qualified by their university studies as are the teachers of both ancient and modern tongues in the educational institutions of the secondary grade—*lycées* and colleges.

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For precisely this reason two kinds of steps have been taken. On the one hand, since the end of the year 1944 the teaching of Russian has been introduced in the *lycées* as an optional subject; on the other, since the beginning of the school year 1945–1946, the competitive examination for the *agrégation* in Russian (which was instituted in July 1939 but was hindered from functioning up till now by events) has been announced as coming into action for the first time in June 1947. Finally, by a very recent decision, meant to complement these two steps, the study of Russian has been included in the programme for the *lycées* precisely on the same lines as those modern languages prescribed for the choice of the pupils—English, German, Italian and Spanish. It has ceased to be an optional subject, i.e. to be only an adornment added voluntarily, at the wish of the student, to the training he has received at the *lycée*. The teaching of Russian has also been introduced in two *Écoles d'enseignement*

primaire supérieur, i.e. the Training College for men at Saint-Cloud, and the Training College for women at Fontenay-aux-Roses.

The competitive examination for the *agrégation* in Russian is meant to provide professors suitably fitted for the new instruction also introduced in the larger *lycées* of Paris and in the *lycées* of certain larger cities such as Lille, Roubaix, Lyon, Clermont-Ferrand, Bordeaux, Marseille etc. While waiting for the selection of professors to be made effective by this examination, the teaching has been entrusted either to teachers qualified in other subjects or to *licenciés-ès-lettres* and to *anciens élèves diplômés* of *L'École de langues orientales*. It has been necessary to get ready in a great hurry, and some time will still be needed for the creation of a body of teachers of Russian scientifically qualified and experienced. An assistant, a man or a woman of Russian origin, will as a rule be associated with every professor.

The experience of the two school years 1944-1946 has given us more than satisfying confirmation, for the time being, both as to the number of registered students and to the results obtained. The story about Russian being "a language too difficult to be learned by the pupils" has vanished in face of the facts. It goes without saying that the complex system of declensions and conjugations is more easily grasped and assimilated by pupils who have already studied Latin or Greek; but it is almost as easily accessible, as the facts show, to any student not knowing those languages, on condition that they are taught according to a clear grammatical method and with the use of a living vocabulary adapted to this method.

The chief difficulty which both teachers and students have to encounter has been a common lack of tools to work with: both need safe and practical dictionaries, prose exercises, manuals and conversation books—in fact Russian books in general are lacking, even unaccented. The task to be faced in France, which has already been realised in great part in Britain, is to create this whole body of scholarly material for Russian in keeping with the best works we already possess for the study of the other modern languages taught in the secondary schools. And with this goes the other problem of getting from the Soviet Union a sufficient quantity of the Russian books designed for sale to foreign readers, above all to our secondary school and university students. Both in France and in Britain we know that at present, failing the means of transport and, unfortunately too, the quotas of published books designed for export, Soviet books outside the U.S.S.R. are a rarity. The Moscow Government will surely not fail, now war is over and peace established, to take up the matter of furnishing bookshops abroad with those publications that are demanded by so many readers.

The initiative taken by the Government in response to the urge that has driven so many young people into Slavonic Studies has been reinforced by private enterprise as well. The Society for the Encouragement of Foreign Languages in Paris has introduced not only Russian but also

Polish and Czech into its programme. The French-Soviet Association has its Russian classics. The mayors of several of the boroughs of Paris and its suburbs have also opened courses for Russian. Voluntary groups have been formed to work together at Russian under a single teacher. Finally there is the Linguaphone with its devotees. We have thus a whole collection of undertakings, a complete list of which would be hard to make, but which are to be recognised as the marks of an epoch. Such extra-mural or post-university courses make a happy rounding-out of the opportunities given to the wider public for learning Russian.

* * *

The course of events that have put Russian on the curriculum of the secondary schools was bound, at the same time, to modify in the best way possible the position of Slavonic Studies in the universities and Higher Schools. Their status has taken on new and notable importance: they have become an integral part of the great *ensemble* known as Public Education; they are no longer, as they still were in 1920, isolated subjects to which one pointed as curiosities of interest only to a few people—hardly more than could be counted on the fingers. They are on the other hand a prime necessity for many people, and of obvious significance in the service of the state. It is here that the state has the right to look for the sound scholars who can ensure her an exact knowledge of Slav countries, and of qualified teachers who can train for its service enlightened and effectual links with these countries in the shape of diplomats, writers and journalists, engineers, mechanics and business men. A variety of courses, contact of these courses with their neighbour subjects, breadth of view and a sense of reality in the teachers, and a capacity for adapting themselves to the widely varying needs of students with different purposes and unequal preparation—these are the demands of the present time, of which account must be taken in the reorganisation of Slavonic studies.

The general position of the teaching of these subjects in France at the moment is as follows:

PARIS:

the *Collège de France*, with a Chair of Slavonic Languages and Literatures, held by André Mazon, in succession to Louis Leger;

The *École des Hautes Études* (Section of Historical and Philological Sciences), with its studies in Mediæval Slavonic Languages and Literature under the direction of André Vaillant, in succession to Antoine Meillet;

the Faculty of Letters of the university, with (1) a Chair of Russian History and Civilisation, held by Raoul Labry, in succession to Jules Legras, and assisted by a lecturer, Mme Prokhnitskaya, and (2) a Chair of Slavonic History and Civilisation (founded by the Czechoslovak Government), held by Jean Mousset—until his death in April 1946;

the *École nationale des langues orientales vivantes*, with (1) a Chair of the Russian Language, held by Pierre Pascal, in succession to Paul Boyer,

and assisted by a Lecturer, Mlle Konchalovskaya, (2) a Chair of Polish, held by Henri Grappin, assisted by a Lecturer, Mme Korwin-Piotrowski, (3) a Chair of Czech, held by Marc Vey, in succession to Fuscien Dominois, and assisted by a lecturer, M. Ondrovčík, (4) a Chair of Serbo-Croat, held by André Vaillant, and assisted by a lecturer, M. Polanščak, (5) a Chair of Bulgarian, held by Leon Beaulieux, and assisted by a lecturer, and (6) a newly-created Chair of Geography, History and Civilisation of Eastern Europe, held by Alfred Fichelle ;

the *Institut des Sciences politiques* (formerly *École des Sciences politiques*) with a course in Russian given by M. Pierre Pascal, lectures on the history of the U.S.S.R. by M. Bruhat, and lectures on the economic geography of the U.S.S.R. by M. Pierre George ;

the *École des Hautes Études* (Section of Religious Studies) with possible lectures on the history of Byzantine art in Slav countries, by the Director, André Grabar ,

the *École des Hautes Études Commerciales*, with a course of studies in Russian, given by Mlle Konchalovskaya ,

the *Faculté Catholique*, with a course in Polish given by Zygmunt Zaleski ;

the *Biblioteka Polska* (Polish Library of the Academy in Cracow), a centre of Polish studies where lectures are given by Polish and French specialists.

LILLE .

the Faculty of Letters of the university, with (1) a Chair of Russian and Polish Languages and Literatures, held by Maxime Herman, and assisted by a lecturer in Russian (Mme Voevodski), a lecturer in Polish (M. Godlewski) and a lecturer in Czech, Bedřich Svatoš, and (2) a Chair of the History of Central and Eastern Europe, held by Victor L. Tapié ,

the Catholic Faculty of Lille, where Russian is taught by M. Maklakov.

LYON :

the Faculty of Letters of the university, with a Chair of Russian Language and Literature, held by Mlle Marcelle Ehrhard, assisted by lecturers in Russian (M. Prokopenko), Polish (M. Stefanowicz), Czech and Serbo-Croat.

STRASBOURG :

the Faculty of Letters of the university with a Chair of Slavonic Languages and Literatures, held by Boris Unbegaun, assisted by a lecturer in Russian, M. Stremoukhov, another in Polish, Mme de Chelminska, and one in Czech, Georges Straka. Courses in the history of Russian literature and civilisation are given by M. Stremoukhov.

BORDEAUX :

the Faculty of Letters of the university, with a lectureship in Slavonic Languages and Literatures, held by Georges Luciani, assisted by lecturers

in Russian (M. Leontieff), in Polish (M. Zdrojewski) and in Czech, the last being Stefan Pichiña

MONTPELLIER :

the Faculty of Letters of the university, where Russian is taught by Lucien Tesnière, professor of Comparative Linguistics, assisted by a lecturer.

NANCY :

the Faculty of Letters of the university, where Polish is taught by M. Moÿse.

CLERMONT-FERRAND :

the Faculty of Letters of the university, where Russian and Czech are taught by a lecturer, M. Pavel Halát.

GRENOBLE :

the Faculty of Letters of the university, where Polish is taught by a lecturer, and Czech by a lecturer, Zdeněk Bar.

DIJON :

the Faculty of Letters of the university, where Russian is taught by a lecturer, and Czech by a lecturer (M. Startl).

ALGER :

a centre of Russian Studies, directed by F. Psalmon (add. 21 rue d'Italy).

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The *Institut d'Études Slaves* in the University of Paris has the task of co-ordinating the various courses of study which make up this whole picture, of encouraging enterprises, of helping all men and women of good will ; and above all of furthering by its publications not only the research work of scholars but also the introduction of beginners into this special field. In keeping with the pledge of its founder, Ernest Denis, its main concern is still to achieve two things at one and the same time—a work of science and a work of utility. One may include the following both in the past programme of action of the Institute and in its present plans :

(i) The creation of a Central Library for Slavonic Studies in France ; (ii) the making of an inventory of Slavonic works in the other libraries of Paris ; (iii) the organising of regular exchange of publications with the Academies, Universities and Learned Societies of Slav countries ; (iv) the maintaining of the warmest relations with centres of Slavonic Studies in all countries, in particular with Britain and the U.S.A. ; (v) the inviting of the most competent specialists to come to lecture in Paris ; (vi) the sending of French students to study for longer periods in Slav countries, or even to make “the Grand Tour of the Slav world” so indispensable for every Slavist ; (vii) to train both scholars and men of action.

The position of Slavonic studies as a discipline in the general field of university work depends largely on the ties they naturally possess, and which we ought to strengthen, with neighbouring disciplines—e.g. Byzantine, Germanic and Oriental Studies. The history of Europe, of the Near East and even of the Far East, cannot be grasped without the contribution to be made by the historian of the Slav countries, whether military, political, social, religious, or art. This contribution of solid knowledge which can fairly be demanded from us is expected of all specialists in those other fields. Slavonic Studies will justify their integration into the general university field in proportion as they respond willingly to this expectation both in regard to method and organisation.

The progress achieved in these methods of work and in the organising of Slavonic Studies, in which France can play only a modest part, depends—we are certain—above all and everywhere on international collaboration. For this we cry out with all our voice. Only such collaboration can effect easier and more frequent correspondence, easier and more frequent personal meetings, between the scholars of different nations. It is these personal relations that we so badly need; and in this respect it should be said that the plan for Quinquennial Congresses which was coming into practice before the war—the Philological Congress in Prague in 1929 and that in Warsaw in 1934—cannot either ensure sufficient contact between specialists or guarantee the working out of plans of studies to be undertaken together—to say nothing of the continuous efforts necessary for the completion of those plans. The scheme of Congresses should be improved, being freed of an excess of detailed papers, and limited to a programme of general interest. Nevertheless, even if so improved, it would gain from the creation of a permanent *International Commission for Slavonic Studies*, which would meet at least once a year and function like its sister Commission for history. It goes without saying that on this Commission, once it is constituted, our colleagues of the Academies in Slavonic countries should have the most important places.

ANDRÉ MAZON. •

NOTE. The student is referred to the following articles in earlier numbers of this Review:—

Slavonic Studies in France, by Louis Eisenmann, Vol. I, No. 2 (Dec. 1922).

Slavonic Studies in France, by Boris Unbegaun, Vol. VII, No. 21 (March 1929).

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

THE RUSSIAN INSTITUTE

THE foundation of a Russian Institute at Columbia University, which has just opened its first session, certainly marks an epoch in the development of Russian studies in the United States. It was one of the last achievements of the long and fruitful presidency of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler and must be hailed as one of his major contributions not only to academic study but to world peace, the other great cause to which that vigorous life has been devoted.

The importance of this Institute is that, like its sister School in London, it interprets in one place and under one leadership the whole study of Russia in a special institution devoted to this purpose. Till now, the study of Russia in America has been an incident or particular phase of academic policy or of the distinction of a particular scholar. When the policy changed, or when the distinguished scholar died or retired, the period came to an end, and the students were left stranded, sometimes in the final phase of their own studies. The death of Archibald Cary Coolidge and the almost simultaneous retirement of Robert H. Lord were grievous losses to Harvard University, still Slavic study was carried on with vigour. For several years the leadership passed to the West Coast at the rival Universities of California and Stanford. Stanford still has a good and compact School, but very recently California has suffered crushing blows in the retirement of that master of his craft, George R. Noyes, and the almost simultaneous deaths before their time of Alexander Kaun and George Patrick, both Professors, there remains the sound historical scholarship of Robert J. Kerner. At Chicago, since Samuel N. Harper suddenly died in 1943, he has not been replaced.

Columbia not merely jumps straight into the lead, but assures a far greater degree of permanency to the work. Under the directorship of Professor Geroid T. Robinson, already long established as Professor of Russian History, is now gathered a team of four others of the most distinguished Slavonic scholars in the country: Roman Jakobson, perhaps one of the most distinguished Slavonic philologists outside Russia, Ernest J. Simmons, the foremost American scholar on Russian literature, Philip E. Mosely, the most promising young Slavist in the field of international relations, and John Hazard, almost unique in the study of Soviet law and institutions. Economics is in the hands of a visiting professor, Abram Bergson. Between them these men can build up a generation of American teachers for the other universities of the country, of which so many are starting Slavic departments.

One problem of regional or "area" study, which during the last war was adopted as a principle by the army and navy educational authorities, is its co-ordination with the regular work of a great University.

A Dean of Economics, to take an example, may be excused for looking askance at the teaching of Russian economics in an institution which does not fall under his jurisdiction. Columbia has found at the very start an admirable solution of this problem. Each Professor at the Institute is also a member of the Faculty to which his subject belongs, and will be from the first not a rival but a full member of it. Equally happy is the disposition by which Professor Simmons enjoys also a comparatively independent position as Head of the University Department of East European Languages, with already a prospective staff of some ten teachers. This is a felicitous mating of language and area ; for without this connection area teaching is impossible.

The Institute enjoys a generous grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and is likely to attract an increasing measure of public support. Its foundation is in the long run the best answer to the crying demand for a more thoroughly informed public opinion on Russia, which is the only lasting basis of peaceful relations. We wish Professor Robinson and his brilliant colleagues every success in their work. For the sister School in London, the foundation of the Institute will suggest all sorts of ways of fruitful co-operation in our common task.

Washington

BERNARD PARES

UNPRINTED DOCUMENTS : RUSSO-BRITISH RELATIONS DURING THE EASTERN CRISIS

2ND SERIES. VIII. THE EVE OF THE ARMISTICE

IN No. 8 of the SLAVONIC REVIEW (Vol. III, December, 1924), I began the publication of unprinted documents from the Tsarist Russian Archives, relating to the Eastern Crisis of the 'seventies and the Russo-Turkish War.

For various reasons it proved impossible to complete the series, with the result that no documents are available beyond December, 1877, and that the very enlightening despatches of Count Shuvalov in the months preceding the Congress of Berlin remained inaccessible, though I myself made full use of them in my book on *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question* (1935) and lent my typescripts of the originals to several British and American scholars who were also working on the same period.

It has now been decided to complete their publication. For the convenience of the reader I append the full list of the original series —

1. No. 8 (December, 1924).
2. No. 9 (March, 1925).—From the Andrassy Note to the Serbo-Turkish War.
3. No. 10 (June, 1925).—From the Reichstadt Agreement to the Conference of Constantinople
4. No. 11 (December, 1925).—The Conference of Constantinople.
5. No. 12 (March, 1926).—The Eve of the Russo-Turkish War.
6. No. 14 (December, 1926) —The Russo-Turkish War.
7. No. 17 (December, 1927).—Russia's Victory and Projects of Mediation.

I would further refer the reader to my own *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question* (1935), and to Mr. B. H. Sumner's *Russia and the Balkans* (1936).

THE THREE EMPERORS TAKE COUNSEL (DEC. 1877)

270. ALEXANDER II TO FRANCIS JOSEPH. HEADQUARTERS OF PORADIM,
27 NOV./9 DEC. 1877

Mon cher ami,

La démarche tentée par les ministres turcs pour demander la médiation d'Allemagne et la réponse du Prince Reuss Te sont certainement connues. Dans la prévision où le Sultan serait amené par la situation militaire à

demander sérieusement la paix, dans les circonstances actuelles, j'ai jugé utile de Te faire part dès à présent de mes vues éventuelles. Je les ai consignées dans la notice ci-jointe. Elles ne sont pas définitives. Ce ne sont que des bases dont le développement dépendra des événements de la guerre, et des nécessités et des droits qu'elle aura créés. Je les crois dans l'esprit sinon dans la lettre de nos arrangements, auxquels je resterai fidèle. Une coopération de Ta part les aurait rendues aussi complètes que je l'eusse désiré. J'en fais également part à l'Empereur Guillaume, et je lui demande, comme à Toi, de n'en faire aucune mention à qui que ce soit, surtout pas au Gouvernement Anglais. Je n'aurais toutefois rien contre si, dans le cas où Tu serais interpellé, Tu Te prononçais dans le sens de mes intentions, dont je Te fais la confiance.

Je Te prie de me dire franchement Ton avis. J'aurai toujours égard à Tes intérêts et je ne doute pas que Tu prennes les miens en juste considération. Tu peux compter sur moi comme je compte sur Toi afin de terminer cette crise au mieux de nos mutuels rapports, de la sécurité de nos deux pays et de la paix générale. Crois aux sentiments inaltérables de Ton ami dévoué.

[Enclosed is the statement of the Tsar's views which Gorchakov sent confidentially to Shuvalov *five days earlier*—see above, No. 254.]

271. AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF FRANCIS JOSEPH TO ALEXANDER II,
8 JAN. 1878. VIENNA

Mon cher Ami,

Ta lettre du 27 Nov./9 Déc. 1877 m'est un nouvel et précieux témoignage de Ta sincère amitié. Je n'ai jamais douté que la confiance qui nous unit et l'entente à laquelle nous sommes arrivés avant la guerre forment la base la plus sûre pour une solution satisfaisante de la crise. Je ne T'en suis pas moins particulièrement reconnaissant de m'avoir dès à présent offert une occasion de m'expliquer avec Toi en toute franchise sur la situation, du point de vue de nos intérêts réciproques.

J'ai mûrement pesé Ta lettre et les notices qui l'accompagnent. Les réflexions que ces dernières m'inspirent sont renfermées dans l'annexe ci-jointe, résultat d'un examen approfondi avec mon Ministre d'Affaires Étrangères.

Il va sans dire que j'ai pris pour principale gouverne les arrangements auxquels ont abouti nos laborieuses négociations. Je partage sincèrement Ton regret qu'une coopération de nos armées n'ait pas eu lieu. Mais un coup d'œil rétrospectif sur l'origine de notre convention fera paraître sous leur vrai jour les causes qui l'ont rendu impossible.

Je ne saurais présumer qu'après une année remplie d'événements aussi graves Tu puisses avoir présent à l'esprit toutes les phases de nos transactions. C'est pourquoi je Te prie de vouloir bien relire mes lettres du 3 et 23 octobre 1876.

A côté des motifs qui de mon point de vue me défendaient une intervention effective contre la Porte, je T'y avais aussi énuméré les raisons qui me semblaient militer contre une intervention armée de la Russie. J'étais d'avis de se contenter de demander à la Turquie un ensemble de réformes nécessaires.

Il me paraissait que la Porte ne serait pas en mesure de réaliser ces promesses et d'établir une administration qui pût concilier l'émancipation de ses sujets chrétiens avec les exigences de la souveraineté ottomane. L'incompatibilité du régime turc avec les besoins de la civilisation chrétienne se serait manifestée d'elle-même, la dissolution de l'Empire ottoman par des causes intrinsèques n'eût pu manquer de s'imposer aux yeux de tout le monde comme une fatalité inévitable et l'Europe en serait venue à saluer l'intervention qui a toujours éveillé sa méfiance comme une délivrance de l'anarchie qui règne dans les États du Sultan.

Telle fut l'opinion que je développais alors et dans maintes autres circonstances. S'il T'eût été possible de Te l'approprier également, nous eussions pu au moment de l'action agir en commun.

Tu n'as pas méconnu la sincérité de mes sentiments. Personne n'est meilleur juge que moi de la noblesse des motifs qui T'ont guidé et Te guident encore. Toutefois en présence de la politique vacillante de l'Angleterre qui, tout en créant elle-même la question bulgare, encourageait en même temps la résistance de la Porte, en présence du refus inattendu du Protocole de Londres, enfin de l'exaltation des esprits en Russie. Tu n'as pas cru pouvoir attendre le procès naturel de dissolution de l'Empire ottoman.

Dans la juste conviction que l'Europe n'était pas suffisamment pénétrée de l'impossibilité du maintien de la domination ottomane et de la nécessité de la remplacer par de nouvelles combinaisons, Tu as décliné, avant l'ouverture des hostilités, toute pensée d'acquisition et désigné comme seul but de la guerre la réalisation des réformes demandées par les Puissances et des garanties d'exécution.

Dans le cadre du programme que Tu pouvais tracer dans de semblables circonstances le résultat de la guerre a donné à la Russie une satisfaction légitime. La gloire s'est attachée à Ton drapeau, gloire d'autant plus éclatante que la bravoure des troupes turques n'a pu qu'en rehausser la valeur. Ton honneur militaire peut être hautement satisfait. C'est avec ces sentiments que Tu peux faire connaître aujourd'hui à Ton adversaire les conditions de la paix. Tu peux de même ordonner à Tes armées de continuer leur marche victorieuse. Mais j'avoue franchement que je ne saurais croire que cette deuxième hypothèse amènerait une situation plus satisfaisante pour Toi ou plus rassurante pour la paix de l'Europe, en tant qu'à moins d'un cas imprévu elle aurait peu de chances d'aboutir à une solution définitive.

Tant que Tes armées étaient aux prises avec d'innombrables difficultés je me suis abstenu ainsi que mon Ministre des Affaires étrangères de faire des questions sur Tes intentions. Ton Ambassadeur Te l'aura fait

savoir. Mon Gouvernement a passé sous silence les appréhensions qui ont surgi de temps à autre, comme par exemple à l'occasion de la proclamation aux Bulgares : il s'est volontiers exposé aux récriminations de l'esprit public surexcité, dans l'intention de ne pas augmenter ses difficultés. Dans le même but mon Cabinet a décliné tout récemment de prendre l'initiative d'une médiation. Il m'est donc permis, maintenant que tes armées victorieuses se sont couvertes de gloire sur les deux théâtres de la guerre, de T'exposer avec d'autant plus d'abandon mes appréhensions sur la situation. Elles partent toutes de la conviction que le moment de la dissolution de l'Empire ottoman n'est pas encore arrivé et que par conséquent l'organisation de la Presqu'île des Balkans ne pourra pas aboutir cette fois à un résultat définitif tel que nous l'avions prévu à Reichstadt. Il est bien possible d'achever la Turquie par la force des armes, mais non pas de faire naître la conviction dans l'opinion publique de l'Europe qu'elle se soit éteinte d'une mort naturelle, faute de vitalité. Ce point de vue qui est décisif pour l'opinion publique de mes États a dû me diriger dans l'examen des propositions renfermées dans les notices annexées à Ta lettre. Toi-même Tu ne les considères pas comme définitives. Je soumets en toute confiance mes remarques à Ton équitable et loyale appréciation.

Je crois T'avoir donné des preuves de ma fidélité à nos engagements malgré le courant de l'opinion publique de mon Empire.

De mon côté je suis convaincu que Tu tiendras compte de mes devoirs de souverain et des difficultés de mon Gouvernement.

J'ai le ferme espoir qu'ainsi il nous sera possible de terminer la crise dans le même accord dans lequel nous l'avons traversée jusqu'ici.

En attendant je Te prie de croire aux sentiments d'attachement inaltérable de Ton ami dévoué.

272. AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF ALEXANDER II TO WILLIAM I (NOT DATED BUT ENCLOSED TOGETHER.)

J'ai été bien sensible aux bonnes paroles que Vous m'avez transmises en réponse à la communication que je Vous ai faite de mes conditions de paix et surtout à l'assurance de Votre concours pour faciliter une entente sur les points où il y aurait une divergence d'opinion entre l'Empereur d'Autriche et moi. Je n'attendais pas moins de Votre amitié et je suis dans le cas d'en réclamer le bénéfice. Vous trouverez ci-près copies de la lettre que m'adresse l'Empereur François Joseph avec un mémoire du Comte Andrassy et de la réponse que j'y ai faite. Vous êtes bon juge en matière d'honneur militaire et de dignité nationale et Vous avez le cœur chrétien : Vous apprécierez.

Je ne méconnaiss pas les difficultés du Cabinet de Vienne et je crois qu'il y a plus d'embarras que de mauvais vouloir dans les objections qu'il fait. Mais j'ai aussi des obligations aux quelles je ne puis pas manquer et j'ai le droit de tenir à ce qu'elles soient prises en juste considération.

Votre intervention amicale sera j'en suis sûr, assez puissante pour aplanir ces divergences et maintenir intacte l'entente des trois Cours. Dans le moment solennel où nous sommes elle n'est pas seulement le gage de la paix générale elle en est la condition sine qua non. Vous ne doutez pas de l'esprit de modération et de conciliation qui m'anime. Je m'en remets avec confiance à Vos sentiments d'équité.

273. AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF ALEXANDER II TO FRANCIS JOSEPH, JANUARY, 1878 (DAY OF MONTH BLANK)

Je Te remercie de la franchise avec laquelle Tu m'as communiqué Tes vues. Permets-moi d'agir de même. C'est le meilleur gage de l'accord que je désire conserver entre nous.

La sagesse humaine ne peut pas tout prévoir · elle doit tenir compte des événements. Je m'abstiens de revenir sur le passé. Je n'y relève que le désir mutuel d'une entente dans toutes les éventualités. Envisageant la situation telle que les faits de guerre l'ont créée, je crois que la même bonne volonté réciproque peut aplanir les difficultés que Tu me signales de rapprocher nos intérêts. Tu m'as indiqué ceux de l'Autriche Hongrie, permets-moi de T'exposer les miens.

Tu reconnaitras qu'il m'est absolument impossible de remettre l'épée dans le fourreau sans avoir atteint le but essentiel qui m'a mis les armes à la main, c'est-à-dire sans avoir placé les Chrétiens sujets du Sultan à l'abri des iniquités du régime turc. Les références indiquées par la Conférence de Constantinople ont été jugées par Ton Gouvernement lui-même insuffisantes et inefficaces. Elles le seraient bien plus encore aujourd'hui après tout le sang versé et les passions déchainées. Je ne puis partager l'opinion que la bravoure des Turcs doive être envisagée comme un signe de leur vitalité. Elle prouve seulement que les races conquérantes conservent, même dans leur décadence, leurs qualités d'origine, mais elle ne prouve nullement leur aptitude au gouvernement des peuples conquis. Cette bravoure, et le fanatisme qui la double, amènent l'opinion public en Russie à une conclusion contraire, c'est-à-dire qu'il est désormais impossible de replacer les populations chrétiennes sous l'autorité directe des Musulmans. Cette conviction est invincible. Je la partage et dois la respecter. Je ne puis donc accepter qu'une paix qui y réponde entièrement et efficacement. Or la seule solution possible est une autonomie complète de la Bulgarie avec le seul lien du tribut. Toute autre transaction serait une œuvre bâtarde, menteuse illusoire. Je ne m'y associerai point, la Russie l'envisagerait comme incompatible avec les devoirs qu'elle s'est imposés, les sacrifices qu'elle a portés et le martyre des populations dont elle a pris la défense. Si, écoutant les nobles sentiments de Ton cœur, Tu veux bien T'élever au dessus des brouillards de la politique vers les lois supérieures qui régissent l'humanité, Tu seras certainement de même avis.

Il est également impossible de supposer que la Bulgarie puisse être

abandonnée à elle-même, aussitôt la paix signée. Ce serait s'exposer à y créer une sanglante anarchie et à faire renaître la guerre à bref délai. Cette perspective est absolument inadmissible pour la Russie. Je ne la crois dans l'intérêt de personne. Une occupation temporaire est donc inévitable. Je n'en méconnais pas les difficultés pratiques. Mais elles résident surtout dans les suspicions et les préjugés. La bonne volonté et la loyauté en auront raison. J'y compte fermement de la part de mes alliés, comme ils peuvent y compter de ma part.

Tu reconnais le droit incontestable de la Russie d'obtenir des compensations pour les immenses sacrifices de la guerre. Parmi ces compensations je ne puis en aucun cas renoncer à recouvrer la partie cédée de la Bessarabie. Ce n'est au fond qu'une restitution. Cette cession a été faite à la Moldavie lorsqu'elle était séparée de la Valachie. Or autre chose est d'avoir une mauvaise frontière avec un petit état insignifiant ou avec un état de 5 000 000 d'âmes devenu indépendant et souverain. J'aurais été fondé à exiger, ou que le status quo soit rétabli dans les principautés, ou que la clause soit révisée. Cette restitution n'a d'ailleurs pas de valeur politique. Les considérations relatives à la liberté du Danube qu'on y a rattachées n'ont plus de raison d'être du moment où la neutralité des bouches du fleuve et la Commission européenne sont garanties.

Mais cette restitution a une valeur morale que Tu apprécieras. Permetts-moi à cette occasion de Te rappeler que la cession de ce territoire a été l'œuvre du Comte de Buol qui avait surpris Ta religion. C'était le fruit d'une politique que Tu as répudiée ainsi que moi. Mais les effets en subsistent et je ne doute pas que Tu ne tiennes à cœur d'effacer ce souvenir incompatible avec les relations qui nous unissent.

Je viens de T'exposer non seulement mes vues, mais les nécessités absolues de ma position. Je ne veux pas m'arrêter un seul instant à la pensée que Tu veuilles me placer en face d'impossibilités. Je préfère rechercher avec Toi les combinaisons ou les compensations que pourraient rendre inoffensives pour les intérêts de l'Autriche-Hongrie les conditions sans lesquelles je ne puis pas faire la paix. Les acquisitions qui lui ont été réservées en principe dans certaines éventualités demeurent intactes malgré la tournure qu'ont prise les choses. En T'offrant la latitude d'occuper temporairement la Bosnie et l'Herzégovine comme moi la Bulgarie, j'avais en vue de Te laisser la faculté de transformer plus tard cette occupation temporaire en une annexion, même après que mes troupes auraient évacué la Bulgarie, si Tu le trouvais nécessaire à Ta sécurité. On me dit que cette acquisition T'a été offerte par la Porte et que Tu l'as rejetée. Mais cette offre n'a pas pu être faite à titre gratuit. Si elle avait en vue une alliance avec la Turquie c'était une insulte à Ta loyauté et je conçois que Tu l'aies refusée. Actuellement Tu es le seul juge de l'opportunité. Mais si Tu renonçais à l'avantage que nos arrangements T'ont réservé et que je maintiens, Tu comprendras, j'espère, que je ne saurais subordonner ce qui pour moi est une nécessité à ce qui n'est

pour Toi qu'une question de convenance. En tout cas toute combinaison ou compensation que Tu jugerais pouvoir concilier Tes intérêts avec les miens, sera examinée par moi dans le même esprit qui a présidé jusqu'ici à notre entente.

Les autres points de détail énumérés dans le mémoire joint à Ta lettre pourront facilement être réglés d'un commun accord.

Quant au point final, je n'ai jamais entendu soustraire à un examen collectif les questions touchant aux intérêts européens. Mais cet examen manquerait de bases pratiques s'il n'était précédé par des préliminaires de paix négociés et agréés par les belligérants. C'est dans cette intention que j'insiste sur une négociation directe et préalable des conditions de paix entre la Russie et la Turquie. La communication confidentielle que je T'en ai faite ainsi qu'à l'Empereur Guillaume, avait pour but d'établir un accord préalable sur ces questions. Une fois cet accord établi, Ton Gouvernement sera d'autant plus à même de faire valoir les intérêts de l'Autriche-Hongrie dans une délibération collective.

Je T'ai parlé en toute franchise. Le moment est grave. Nous avons, Toi et moi, de grandes responsabilités. Que le Seigneur guide Tes décisions. Je T'ai dit en combien les miennes sont irrévocablement engagées. Les Tiennes sont encore libres. Je souhaite qu'elles soient de nature à resserrer entre nous la bonne entente dont je désire sincèrement le maintien parce que je la crois utile à nos deux pays et à la paix générale.

274. COPY OF LETTER OF WILLIAM I TO ALEXANDER II, 23 JANUARY, 1878. BERLIN.

Mon cher Neveu,

J'ai reçu Votre bonne lettre du 4/16 avec ses annexes. Je Vous remercie de la confiance que Vous me témoignez en me communiquant la copie de Votre correspondance avec l'Empereur François Joseph, ainsi que du mémoire du Comte Andrassy relatif à Vos propositions de paix.

En examinant ces pièces j'ai l'impression que heureusement il n'existe entre Votre Gouvernement et celui de l'Autriche-Hongrie pas de divergence essentielle qui ne saurait être aplanie à la suite de délibérations inspirées d'un esprit réciproque et conciliant. Mais au point où les choses se trouvent actuellement, il me semble, avant tout, qu'il serait important de faire bien préciser, par des pourparlers confidentiels entre Vos Ministres et Ambassadeurs respectifs, les questions sur lesquelles l'entente s'est faite et celles sur lesquelles il subsiste encore une différence d'opinions.

Si Vous croyez que pour atteindre ce but, mon concours pouvait. Vous être utile, je suis prêt à autoriser mon Ambassadeur à Vienne à se mettre d'accord avec le Comte Andrassy. Il faudrait cependant à cet effet, que le Comte Stolberg fût informé du contenu de Vos communications dont j'ai jusqu'à présent consciencieusement gardé le secret.

En attendant que Vous voudrez bien me faire (? savoir) Votre manière de voir à cet égard, je vous prie, mon cher Neveu, d'agréer les assurances réitérées du dévouement sincère et inaltérable de Votre vieux oncle et ami.

275. COPY OF AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF FRANCIS JOSEPH TO ALEXANDER II, 26 JANUARY, 1878. VIENNA.

Mon cher Ami,

J'ai reçu Ta lettre du 4/16 Janvier. Je Te remercie de Ta franchise. Avec Toi je suis d'avis qu'elle est le meilleur gage de notre accord. Avant tout il importe d'écarter cette méfiance. J'ai ma foi complète dans Tes sentiments et Tes intentions. Je ne veux pas m'arrêter sur ce que Tu dis du passé. Je pars du point de vue que notre tâche principale, comme amis et comme souverains, consiste à ne pas sacrifier aux impressions du moment les grands intérêts de l'avenir et à veiller à ce que l'amitié ne soit pas seulement maintenue entre nous, mais qu'elle puisse en même temps se consolider entre nos peuples. J'espère que Tu es dans les mêmes dispositions. Pendant toute la durée de la guerre, je T'ai prouvé combien je tenais compte de Ta position et de Tes intérêts. Je ne m'écarterai pas de cette ligne de conduite. Il ne me vient pas à l'esprit de vouloir de places en face des impossibilités et j'ai la certitude que Tu n'as pas davantage une semblable pensée à mon égard.

Pour des raisons que je T'ai franchement exposées dans mes observations aux noties, il me serait absolument impossible de consentir à une occupation de la Bulgarie après la conclusion de la paix. Je ne mets pas en doute ce que peuvent la bonne volonté et la loyauté, mais je suis convaincu que si la province susdite devait rester occupée par Tes armées, tous nos efforts réciproques les plus sincères ne parviendraient pas à prévenir à la longue une collision de nos intérêts, éventualité qu'il importe avant tout d'écarter.

Je n'ai pas dit que je n'admettrais pas la création d'une Bulgarie autonome, bien qu'elle n'ait été prévue que pour le cas de la dissolution de l'Empire Ottoman et qu'elle froissera péniblement l'opinion publique dans mes États. J'ai marqué dans mes observations jointes à ma dernière lettre mon point de vue relatif à cette question en général et à l'extension qu'il conviendrait de donner à cette province. Il est conforme à ce qui a été convenu d'avance dans nos arrangements. Je ne doute pas qu'avec la bonne volonté mutuelle nous nous parvenions facilement à tomber d'accord sur les autres points.

Quant à la rétrocession de la Bessarabie, il m'a suffi de savoir que Tu la considérais comme une satisfaction personnelle, pour me décider à coopérer, en tant que cela est de mon pouvoir, pour la rendre réalisable.

Je conserve l'espoir que nous surmonterons les difficultés du moment et que malgré la gravité de la situation nous pourrions maintenir et resserrer cette entente.

En attendant je Te prie de croire aux sentiments d'attachement inaltérable de Ton dévoué ami.

P.S. Peu après que cette lettre était signée, je reçus communication des conditions telles qu'elles résultent des instructions données au Commandant-en-Chef de Tes armées. Ce fait nouveau et inattendu ne change rien aux sentiments que je T'ai exprimés plus haut, bien qu'il rende la position de mon Gouvernement bien plus difficile. J'ai fait connaître à Ton Cabinet, par l'entremise de mon Ambassadeur, le point de vue de mon Gouvernement sur le mode le plus pratique, et je dois dire à mes yeux aussi le seul possible de régler la situation d'une manière satisfaisante.

276. COPY OF AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF ALEXANDER II TO WILLIAM I,
22 JAN./3 FEB. 1878.

Mon cher Oncle,

Je suis très sensible aux assurances amicales contenues dans Votre lettre du 23. Je savais pouvoir compter sur Vous. Je Vous remercie en particulier de l'attitude ferme que Vous avez prise au sujet de l'occupation temporaire de la Bulgarie par mes troupes. Elle m'est une preuve non seulement de Votre confiance à mon égard, mais aussi de Vos sentiments d'équité, car il m'est impossible de comprendre comment on pourrait exiger de moi que j'abandonne et laisse périlcliter après la paix une œuvre pour laquelle la Russie a versé le plus pur de son sang. Votre jugement à cet égard a d'autant plus de valeur à mes yeux, que l'Empereur François Joseph insiste d'une façon absolue sur ce point. Vous Vous en convaincrez par la lecture de la lettre qu'il vient de m'adresser et dont je joins ci-près une copie. Il y a en ce moment une détente dans nos rapports avec le Cabinet de Vienne. Elle tient, je présume, à notre acceptation de la Conférence. Je lui ai donné d'ailleurs toutes les satisfactions qui dépendaient de moi. Mais il reste encore beaucoup à faire. Les divergences de vues qui nous séparent sont plus sérieuses qu'elles ne le paraissent et si disposé que je sois à la conciliation, il y a des concessions qui me sont impossibles après tous les sacrifices que la Russie a portés, tandis que l'Autriche n'est pas dans le même cas. Je reste donc convaincu que Votre influence personnelle et impartiale est plus que jamais nécessaire pour que l'Entente des trois Cours demeure une réalité.

Puisque Vous paraissent tenir à l'idée de pourparlers à Vienne entre nos Ambassadeurs, j'y consens dans la conviction que l'action prescrite au Comte Stolberg sera le fidèle reflet de Vos sentiments à mon égard et de l'accord intime entre l'Allemagne et nous.

Je viens de recevoir de mon frère Nicholas la nouvelle de la signature des bases préalables et de l'armistice, avec l'évacuation d'Erzerum et des forteresses du Danube. Je m'en félicite comme d'un acheminement vers la paix. Mais c'est en Conférence qu'il faut s'attendre aux plus sérieuses

difficultés, et c'est là, mon cher oncle, que je m'en remets avec une confiance sans bornes à Votre concours amical.

CORRESPONDENCE OF GORCHAKOV AND SHUVALOV

277. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV 2/14 JAN. 1878 (LETTRE PARTICULIÈRE)

Le Cabinet Anglais est aux abois et pris dans les filets de sa propre politique. Il en résulte que son humeur, de tous temps variable, a pris actuellement un caractère intermittent qui le couvre de ridicule. En effet, si tout semblait marcher le matin d'une manière satisfaisante, tout va mal le soir et c'est à recommencer le lendemain. Chaque nouvelle télégraphique, vraie ou fausse, émeut les Ministres de la Reine et les fait passer d'un extrême à l'autre, du ton pacifique au ton belliqueux.

L'on a fait grand bruit ces derniers jours de la réponse donnée par le Grand Duc Nicolas au Quartier Général Turc. Le fait que Son Altesse Impériale ne se trouvait pas muni d'instructions pour ouvrir les négociations a été naturellement exploité et qualifié de mauvaise foi. "La Russie a voulu leurrer la Porte par des promesses d'armistice et après avoir endormi sa vigilance en a profité pour prendre Shipka et marcher sur Andrinople. La Russie cherche enfin à conclure une paix définitive sous le pseudonyme d'un armistice, et cela pour priver l'Angleterre de la voix distincte qu'elle réclame dans la solution."

Ces différents thèmes ont été l'objet de plusieurs entretiens entre le Premier Ministre, Lord Derby et moi ; je leur ai réitéré à plusieurs reprises que toutes les jérémiades turques ne prouvaient absolument rien. Nous désirons sincèrement la paix, mais l'état satisfaisant de notre armée ne nous commande pas la hâte que les Turcs voudraient nous voir mettre à conclure l'armistice parce que leur état à eux est désespéré.

Quant aux bases de la paix, dont l'acceptation par les Turcs doit précéder l'armistice, nous ne saurions nous désister de cette exigence. L'Europe a suffisamment négocié avec la Turquie pour savoir à quoi s'en tenir là-dessus ; nous ne recommencerons pas de vains pourparlers et ne donnerons pas à la Porte l'occasion de nous bernier avec un armistice de quelques semaines qui lui donnerait le temps de concentrer ses forces et de nous dire au dernier moment que la dignité du Sultan ne lui permet pas d'accepter nos conditions de paix.

Je dois rendre à Lord Beaconsfield et à Lord Derby la justice qu'ils ont accepté mes arguments, mais toujours avec la réserve que la paix ne pourrait être définitivement conclue qu'avec le concours de l'Angleterre.

La majorité des membres du Gouvernement s'aperçoivent, trop tard il est vrai, de la faute ils ont commise en convoquant le Parlement avant terme.

L'Europe et la nation Anglaise s'en sont émues, l'opposition s'est ralliée à la veille de la bataille, tandis que le Gouvernement ne sait pas encore à l'heure qu'il est ce qu'il dira et demandera aux représentants

de la nation Il s'agit d'obtenir, comme Vous le savez, des crédits extraordinaires pour faire face aux éventualités de la crise présente. Si ces crédits étaient obtenus, le Premier Ministre pourrait décréter des armements *sans en spécifier le but*.

L'opposition a éventé la mèche et semble avoir adopté en conséquence un nouveau système de défense pour combattre cette allocation. Elle dit qu'il est contraire aux usages parlementaires et aux traditions constitutionnelles de demander à une chambre à peine réunie un crédit sans préciser les besoins auxquels il serait affecté. Cette manière de procéder ne serait admissible que si le Parlement était à la veille de sa clôture. Dans ce cas, le Gouvernement, ne pouvant préciser des éventualités lointaines, serait justifié de demander des crédits extraordinaires et *conditionnels*. Mais aujourd'hui il appartient au Gouvernement de déclarer l'objet et le but de sa politique. Veut-il intervenir et par quels moyens ? Se propose-t-il d'envoyer un corps expéditionnaire, soit à Gallipoli, soit à Constantinople, et quels sont les intérêts britanniques qu'il se croit obligé de défendre ? Si le Parlement ratifie les projets du Gouvernement, la location de crédits extraordinaires en sera la conséquence naturelle et les ressources financières ne lui manqueront pas.

En se placant sur ce terrain, l'opposition peut déjouer les intentions du Gouvernement dont les membres, trop divisés d'opinions, ne sauraient s'entendre sur la mode, l'étendue et l'époque d'une intervention. Cette attitude que l'opposition a prise, a donné à réfléchir au Cabinet et je suis convaincu que la récente démarche faite auprès du Cabinet Impérial au sujet de l'occupation de Gallipoli en est le résultat. C'est dans ces vues que j'ai attiré l'attention de V.A. sur l'influence que Votre réponse à Lord A. Loftus exercera sur la discussion parlementaire qui va commencer.

Dans le cas où le Cabinet Impérial donnerait à l'Ambassadeur britannique l'assurance que nous n'occuperons en aucun cas la presqu'île de Gallipoli, le Gouv-t s'en prévaut comme d'une satisfaction donnée aux "British interests"—après laquelle il n'y aurait plus lieu pour l'Angleterre de s'alarmer—cela constituerait pour le Cabinet une retraite honorable.

Dans le cas contraire, la politique alarmiste de Lord Beaconsfield se trouverait justifiée et unirait tous les membres du Cabinet dans la nécessité de nous précéder à Gallipoli.

Cette politique à double fin se laissait clairement entrevoir dans les explications que le Pr. Ministre m'a fournies à ce sujet : il espérait, m'a-t-il dit, que V.A. donnerait une réponse satisfaisante à Lord Loftus et que Vous ne Vous retrancheriez pas cette fois derrière des éventualités stratégiques. Si la Russie évite, a-t-il dit, de s'engager à ne pas entrer à Constantinople pour y dicter une paix refusée jusqu'alors, il n'en est pas de même de Gallipoli qui est inutile à la signature de la paix. Le Cabinet Impérial saurait reconnaître la modération de celui de St. James. Engagé par Vous à préciser ses intérêts, il les a réduits à un seul point et Lord Beaconsfield espérait que Vous ne voudriez pas "disregard" le Gouvernement de la Reine par un refus et l'obliger, lui, Beaconsfield, à accomplir

son devoir de Ministre de la Reine et à prendre des mesures qu'il a jugées inutiles jusqu'à présent. C'est ainsi que j'appris directement du Pr. Ministre la démarche dont Lord Loftus avait été chargé et que Lord Derby m'avait tue pour les raisons consignées dans mon télégramme d'hier.

Je tiens d'une source confidentielle que le Sultan vient d'adresser à la Reine un télégramme éploré lui demandant sa médiation. Les Ministres se sont refusés à le prendre en considération et à y donner suite. La Reine ne se tient pas pour battue, me dit-on, et veut, émue comme elle est par la situation de son protégé, entrer en relations directes avec Notre Auguste Maître.

J'ai prié V.A. de me communiquer le texte de la réponse que Vous avez faite à Lord Loftus. Je voudrais, vu sa gravité, être à même de refuter le sens erroné qu'on ne manquera pas d'attribuer à chacune de Vos paroles et de prémunir les membres influents de l'opposition contre toute exploitation malveillante de ce document.

Le 3/15 Janvier.

V A connaît par mon télégramme chiffré de ce jour le nouveau message que Lord A. Loftus doit Vous porter pour signifier que l'Angleterre ne reconnaîtrait pas une paix qui ne serait pas sanctionnée par l'Europe.

Cette décision subite du Cabinet Anglais prise sans l'assentiment de Lord Derby, qui est alité depuis plusieurs jours, m'a causé quelque surprise. Je viens d'en avoir l'explication. Elle est due à des télégrammes de Sir A. Buchanan qui rapporte un entretien avec Andrassy. Celui-ci ne se serait pas borné de conseiller à l'Angleterre la démarche qu'elle vient de faire, mais se serait montré disposé à nous adresser une réclamation identique. Lord O. Russell télégraphie de son côté que le Cabinet de Vienne s'est exprimé à Berlin dans le même sens.

Ses nouvelles ont fait une grande impression sur les Ministres Anglais qui les ont considérées comme une première atteinte à l'entente des trois Cours Impériales. Ils n'ont plus dès lors qu'une seule préoccupation, celle de devancer le Cabinet de Vienne et d'arriver à St. Pétersbourg avant lui. De cette façon le blue book pourrait démontrer que l'initiative de cette protestation est venue de Londres et non de Vienne.

Il me semble que dans la réponse que Vous ferez à Lord A. Loftus Vous scinderez la question en deux et distinguerez dans les conditions de paix celles qui sont d'un intérêt général et Européen de celles qui ne concernent que les belligérants et que Notre Auguste Maître se réserve de terminer directement avec l'ennemi.

J'ai craint l'arrivée de cette réponse déclinatoire à la veille de l'ouverture du Parlement et les modifications qu'elle pourrait déterminer dans le message Royal.—Selon mes renseignements il est conçu dans des termes modérés et prudents à notre égard, il est important qu'il ne soit pas changé. C'est dans ce but que je me suis permis de Vous insinuer l'avantage de retarder de 24 heures la réponse que Vous ferez à l'Ambassadeur Britannique.

278. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 4/16 JANUARY 1878

Vos dépêches et lettres du 18/30 au 27 déc./8 jan. nous sont parvenues. Ce tableau quotidien des agitations anglaises a été lu par l'Empereur avec un vif intérêt.

Il nous est impossible de suivre les fluctuations de cette politique à la fois hésitante et hargneuse. Notre marche n'en reste pas moins conséquente, modérée et ferme.

Je ne puis mieux Vous la définir qu'en Vous envoyant, sous le sceau du plus strict secret et seulement pour Votre gouverne, les copies ci-jointes de la correspondance autographique échangée entre N.A.M. et les Empereurs d'Autriche et d'Allemagne à la suite de la communication confidentielle que S.M. leur avait faite de nos conditions de paix

Vous y verrez le tableau de la situation présente et la pensée intime résolue de l'Empereur.

Vous ne ferez aucun usage de ces pièces. Cependant Vous remarquerez l'analogie des termes par lesquelles Vous et nous avons caractérisé la paix que nous insistons pour négocier directement et seul avec la Porte. C'est une paix *préliminaire*. C'est la seule possible. L'examen collectif des questions d'intérêt général peut venir après. Mais il est clair qu'une délibération à six des conditions préliminaires serait absolument impracticable. Elle conduirait non à la paix, mais à une guerre généralisée. Son premier effet serait de rendre l'armistice impossible et alors les événements se précipiteraient avec une rapidité qui déjouerait tous les calculs.

Vous pouvez Vous servir de ces arguments. Avec les Anglais la mesure est difficile à trouver entre la conciliation qui les enhardit et la fermeté qui les froisse.

Vous êtes seul à même d'apprécier sur place dans quelle mesure il est utile de leur donner des assurances calmantes.

Mais il ne Vous échappera pas que le point culminant de la situation réside dans nos pourparlers actuels avec l'Autriche et l'Allemagne. La moindre fissure dans l'entente des trois Cours Impériales rendrait à l'Angleterre toute son audace, et les provocations anglaises réagissant à leur tour sur Vienne et Pesth, les plus grandes complications seraient à craindre. Sans vouloir faire de conjectures, je crois qu'on peut espérer que les tergiversations du Cabinet de Vienne ne tiendront pas devant la netteté du langage ferme et conciliant de N.A.M., s'il est appuyé à Berlin, comme l'assurance nous en a été donnée.

J'aurai soin de Vous tenir au courant de la suite de ces pourparlers.

En attendant nous maintiendrons absolument la marche que nous avons tracée.

Veillez ne pas laisser ignorer au Colonel Wellesley la satisfaction avec laquelle l'Empereur a accueilli Votre témoignage sur la bonne influence qu'a eu sa présence à Londres.

279. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 28 DECEMBER/9 JANUARY 1878

(ch) Ce matin Loftus m'a lu télégramme de Derby qui annonce avoir reçu communication que la Porte envoie des représentants à nos Quartiers Générales pour négocier armistice.

Il ne m'a soufflé mot sur les vingt jours d'armistice que Vous mentionnez. S'il avait touché cette question, j'aurais répondu que c'est impossible, que Porte aurait employé ce délai pour augmenter ses forces et que cela n'aurait abouti qu'à une plus forte effusion de sang : que le meilleur moyen pour arriver à la paix est que nos armées continuent leur marche en avant et qu'ainsi Porte acquière la certitude de ne pouvoir compter sur aucun secours anglais.

280. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 1/13 JANUARY

(cl) Veuillez me communiquer si possible textuellement la réponse que Vous aurait faites aujourd'hui (ch) à Loftus concernant Gallipoli. Elle exercera grande influence sur l'attitude du Gouvernement devant Parlement. On Vous a demandé cette assurance, soit pour s'en prévaloir dans un sens pacifique soit pour obtenir plus facilement des armements si nous déclinons de la donner. Derby m'a caché cette démarche, attribuant la non-réussite des précédentes à mes suggestions.

281. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 2/14 JANUARY 1877 [*sic*—error for '78]
(TELEGRAM)

(ch) Lundi incessamment courrier.

Derby a chargé Loftus de nous demander si les forces russes seront dirigées sur Gallipoli. Il rattache cette question au dernier paragraphe de notre mémorandum du 16 décembre, et ajoute que dans l'opinion du Gouvernement britannique toute opération tendant à placer le détroit des Dardanelles sous le contrôle de la Russie serait un empêchement à une prise en due considération des termes d'un arrangement final—as an impediment to the proper consideration of the terms of a final settlement. Je répond que notre intention n'est pas de diriger nos opérations militaires sur Gallipoli, à moins que les forces militaires régulières turques ne se concentrent sur ce point.

Nous devons supposer que de son côté, en posant cette question, le Gouvernement anglais n'a pas intention occuper cette presqu'île, ce qui ne serait guère d'accord avec sa neutralité et ferait naître chez la Turquie des illusions défavorables à la paix.

282. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 3/15 JANUARY 1878

(ch) Au Conseil d'aujourd'hui on a décidé qu'une paix directe conclue avec Turquie ne serait pas admise par Angleterre. Crois que des instructions dans ce sens ont été envoyées à Loftus.

283. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 3/15 JANUARY. ST PÉTERSBOURG

(ch) Sultan a exprimé à l'Empereur par télégramme vif désir de paix et annonce envoi de plénipotentiaires au Quartier Général pour convenir des conditions de paix et conclure armistice en attendant il demande suspension immédiate d'hostilités sur tous les points. N A M. répond qu'il partage désir de paix, mais ne saurait suspendre hostilités avant acceptation par Porte des conditions auxquelles nos Commandants-en-chef ayant déjà reçu instructions doivent surbordonner conclusion d'une armistice.

284. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 4/16 JANUARY, ST. PÉTERSBOURG

(ch) Reçu télégramme d'hier.

Loftus indisposé m'a communiqué comme Aide-mémoire sans signature que le Gouvernement Britannique est de l'opinion que tout traité conclu entre la Russie et la Porte affectant ceux de 1856 et '71 n'aurait une valeur identique que par l'assentiment des Gouvernements qui ont pris part à ces Traités. J'ai répondu à Loftus sur Gallipoli comme Vous savez. Quant à la dernière communication, je la passerai sous silence, n'y voyant que le simple énoncé d'une opinion individuelle n'exigeant pas absolument de réponse.

285. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 4/16 JANUARY

(ch) Très confidentiel. L'attitude et le ton d'Andrássy semblent changés. Il encourage Angleterre à s'opposer à une paix qui n'aurait pas sanction européen et lui promet son appui.

Votre réponse sur Gallipoli assez bien acceptée.

286. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 3/15 JANUARY

(ch) Confidentiel. La décision du Conseil d'hier est la conséquence d'engagements *ad hoc* d'Andrássy transmis par Buchanan. Si Votre réponse est déclinatoire, ajournez-la jusqu'à jeudi pour qu'elle ne modifie pas le Message Royal, qui semble être bon

287. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 5/17 JANUARY 1878

Sending Speech from Throne.

(ch) Si modéré et incolore que n'en rien à signaler comme affectant la situation politique.

288. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 5/17 JANUARY

(cl) Turcophil press attaches great importance to new entente between Vienna and London.

289. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 6/18 JANUARY

(ch) La discussion d'hier au Parlement n'élucide pas la situation. Le Gouvernement attend évidemment que nos conditions de paix soient connues pour décider de son attitude.

290. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 7/19 JANUARY

(ch) Après s'être rendu compte de la situation l'Opposition s'est décidée à opposer résistance à toute intervention, sauf le cas où la Russie demanderait pour ses vaisseaux de guerre droit exclusif de passage par Dardanelles. Dans cette éventualité l'Opposition appuyerait politique du Premier Ministre.

291. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 7/19 JANUARY

(ch) Andrassy ayant communiqué Votre réponse rassurante à Derby, le silence envers Angleterre seule devient dur pour elle. Y aurait-il inconvénient à ce que Vous donniez par Loftus ou moi réponse semblable ? On attend ici avec grande anxiété nos conditions de paix.

292 GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 8/20 JANUARY, ST. PÉTERSBOURG

(ch) Dans les conditions de paix que Grand Duc Nicholas proposerait aux envoyés turcs, le passage par Bosphore et Dardanelles de bâtiments de guerre n'est pas mentionné. c'est une de ces questions européennes que nous n'entendons pas "résoudre" isolément Si plus tard l'idée de réserver ce passage aux riverains n'est pas accepté, nous préférons le maintien du "*mare clausum*" actuel—qui interdit le passage aux vaisseaux de guerre de toute autre provenance.

293. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 9/21 JANUARY 1878

(ch) Strictement confidentiel. J'apprends que l'échange de télégrammes entre Vienne et Londres avait pris depuis deux jours un caractère alarmant. Aujourd'hui Andrassy commence à se retracter, ce qui fâche les Ministres anglais. Andrassy avait demandé que la flotte britannique fût immédiatement envoyée à Constantinople promettant coopération autrichienne par voie de terre. Gouvernement anglais a consenti, mais a voulu signer préalablement convention que Buchanan a apporter hier à Andrassy. Le Comte a refusé signature, disant que l'Autriche ne demandait pas, mais conseillait seulement envoi de flotte à Constantinople et que démonstration de son armée dépendrait des événements. Le Sultan à son tour demande envoi de flotte anglais pour s'y réfugier en cas d'attaque de Constantinople. Tout cela produit grande confusion parmi les Ministres.

294. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 9/21 JANUARY

Papers announce that Grand Duke demands exclusive right of passage by Dardanelles.

(ch) Situation me paraissant mauvaise et craignant entrée précipitée de flotte anglaise dans Dardanelles, j'ai démenti cette nouvelle.

295. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 10/22 JANUARY

(ch) On sait ici que conditions de paix sont connues à Vienne et Votre silence envers Angleterre est interprété comme présageant issue défavo-

nable pour elle Derby Vous demande de lui communiquer ces conditions pour détendre une situation irritante. J'ai dit que j'en référerai Je tiens à Derby langage calmant et suis revenu sur les intérêts britanniques que nous ne désirons pas menacer, mais qu'il faudrait préciser d'avantage. Il m'a répondu que toute discussion inutile devant l'inconnu de nos conditions. Puisque nos bases de paix seront communiqués à Londres sans retard par Porte, Vous jugeriez peut-être possible d'obtemperer confidentiellement au désir de Derby.

296. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 11/23 JANUARY 1878

(ch) Derby me réitère demande connaître bases de paix. Il dit que notre silence et l'avance journalière de notre armée rend situation très dangereuse et oblige le Gouvernement à prendre mesures immédiates. Selon mes renseignements Angleterre sur le point de faire entrer flotte et d'envoyer corps expéditionnaire.

Une communication de Votre part arrêterait peut-être, mais pas de temps à perdre.

297. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 12/24 JANUARY

(ch) La situation devenu très mauvaise. Bases de paix toujours inconnues. Il ne s'agit plus seulement d'entrée flotte et de Gallipoli mais de rupture immédiate avec nous. En présence de la gravité du moment et de décisions imminentes j'ai vu Beaconsfield et Derby et leur ai exposé sous forme d'opinion personnelle mes idées sur les bases paix en efforçant de prouver qu'elles ne contiendraient rien que justifie une provocation à notre égard dont conséquences seraient demain irréparables. Le jour se fera dans quelques heures, puisque nos demandes sont déjà connues à Constantinople. Je crois savoir qu'après cet entretien l'on a ajourné décisions jusqu'à demain.

298. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 12/24 JANUARY

(ch) Received telegram of yesterday.

Transmettrai à Derby ce qui concerne Gallipoli, mais passerai sous silence éventualité d'une marche sur Constantinople. En ce moment d'effervescence il serait impossible d'en parler sans produire explosion. L'article récent du Journal de St. Pétersbourg, qu'on persiste quand même à considérer officiel, a rendu le Gouvernement encore plus hostile.

299. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 12/24 JANUARY

(cl) Je me réfère à mes deux télégrammes d'hier que n'aviez pas reçus en m'adressant le Votre du 11 janvier.

(ch) Si Layard a transmis à Londres copie exacte non défigurée des conditions préliminaires de paix dont Grand Duc a fait remettre texte aux plénipotentiaires turcs, Derby doit être complètement renseigné. Au reste réitérons assurance que n'entendons pas résoudre isolément questions européennes se rattachant à la paix future.

300. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 12/24 JANUARY (LETTRE CONFIDENTIELLE)

Le télégraphe étant devenu le seul moyen de communication possible au milieu des événements qui se succèdent avec tant de rapidité, mes télégrammes secrets Vous ont tenu au courant d'une situation qui empirait avec chaque jour. En voici plusieurs que j'entends dire autour de moi que le Cabinet impérial a subitement changé d'attitude, qu'il est devenu cassant et provocant dans ses relations avec celui de St. James. Ce ne sont pas les Anglais seuls qui nous en accusent, c'est aussi l'opinion de mes collègues.

Si je devais énumérer les griefs nouveaux que l'on accumule contre nous, je citerais en premier lieu le silence que nous avons observé envers Lord Augustus Loftus après la déclaration qu'il Vous a faite au sujet de la paix isolée. C'est avec un froissement marqué que l'on a appris de Vienne que nous y avons donné des assurances satisfaisantes, tandis que nous nous sommes abstenus de toute communication au Cabinet de Londres.

Vient ensuite l'ignorance dans laquelle le Gouvernement de la Reine se trouve jusqu'à ce moment des conditions préliminaires de la paix. L'on sait qu'elles ont été communiquées à Berlin et à Vienne cet inconnu qui plane (?) depuis plus de 15 jours sur la mercantile Angleterre, la révolte, et pour tout dire il suspend les transactions et les affaires à la City.

Viennent encore les progrès journaliers et rapides de nos armées, qui se rapprochent de plus en plus des deux localités—Constantinople et Gallipoli—que le Gouvernement de la Reine persiste à vouloir défendre contre une agression russe.

Vient enfin le fameux article du Journal de St. Pétersbourg d'hier que le télégramme nous a communiqué. Les Anglais prétendent qu'il est conçu dans un ton acerbe vis-à-vis de la Grande-Bretagne et qu'il prend Lord Derby personnellement à partie, l'accusant de poursuivre une politique déshonnête. Je me suis efforcé de pallier cette impression défavorable en expliquant la situation indépendante de cet organe de la presse, mais on n'en reste pas moins convaincu que ses articles politiques sont inspirés, sinon officiels.

L'ensemble de tout ce que je mentionne plus haut a augmenté graduellement les anxiétés et l'irritation du Gouvernement, ainsi que celles du public. Lord Derby me pressait journellement en me demandant de le faire sortir de cette obscurité, qu'il qualifiait de "dangereuse au plus haut degré".

Je faisais flèche de tout bois, lui rapportant immédiatement toutes les paroles rassurantes que je trouvais dans les télégrammes de Votre Altesse, mais sans pouvoir dissiper la suspicion que tous nos efforts avaient pour but de précipiter les événements afin de nous trouver à Gallipoli et à Constantinople avant que les Anglais n'aient eu le temps s'aviser à la défense de ces deux points.

Le Conseil du Cabinet s'est réuni tous les jours dans sa disposition nerveuse, il décidait tantôt l'ordre à la flotte anglaise d'entrer dans les Détroits, tantôt la demande immédiate de subsides de guerre—puis, au dernier moment, on ajournait au lendemain dans l'attente permanente des bases de la paix.

Cette agitation croissante trouva un aliment nouveau dans une demande de quarante Membres du Parlement qui sont venus demander en leur nom et à celui de leurs amis, que le Gouvernement prît enfin des résolutions pour faire sortir l'Angleterre de la situation humiliante dans laquelle elle se trouvait depuis plus de quinze jours.

De fil en aiguille, nous nous sommes trouvés dans une crise des plus aigues. Le Conseil du Cabinet tenu hier a décidé la demande immédiate de crédits de guerre et a envoyé l'ordre à la flotte anglaise d'entrer immédiatement dans les Dardanelles il était ajouté que si l'amiral commandant rencontrait de la résistance, il eût à la vaincre de quelque côté qu'elle vînt—on se figurait que nous voulions [indompter ?] les détroits par une ligne de torpèdes.

J'appris sur l'heure cette déplorable décision, et la source bienveillante d'où je la tenais me conjurait d'employer tous les moyens à ma disposition pour l'écarter. Le moment me parut si grave que je m'en décidai à demander une entrevue à Lord Derby avant l'heure de la discussion au Parlement.

Je trouvai le P.S.E. dans une grande agitation, il me demanda de suite si je lui apportais enfin les bases de la paix, me prévenant que dans le cas contraire il ne pouvait plus "répondre rien".

Je lui dis que conformément au désir qu'il m'en avait exprimé j'en avais référé à Votre Altesse et que j'attendais une réponse : j'ajoutais que ce retard n'avait rien d'inquiétant et que j'étais très surpris d'entendre de tous côtés qu'il se préparait des décisions que lui, Derby, serait le premier à regretter lorsqu'il apprendrait la teneur des bases préliminaires que nous avons remises aux délégués turcs, mais qu'il serait trop tard alors pour conjurer les événements.

Le P.S.E. me demanda si je pouvais lui affirmer catégoriquement que toute question concernant les Dardanelles serait réservée et que nous ne la préjugerions pas dans les bases préliminaires. Je lui donnai cette assurance.

Lord Derby me dit ensuite qu'il lui était indispensable de connaître nos exigences pour la Bulgarie. Je répondis que l'amélioration effective du sort des populations chrétiennes de cette province avait été pour ainsi dire la cause et le but de la guerre, c'était là une question sur laquelle nous ne pourrions transiger : nous voulons la Bulgarie une et autonome : le tribut serait le seul lien qui la rattacherait au Sultan.

Vous ne pourrez pas obtenir cela, objecta Lord Derby, car l'Autriche n'y consentira jamais. Je ne suis pas venu discuter, dis-je, les observations que pourrait faire l'Autriche. Ce que je voudrais c'est de Vous prouver que nous ne menaçons pas les "British interests," et Vous arrêter

si possible sur la pente dangereuse sur laquelle je sens que Vous glissez depuis deux jours.

Avez-vous l'intention d'occuper la Bulgarie après la conclusion de la paix ? Cela serait là une grande complication.

Je ne connais pas au juste, répondis-je, la pensée de mon Gouvernement à ce sujet. Je ne crois cependant pas qu'il fasse l'objet des bases préliminaires de paix. Il me paraît néanmoins tout à fait impossible d'abandonner la Bulgarie à ses propres moyens, sans provoquer de sérieux désordres aussitôt que nous en sortirons. Le Colonel Wellesley qui a vu les choses de près partage cette opinion. Il vous l'a dit lors de son premier retour en Angleterre. Il est indispensable qu'une force militaire en dehors du pouvoir musulman préside à l'installation des institutions nouvelles et à l'organisation des milices nationales

Quelles seront vos revendications en Asie ?

J'en ignore l'étendue, ai-je répondu, mais ces revendications ne seront pas une surprise pour Vous, puisque dès le printemps dernier le Cabinet impérial Vous a fait pressentir que c'est du côté de l'Asie que nous cherchions des compensations aux sacrifices si lourds que la guerre nous a imposés

Je terminai l'entretien en exhortant Lord Derby d'ajourner des décisions regrettables et que rien ne semblait justifier. mieux valait les prendre en connaissance de cause et cela ne pouvait tarder puisque nos conditions préliminaires avaient déjà été transmises aux délégués turcs et communiquées par eux à Constantinople.

Lord Derby voulut bien qualifier notre entretien de rassurant et partager mon avis sur l'inopportunité d'ajourner toute décision à vingt-quatre heures.

Votre Altesse verra par la lettre qui suit que Lord Derby n'a pas été en mesure de faire prévaloir cette opinion.

301. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 12/24 JANUARY 1878

(ch) Voici conditions préliminaires de paix remises par Grand Duc aux Turcs. Vous les envoie pour le cas où défigurées par Layard. Alors en ferez usage.

Bulgarie dans limites nationalité bulgare, pas moindre que celle de Conférence, principauté autonome, tributaire, le Gouvernement national chrétien, milice indigène, plus de troupes turques sauf quelques points à déterminer. Indépendance Monténégro—accroissement équivalent à *status quo* militaire—frontière à fixer ultérieurement. Indépendance Roumanie avec dédommagement territorial suffisant. Indépendance Serbie avec rectifications frontières. Administration autonome suffisamment garantie à Bosnie et Herzégovine. Réformes analogues aux autres provinces chrétiennes de la Turquie d'Europe. Dédommagement à la Russie pour les frais de la guerre. Mode pécuniaire territorial ou autre à régler ultérieurement. Entente ultérieure pour sauvegarder droits et intérêts

russes dans Détroits. Ces bases acceptées, Convention, armistice et envoi de Plénipotentiaires pour les développer en préliminaires de paix.

302. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 13/25 JANUARY

(ch) Pouvez affirmer catégoriquement et avec raison qu'il n'y a d'officiel chez nous que messenger du Gouvernement, et faire part à Derby des conditions de paix que Vous ai télégraphié hier. Plénipotentiaires turcs avaient objecté au premier article sur Bulgarie et à deuxième parti du quatrième concernant réformes à autres provinces chrétiennes. Ils ont du reste pris le tout *ad referendum*.

303. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 13/25 JANUARY

(ch) Confidentiel. Derby et Carnarvon ont présenté leur démission, à la suite de demande de crédits. Reine pas encore répondu. Texte de Layard naturellement tronqué, surtout sur question Dardanelles. Ai rectifié et réitéré assurance incluse dans Votre télégramme que ne résoudrions pas isolément questions européennes. Ordre envoyé hier soir à flotte d'entrer dans Dardanelles même de vive force, a été révoqué ce matin, mais on craint qu'il n'arrive plus à temps.

304. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 13/25 JAN. 1878 (LETTRE CONFIDENTIELLE)

Lord Derby, n'ayant pas réussi à faire prévaloir sa politique de modération, a donné sa démission. La détermination qu'il a prise exercera une grande influence sur les décisions ultérieures du Cabinet Anglais ; si sa démission est acceptée, le parti de la guerre aura écarté le plus grand obstacle qui se dressait devant lui, mais le Cabinet se trouverait en même temps menacé dans sa vitalité. Le nom de Lord Derby exerce une grande influence en Angleterre. Sa famille occupe une haute position que le Comte doit plus encore à la mémoire de son père qu'à son propre mérite. Nul doute que sa retraite entraînerait avec lui bien des voix au Parlement et un plus grand nombre encore dans les Comtés où se trouvent ses propriétés territoriales.

La résolution du Comte a été très digne ; voyant que ses collègues se fourvoyaient dans une voie pleine de périls, il a déclaré qu'il n'entendait pas changer ses convictions ; il avait foi dans les promesses de Notre Auguste Maître, dans la loyauté de Son Gouvernement, il espérait une solution amicale et condamnait l'attitude nouvelle que le Cabinet avait subitement adoptée. En conséquence, il se retirait. Le Comte Carnarvon s'est joint à son collègue et a également déposé le portefeuille des Colonies.

Lord Beaconsfield a répondu aux deux Ministres qu'il en référerait à la Reine, mais il a profité de la circonstance pour précipiter les événements et lancer le jour même la bombe des crédits supplémentaires. Le

public, calmé par les discussions parlementaires de la veille, s'y attendait si peu que la déclaration faite "ad hoc" par le Chancelier de l'Echiquier, a pris à Londres les dimensions d'une catastrophe

V.A. verra à la lecture de mon rapport de ce jour que Sir Stafford Northcote a prévenu le Parlement qu'il le saisirait d'une demande de crédits supplémentaires pour l'armement de l'armée et de la flotte et que lui et le Premier Ministre l'ont motivé par l'ignorance dans laquelle ils étaient de la teneur des bases de la paix et par l'avance rapide de notre armée vers Gallipoli.

Nul doute que les communications autrichiennes n'aient déterminé le Cabinet de St. James à cet acte d'inutile désespoir. Il a hâté ses solutions contrairement à l'opinion de Lord Derby, parcequ'il a craint de perdre une alliée éphémère qui attendait, pour se prononcer, que l'Angleterre voulut bien faire montrer d'énergie.

J'ai reçu ce matin le télégramme de V.A. avec la communication des bases préliminaires de la paix. Il est venu très à propos, car M. Layard en avait donné un résumé naturellement tronqué : ainsi, le paragraphe concernant les Détroits était conçu dans les termes suivants : "La question de la navigation des Dardanelles sera résolue dans une Conférence entre la Russie et la Turquie."

De plus, la presse prétendue ministérielle terminait l'énumération des conditions de paix par le droit que se réservait le Grand Duc Nicolas de s'embarquer avec une partie de son armée à Constantinople.

Je me rendis sur l'heure auprès de Lord Derby : nous comparâmes le texte de M. Layard avec le mien et je le rectifiai. Le Comte me demanda avec insistance de lui permettre de communiquer au Parlement le texte russe ; je m'y refusai, en partie parceque Votre télégramme ne m'y autorisait pas suffisamment, mais surtout parceque je prévoyais que le Premier Ministre, mis au pied du mur et obligé d'expliquer le soir même au Parlement l'inconcevable inconséquence de l'ordre donné à la flotte et retiré quelques heures plus tard,—voudrait se justifier en prétendant que dans l'intervalle le Cabinet Impérial lui aurait communiqué les bases de paix. Cette manière d'expliquer les choses, très avantageux pour Lord Beaconsfield, n'eut pas été conforme à la vérité. Je motivai mon refus en disant que je n'étais chargé par mon Gouvernement d'aucune communication et que j'avais seulement tenu à rectifier auprès de Lord Derby les erreurs volontaires ou involontaires qui s'étaient glissés dans le texte turc.

Ce n'est qu'après la réception de Votre second télégramme qui m'enjoignait de transmettre à Lord Derby les bases de la paix et après la fermeture du Parlement que je me rendus chez Lord Derby et lui fis cette communication. De cette façon, le Premier Ministre n'a pas eu la satisfaction (et il me l'a encore fait demander dans la journée) de se prévaloir de la communication de nos bases de paix pour expliquer sa conduite. Aussi, les déclarations ministérielles faites au Parlement dans la soirée, eurent elles l'effet le plus pitoyable, et le public, étonné, cherchait

en vain une explication à l'envoi de la flotte dans les Dardanelles et à son rappel hatif quelques heures plus tard

Le Premier Ministre n'a pas osé avouer que c'est sur la demande expresse du Sultan, le protégé, que l'Angleterre, la protectrice, a renoncé à son dessein.

305. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 13/25 JANUARY 1878

(ch) Très confidentiel Sultan télégraphie pour demander instamment qu'on arrête flotte Il exprime crainte que Russie n'envisage cela comme menace et ne rompe négociations. Si Angleterre insistait Sultan la prie de nous déclarer que cela se fait contre sa volonté. Contre-ordre à flotte arrive à temps. Derby ne paraît plus au Parlement. Je lui ai fait part des conditions de paix qui ont produit sur lui impression calmante.

306 SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 14/26 JANUARY

(ch) Situation générale semble meilleure, bases de paix produisent impression calmante. Crise ministérielle se prolonge. Opposition à qui je fournis des armes, nous rend bons services.

307. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 14/26 JANUARY

(ch) Andrassy fait savoir par Beust qu'il ne consentira à Bulgarie, telle que désignée dans bases de paix. Derby maintient démission si les crédits et armements pas ajournés. Prie me regarder secret sur communication de Beust.

308 SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 15/27 JANUARY (LETTRE PARTICULIÈRE)

[Yesterday unfavourable to Government. Crisis prolonged, Carnarvon's resignation accepted but Queen has not yet answered Derby.] Several of his colleagues l'ont conjuré de renoncer à son projet, qui compromettrait l'existence du Cabinet et pourrait inaugurer une politique pleine de dangers. La flotte n'étant pas entrée dans les Dardanelles, la cause qui avait déterminé Lord Derby à sortir du Cabinet se trouvait écartée.

Le Comte Derby a répondu qu'après ce qui venait de se passer, rien ne le garantissait contre de nouveaux coups de tête du P.M. et qu'il ne voulait pas se retrouver après quelques jours dans la nécessité de déposer son portefeuille une deuxième fois. En conséquence il demandait comme satisfaction que la question des crédits supplémentaires mise à l'ordre du jour du lendemain, soit ajournée jusqu'à la conclusion d'un armistice, ou la rupture des négociations entre nous et la Turquie. •

Un Conseil de Cabinet a été tenu aujourd'hui *dimanche* (fait sans précédent) et je prévois qu'on enguirandera le P.S.E. et lui arrachera des concessions. Je crois néanmoins qu'au point de vue de la paix européenne,

il est désirable de conserver Lord Derby, même à ce prix. Dans le cas contraire ce serait probablement le Marquis de Salisbury qui prendrait le Foreign Office. L'attitude de ce Ministre me semble avoir changé. resté favorable à des améliorations sérieuses pour les populations chrétiennes en Orient, il ne nous témoigne plus les bons sentiments de jadis. En dehors de cela, il ne peut être soupçonné d'avoir cherché à augmenter les complications afin d'écarter Derby pour bénéficier de sa succession. Si cette combinaison se réalisait, il serait difficile de préjuger à l'heure qu'il est la ligne de conduite que Lord Salisbury adopterait dans les circonstances présentes.

J'ai dit plus haut que la journée d'hier a été mauvaise pour le Gouvernement, il s'est totalement discrédité par ses tergiversations. Votre Altesse se représentera facilement les impressions du public anglais lorsqu'il a eu connaissance par les télégrammes d'hier de quelle façon les choses s'étaient passées aux Dardanelles. La flotte britannique approchant des premières . . . ? . . . turques, celles-ci saluant le pavillon anglais les vaisseaux répondant à leur tour par des salves adressées aux de la Turquie. Acclamations des marins, réponses de la part des riverains, télégrammes annonçant la bonne nouvelle à Constantinople, puis à un certain moment un petit bateau se détache de la côte—remettant . . . ? un pli à l'amiral commandant et tout le monde va se coucher !

Les amis du Gouvernement le condamnent autant que ses ennemis, l'opposition se frotte les mains et se prépare à signaler l'incurie du Cabinet. Pourvu que Lord Beaconsfield bafoué dans sa politique, ne cherche à se soustraire au ridicule en se faisant une célébrité comme celle d'Erostrate qui brûla le temple d'Ephèse.

309. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 16/28 JANUARY (DESPATCH)

Le Gouvernement ayant été très remuant et ayant usé de tous les moyens pour grouper autour de lui le parti tory, j'ai cru indispensable de me départir de la réserve que j'ai gardée jusqu'à ce moment et de jouer la contrepartie avec les Whigs. Il eut été nuisible à notre cause de les tenir dans l'ignorance de ce qui se passe entre le Gouvernement et nous, et de les exposer à quelque surprise, toujours possible, au cours des débats parlementaires. En conséquence je me suis mis en relations journalières avec les leaders de l'Opposition et les tiens confidentiellement au courant de mes différents pourparlers avec les membres du Cabinet.

Le point sur lequel ils se montrent le plus faibles et le plus séparés, c'est la question des armements ; beaucoup d'entre eux ne veulent pas se dépopulariser en refusant à la nation les moyens de se préparer aux éventualités de l'avenir : d'autres partagent l'opinion que la position de l'Angleterre à la future Conférence serait pitoyable si l'Europe ne la savait pas prête à l'action.

Midhat est à Londres, mais y joue un rôle effacé. Il n'est point au courant des idées de son Gouvernement et personne ne le voit ni ne le consulte.

310. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 16/28 JANUARY

(ch) On vient d'apprendre que préliminaires de paix seront signés à Sevastopol. Le choix de cette place rattachée au souvenir de Crimée est interprété comme provocation aux Puissances qui ont fait guerre de 1854. Derby reste. Crédit de £6.000 000 sera probablement demandé aujourd'hui.

311. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 16/28 JANUARY

(cl) Si Vous pouviez me faire savoir avant demain mardi cinq heures (ch) qu'armistice est conclu, réussirai peut-être à faire ajourner crédits et armements.

312 SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 16/28 JANUARY 1878

(ch) Strictement secret. Donnant audience au Elliot Empereur a dit Quand aurez obtenu crédits, que Votre Gouvernement me fasse savoir jusqu'où—"how far"—il veut aller avec moi.

313 GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 17/29 JANUARY

(ch) Jusqu'ici aucune confirmation d'armistice du Quartier Général. Le retard peut s'expliquer par les distances et les interruptions dans la voie télégraphique. Préliminaires seront signés à Andrinople.

314 . GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 17/29 JANUARY

(ch) Mardi. Si on Vous interroge sur portée de la phrase vague concernant les Détroits dans nos bases préliminaires de paix, Vous pouvez affirmer positivement que persistons envisager passage par Bosphore et Dardanelles comme question réservée à entente européenne. Vous savez que mon opinion, pour laquelle penche Sa Majesté, est pour *mare clausum* interdisant les passages aux bâtiments de guerre de toute nationalité.

315. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 16/28 JANUARY 1878 (DESPATCH)

[Not easy to form opinion re impression of peace on Cabinet], au milieu des tergiversations des Ministres et du désaccord des membres du Cabinet.

Government occupied by Ministerial Crisis, ended by Derby remaining at Foreign Office.

De plus, son point de vue change avec chaque nouvelle qui lui parvient de Vienne et je suis fermement convaincu qu'il aura deux mesures pour peser nos exigences. L'une s'il arrive à une entente avec l'Autriche, l'autre, toute différente, si cet accord ne s'établit pas.

Résumé of conversations with members of Government—put in form of dialogue.

Moi.—Si nous avons précisé davantage, Vous auriez crié que nous concluons une paix définitive, que tout y est préjugé et que c'est par conséquent une paix "over your head."

Eux.—C'est vrai, cela eût été plus mauvais encore—cependant la

rédaction du paragraphe qui concerne les Dardanelles vous offre le moyen de décider la question isolément avec la Turquie.

Moi.—Vous n'êtes pas en droit de maintenir cette supposition après les déclarations que j'ai faites au nom de mon Gouvernement. J'ai catégoriquement affirmé à Lord Derby que nous considérons le passage de bâtiments de guerre par le Bosphore et les Dardanelles comme question européenne, que nous n'entendons pas résoudre isolément.

Eux.—Est-ce le libre passage que vous demanderez ou des droits exclusifs pour vos bâtiments de guerre ? Cette dernière éventualité serait une menace directe pour nos intérêts.

Moi.—Vous voyez que pour le moment nous ne demandons rien, et que ce n'est pas aux Turcs seuls que nous pourrions nous adresser dans cette question.

Eux.—Mais alors, pourquoi la clause qui concerne les Détroits ?

Moi.—Pour nous réserver le droit d'en parler plus tard, si nous le jugeons nécessaire, soit à une conférence, soit ailleurs. Si nous ne l'avions pas mentionné dans les bases de paix, Vous auriez été les premiers à nous contester le droit de faire même une simple allusion à la question de la navigation des Détroits

Eux.—En obligeant la Turquie à signer les bases de la paix, Vous voulez arriver à la Conférence avec deux voix, tandis que les autres Puissances n'en auront qu'une.

Moi.—Nous y aurions à la rigueur quelques droits après avoir porté à nous seuls tout le point de la guerre mais ce sont là des conclusions tirées par les cheveux. Je crois au contraire que c'est nous qui serons seuls à exposer aux autres Puissances les questions d'intérêt européen, pour lesquelles nous demanderons leur approbation.

Eux.—La rédaction si vague du paragraphe concernant les dédommagements est grosse de dangers, pourquoi ne précisez-vous pas le territoire que Vous voulez annexer ? Nous pouvons supposer actuellement que Vous demanderez par exemple le port de Salonique ?

Moi.—Vous venez de dire Vous mêmes que c'eût été pire si nous avions précisé les conditions de paix. Fiez-Vous à notre sagesse et modération pour ne pas demander le port de Salonique. D'ailleurs les dédommagements devant être en argent ou territoire nous ne saurions préciser le degré de solvabilité de la Turquie, et par conséquence la relation entre l'indemnité pécuniaire et territoriale.

Ce dialogue vous fera voir le cercle dans lequel se meuvent les pré-occupations des Ministres de la Reine.

OBITUARIES

HON. MAURICE BARING

MAURICE BARING, who left such a distinguished mark in English letters, gave of his best to Russia, which so often seems to attract our best minds. He recalled the Russian tradition of a refined literary kinship which was consecutively developed rather with Cambridge than with Oxford, the tradition of the most elect of the Russian Slavophiles. He had a very perfect knowledge of the Russian language which he spoke with practically no signs of English accent, though he told me some of his most critical Russian friends claimed to detect here and there a "Gallicism." Baring was equally at home in the most refined of French literature, of which he once wrote a remarkable primer. Few others could have put so much into so small a book.

Baring's connection with Russia was largely through the family of the Russian Ambassador to England, Count Benckendorff, who played an outstanding part in the Anglo-Russian *Entente* leading up to alliance in the first World War. The Benckendorffs were connected with the Slavophil family of Bobrinsky. Count Vladimir Bobrinsky, a descendant of Catherine the Great and a strong champion of Anglo-Russian friendship, was once a student in the University of Edinburgh.

Baring served as correspondent of the *Morning Post* in the Russo-Japanese War. His contribution to Russian contemporary history consisted of two books, *With the Russians in Manchuria* and *A Year in Russia*, which were later, with some omissions, issued as one volume, *What I Saw in Russia*. I do not hesitate to say that what Baring saw of Russian human nature was more than was visible to any other foreigner of whom I have known or to any but a very few Russians. He had a kind of second sight. He went straight and simply to conclusions at which many would have stumbled. With no one was he more at home than with the simple Russian peasants, and they with him: I more than once sat with him as he talked with them; he had instinctively seen that the underdog was about the best gentleman in Russia. They would discuss with him *Paradise Lost*, which circulated in prose as Russian peasant literature. He would interest them in Herbert Spencer. One will not forget his brilliant portrait of the towering peasant member of the First Duma, Nazarenko, with the face of a rebel archangel, who told Baring that he never asked God for anything twice! He was equally at home with the simplest of peasant soldiers and he has described in print his most delightful talks with them; he would escape from the often boring and rather primitive debates of the Duma, to go a-mowing with his peasant friends.

Just when the story of the harassed Second Duma of 1907 was mounting to its inevitable climax, Baring told me he was going home. "What, just now?" "Yes," he said, "it has become entirely uninteresting."

"And won't you come back?" I asked, as I saw him off. "Never to Petersburg," he said, "perhaps to the country." No one else would have shared his mood at that moment. A fortnight later it was common to all, the crash had come, and Russian public life had sunk back into sheer reaction. But when he got home, he wrote that this was not the end. "We shall know in ten years," he said. Ten years from 1907 was 1917, the year of the Great Revolution.

Baring's studies of Russian literature were peculiar to himself and unique in interest. In his book on the subject he spread himself on Dostoyevsky, the most characteristically Russian of Russian writers. His translation of the most inspired poem of Pushkin, "The Prophet," is as inspired as the original. I am sure Pushkin would have been glad to recognise it as his own, and nothing of this kind could be said of any other translation from Pushkin into English; to show it to any Russian who knew our language was to give a literary feast. Baring translated also from several other Russian poets, including the brilliant young poet of the Red Army of to-day, Constantine Simonov.

Baring was one of the editors of our *Liverpool Russian Review* (1912-1914) and a deeply valued Member of our School. I cannot make a mistake in reprinting once more his tribute to my other colleague on that first *Review*, Harold Williams, who may be said in every sense to have come from the ends of the earth to join hands with him in a perfect friendship.

"Upon the bread and salt of Russia fed,
His soul, in her high sorrow, soared and bled.
He kept the bitter bread, and gave away
The shining salt to all that came his way."

It was Harold Williams who could have paid the most fitting tribute to Baring now.

BERNARD PARES.

JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE

THE small circle of Anglo-Saxon scholarship in Slavonic studies has suffered a great bereavement, to many of us personal, in our loss of Professor John Dyneley Prince. The charm and distinction of this fine mind and his wide and varied achievement were among our brightest ornaments in this field.

Born in New York in April, 1868, Dyneley Prince took his B.A. in Columbia in 1888, worked for the next two years in the University of Berlin, was a Fellow of Johns Hopkins University from 1890 to 1894 and, while there, took his Doctorate in Philosophy in 1892, with a thesis entitled "Mene Mene Tekel Upharsin." This was a first indication of his interest in Assyriology, and it was naturally followed up by the

publication in Leipzig of his *Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel and Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon* (in three volumes).

In 1888-1889 he took part in an expedition to Babylonia, launched by the University of Pennsylvania. From 1892 to 1902 he was Professor of Semitic Languages in New York University, and held the same post with his own alma mater, Columbia, from 1902 to 1915. In 1915, still at Columbia, he transferred to the Professorship of Slavonic Languages, which he held till 1921.

Meanwhile, in the neighbouring State of New Jersey, he was Speaker of the Assembly in 1909, President of the Senate in 1912 and Acting Governor in the same year.

From 1921 to 1926 Dyneley Prince served his country as United States Minister to Denmark. His then Chief, the distinguished American statesman, Charles E. Hughes, writes: "Your mission was most acceptable to the people of Denmark and strengthened our ties of friendship and goodwill." That these words were no formal expression of thanks one may judge from the fact that while in Copenhagen Prince spoke by radio to Iceland in Icelandic. From 1926 to 1933 he held the same responsible post in Belgrade, and Mr. Henry L. Stimson, then Secretary of State, has written at length of the unusual service which he was able to render his country, "owing to his truly extraordinary knowledge of Slavic languages."

One may well ask oneself whether in the reminiscences of Anglo-Saxon ambassadors—not to say of diplomatic attachés—one might read a little record such as this: "The chief lama (that is, of the Kalmuks from near the Caspian, then resident in Belgrade) has called several times at the Legation in order to discuss with me the condition of his community and the mysteries of his particular sect. He speaks only Russian as his foreign language and is a rather intelligent type of Mongolian." There was a similar exception in Sir Charles Elliot, British Ambassador to Japan.

In 1933 Prince returned finally to Columbia University, where his Chair was broadened to include all East European languages. He retired as Emeritus Professor (and when was this title better earned?) in 1937, and he died in New York on 11 October, 1945.

Among Prince's published works we find an *Assyrian Primer*, *A Russian Grammar*, *Passamaquoddy Indian Texts*, *A Practical Grammar of the Lettish Language* (also published in French at Riga) and *A Practical Grammar of the Serbo-Croatian Language*. His almost innumerable articles ranged in detail over the most various subjects of language study. The scope of his Department at Columbia, with a liberal use of the services of University Extension, was probably unique in its picturesque variety.

A memorial volume, published by the Columbia Press in 1939, opens with a short but proud tribute from the great Head of that great university. It is appropriately entitled *Fragments From Babel*. It is an amazing collection of some of Professor Prince's more remote minor

studies. Among other things, one will specially note the unusual advantage which he took of the rare opportunities for the scholar in his administrative or diplomatic work. In New Jersey he studies the almost extinct dialect of the Dutch inhabitants of that state, and discovers an ancient Indian "jargon." In Belgrade he interests himself in the gypsies, who are also honoured by the study of a Romany dialect in Brazil. From Denmark he brings back a note on the Danish dialect of Bornholm. I know of nothing to compare with this record except that of our own greatest scholar in Slavonics, Harold Williams, who before he was forty was familiar with forty different languages and seemed to speak any of them with the same ease as his own, but Williams has left practically no output behind him.

Under the title "Sermo Populi," Professor Prince gives his views on the teaching of language in a simple informal personal statement which is full of sound advice.

The European learner of languages is trained *ad nauseam* to use the foreign language in connection with every ordinary subject. . . . The American student on the other hand is assiduously exercised in purely literary reading and retranslation. . . . Many an American student of French or German who knows these languages well is almost as helpless a traveller as if he had not studied them at all . . . In my opinion, this is only half doing a thing. No amount of literary knowledge alone can make the student familiar with the genius and spirit of the language he is learning."

My own method is as follows: Beginning a new language, I first thoroughly familiarised myself with the main principles of its machinery, that is of its grammar, using as small a vocabulary as possible which shall serve as paradigms of morphology. When I feel sufficiently equipped on this basis, *I then get my teacher*¹ and proceed, slowly at first, to acquire vocabulary on the topics which seem most necessary to me. Simultaneously I begin to read simple foreign newspaper articles on subjects and news with which I am already acquainted, proceeding to more difficult matter in due time. . . . Then, and not until then, I begin to read literature and scientific articles, noting special expressions alphabetically on cards. . . .

Finally I call attention to the fact that the method I use is precisely the converse of that usually employed in American teaching—that is, I begin with a thorough knowledge of the easy and practical, and then work back to the higher literary style, which is always the development of the language of the people "Sermo quotidianus declarat animam populi."

Dyneley Prince, who was an honoured Member of our London School, was always a fine and generous colleague. I was one of the last to visit him in his home. Those who knew this gifted man there will remember

¹ Our italics.—ED.

him best by his absolute simplicity. They will recall how he would sit down to the piano and, accompanying himself, in a singularly gentle and pleasing voice would sing at request now a Scandinavian folk song, now a Slavonic, and now something even much more remote, with as much pleasure to himself as to his audience. He attracted the affection of all who knew him, for he had in him that youthfulness of spirit which is so often a distinguishing feature of the great scholars of Slavonic countries.

BERNARD PARES.

STANISŁAW KUTRZEBA

THE death in January, 1946, of Professor Stanisław Kutrzeba of the University of Cracow at the age of seventy removes a notable figure from the field of Polish learning, which had been already devastated during six years of the Nazi occupation. Few men have laid their generation under a greater obligation than he, not only by his contributions to his chosen field of the history of Polish Law and Constitution, but also for his general service to science and education, and to everyday life.

In 1902 he became a Docent, and six years later Professor in the University, following the eminent Piekosinski. Twice elected Dean of his Faculty, he was chosen Rector of the University in 1932-1933, at a time when a great deal of tension prevailed between the higher institutions of learning and the government. Throughout his work in this field, he retained the respect of his colleagues, and did much to shape University policy.

But Kutrzeba was already becoming even better known for his services to the Polish Academy of Sciences. Already a Member, he became Secretary-General in 1926, and set himself the difficult task of straightening out the financial position of that institution, securing its endowments of various kinds so that they could best serve the interests of the institution—no easy task in view of the straightened circumstances that had prevailed everywhere for more than a decade. Apart from this he took a special interest in the whole publishing enterprise of the Academy; and it is largely due to his work that this institution became more and more regarded as a national enterprise. In 1938 he succeeded to the Presidency, just in time to face the calamities that soon came upon his city and his nation.

Along with his University colleagues, 170 in number, he was arrested and carried off by the Nazis in November, 1939, and spent the next year under frightful conditions in Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp. Here his bearing was a source of constant inspiration to others, and no one will forget his address to the group on the occasion of the death of the former Rector, Stanisław Estreicher. When finally released, and allowed to return home, he showed a more undaunted courage, refusing all truck with the German occupation authorities, and risking his liberty more

than once in order to render a service to the national cause. In particular he made every effort to help in giving shelter to the Warsaw professors rendered homeless by the destruction of that city at the time of the Rising of August, 1944. This outstanding record is of itself sufficient to give him immortality, even if he had never written any of the long list of notable books which stand to his name. The first of these appeared in 1899, the last of them, *The Total State*, in 1937. Pre-eminent among them of course is his great *History of the Polish Constitution*, which appeared during the years 1905-1920. But the following less ambitious works should also be mentioned: *Rural and City Courts in the Middle Ages* (1901-1902), *Crown and Baronial Offices in Poland down to 1504* (1903), *Manslaughter in Polish Law* (1907), *Union with Lithuania* (1915), *The Peace Conference and Poland* (1919), *Reborn Poland* (1921), *Polish Political Law* (1923), and *Contemporary Poland* (1926).

In addition to all these he had two special interests, one of them being the carefully documented *History of Silesia* published by the Academy, the joint work of a number of Polish scholars; and *The Dictionary of National Biography*, of which he was joint Editor, and of which volume 5 was just off the press when war broke out. Those who know the latter monumental work can appreciate its quality, and the colossal amount of work needed for its planning and execution.

At the outbreak of war he had helped to organise a Citizens Committee in Cracow; and it is notable that he did not flinch six years later, though he was already in poor health, from making the long journey to Moscow to take part in the discussions that were to lead to the creation of a Coalition Government. He was subsequently appointed as a Deputy to the National Council, functioning at the time of writing as a parliament in Warsaw, but he was never able to attend its Sessions.

W. J. R.

MARCELI HANDELSMAN

A MEMORIAL ceremony was held on 16 January last in Warsaw in honour of the late Professor Handelsman. It was held appropriately in the hall of the Historical Institute of which he was the founder. In the absence, for the time, of any pupil or colleague of his, who could pay appropriate tribute to his career and achievements, one who knew him for many years would like to add his modest contribution to the recognition which will be given by men better qualified to judge.

Marceli Handelsman was born in Warsaw in 1882. I first met him when I was working in the Zamoyski Library in Warsaw during the years 1908-1912. In the absence of Polish universities in Russian Poland the libraries played an important part in Polish studies. The librarian, Professor Korzon, was the unofficial head of an historical school. He had already accomplished his great achievement of raising Polish history from the pessimistic attitude of the Cracow School to an appreciation

of its great past, and was occupied in continuing the work of his monographs on Sobieski and Kościuszko by a book on Polish military history. A frequent visitor was Professor Askenazy of the University of Lwów who was writing a monograph on Prince Józef Poniatowski. The battle for detached and specialised Polish historiography was won, and at the feet of these Olympians sat a number of students who were still selecting their teachers, their methods and their subjects. Among the most eminent of these were W. Konopczynski and M. Handelsman. The latter, who had obtained his Doctor's degree at Zurich, was a member of the Warsaw Learned Society and had already made an original contribution to history by his work on "The Polish peasant at the beginning of the 19th century." He had, like Askenazy, chosen the post-partition period for his research. He became Professor at Warsaw University in 1915.

The second time I met Handelsman was in 1935 when I went to do some research in Poland. I found him in occupation of the Chair of Modern History in Warsaw where he helped me to get the material I wanted in his Class Library, situated in the Staszic Palace, and entertained me in his house beyond Mokotów with its beautiful garden. The promise of early days had been fulfilled. Handelsman was Editor of the *Przegląd Historyczny* (from 1920), *Rozprawy historyczne* (from 1920), *Przegląd polityczny* (from 1924) and *Bulletin des Sciences historiques en Europe* (from 1927). He was the author of the following works:—

1. *Zywot chłopa polskiego*. Warsaw, 1907.
2. *Historja polskiego prawa karnego*. 1908-1909.
3. *Studja historyczne*. 1911-1913.
4. *Napoleon i Polska*. 1914.
5. *Instrukcje i depesza rezydentów francuskich w Warszawie 1807-13* (2 vols.). 1915.
6. *Anglia—Polska 1814-64*.
7. *Konstytucje polskie 1791-1921*. Warsaw, 1922.
8. *Rozwój narodowości nowoczesnej*. Warsaw, 1922-1926.
9. *La Pologne—sa vie économique et sociale pendant la guerre*. (Carnegie Endowment), 1933.
10. *Nicolas I et la question du proche Orient*. Paris, 1934.

He was the active head of the very large department of Modern History in the University. He had many links with Western historians, and had taken a leading part in organising the Congress of Historians in Warsaw in 1933. He was a member of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Handelsman was of Jewish stock and suffered from anti-Semitic demonstrations in 1936. He survived the German terror for most of the War, but died in Nordhausen concentration camp on 20 March 1945. He will be remembered by many students as a great teacher. His efforts to keep touch with European historians gained him many friends abroad and great esteem as an organiser. Above all, his main achievement was his investigation of the materials for early 19th-century Polish history.

especially that of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and the numerous publications with which he enriched the historical literature of that period.

A. BRUCE BOSWELL.

GEORGE PATRICK

GEORGE PATRICK was born at Nizhny Novgorod in 1893, and died at Berkeley, California, on 24th of February, 1946. His studies in Moscow and in Paris were in Russian, French and Law. In the first World War he served as an official of the Russian Embassy in Washington in the field of military supplies. After the revolution he remained in America, and became first a student and then a teacher in the University of California. There his teaching work was done at first in French and Russian, but later exclusively in Russian. He was a very fine scholar in both fields, and a great strength to his American university, which after the death of Professor Coolidge at Harvard (the true preceptor of Russian studies in the New World) may be said to have led the country in this subject, under the guidance of a former pupil of Coolidge, Professor George R. Noyes.

From 1939 Patrick suffered from very poor health, and it was only with great pluck that he could continue his work. He was made full Professor of Russian in 1940. His three *Russian Readers* are unexcelled and are in regular use in England. Less known but of the same high standard is his *Roots of the Russian Language*. His most notable production is his volume of *Popular Poetry in Soviet Russia*, but he was also of great assistance to Dorothea Prall Radin in her verse translation of Pushkin's Evgeny Onegin, which was reviewed by Professor Simmonds in the *Slavonic and East European Review*. All Patrick's work witnesses the hand of a fine scholar. Having been his colleague for a summer term in 1924, I shall always retain a lively memory of a particularly charming personality.

BERNARD PARES.

VILÉM MATHESIUS

PROFESSOR VILÉM MATHESIUS died at the age of 64 on 12 April, 1946, four years after the Prague Linguistic Circle had celebrated under the German occupation the sixtieth birthday of this celebrated scholar of English, who also contributed notably to the study of his native Czech, especially latterly during his association with the famous Prague Circle.

He was born on 3 August, 1882, at Pardubice, but spent his childhood and schooldays at Kolín. It was there that the Protestant Pastor Čeněk Dušek taught him English, and inspired him to follow for life this course of study, which at that time in Bohemia was in the nature of pioneering work. Thus the *rapprochement* of English and Czech culture gained one of its leading workers who, like the great President Masaryk, realised how

much the Anglo-Saxon world could contribute to the Slav. And let it be said straight away that the practical, non-theorising attitude of all Mathesius's studies proved that he had a true understanding of the realistic approach to matters of learning for which the British world is mainly admired. His interest in structural and functional linguistics, and his predilection for studies of passages and connected words as opposed to the formal grammar of the old school, were all part of this realistic outlook. So also was his fundamental belief that bad style is at bottom bad use of language. After four years' study of Germanic and Romance languages at the Charles University and a further four as "suplent" and teacher in Plzeň and Prague, Mathesius was appointed in 1909 *docent* in English at the Charles University. There he laid almost from their beginning the foundations of English studies in his country and produced many "generations" of able scholars and teachers.

His work as a scholar can be roughly divided into three periods, the first of which lasted till 1926. To this period we owe his well-known *Dějiny anglické literatury*, the first volume of which, dealing with Early English literature, appeared in 1910. The second volume, which reached the Renaissance period, appeared in 1915, also in the midst of a German war against Britain and under Teutonic domination of Bohemia.

Already during this first period Mathesius showed an interest in linguistics as well as in literary history, as witness his numerous articles in various reviews. His interest turned more and more in this direction as his life progressed. During the final period of his work, from 1936, linguistics were his predominant interest. His comparisons of Czech with English, and his purely Czech studies, such as his *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura*, published by the Prague Linguistic Circle in 1932, showed how rooted he was in his own native reality—a loyal Czech not dazzled by the breadth and brilliance of the bigger Anglo-Saxon world. He showed the best characteristics of his nation in the assured purposefulness and serenity of his outlook, which inspired all those who met him with faith in the positive value of work, faith in life and the future of mankind. By his wide outlook and his feeling for the relative importance of various problems, but no less by his feeling for the need to share his knowledge and views with others, we may judge that Mathesius was indeed a great scholar and teacher, who by his pioneering work inspired others, and helped to bring Czech linguists into prominence in the world forum, where wide circles will lament his passing.

R. G. DE BRAY.

FELIKS NOWOWIEJSKI

WITH the death in Poznań of Feliks Nowowiejski, modern music, in particular sacred music, has lost a distinguished master. Nine-tenths of his work, we are told, is still in manuscripts: if that is true, the fame already surrounding his name will be greatly enhanced in the years to

come. Forty years ago he was already known in Cracow as a composer, conductor, and choir-leader, and from the time when he set the words of Konopnicka's *Rota* to a stirring melody, so that it became a sort of national anthem, his place in Polish hearts was assured. During the years of independence he lived and worked chiefly in Poznan, and there he continued to labour right through the war just ended. His creations range over a wide field—lyric (some score of song cycles), chamber music, operas, oratorios, and at least four symphonies. Perhaps the best known of all is the oratorio *Quo Vadis*?, written in Rome in 1903, and first performed in Amsterdam, which has since gone literally round the world. In it, as in other works, much use was made of the Gregorian chants. During the war he produced at least one Concerto (the Slavonic), a suite for piano, and many minor pieces.

W. J. R.

ARSHAK RAFFI

1878-1946

WITH the passing in August, 1946, of Arshak Raffi, the teaching of Russian in the United Kingdom and the School of Slavonic and East European Studies in the University of London has lost a veteran teacher of singular experience and devotion. Son of an Armenian novelist of note, some of whose stories of Armenian and Persian life have been translated into other languages, he came to London early in the century to join his brother, and began to teach Russian in King's College some years before the School of Slavonic Studies was founded there in 1915. From that time onwards he was a member of the staff; moving with it reluctantly to the Bloomsbury site, when the School became a Central Activity of the University in 1929. During the First German War he was responsible for the training of numbers of Service students in the intensive courses arranged by King's College; and some of this work went on even in peace years, to be resumed on an increased scale again in 1942. In consequence of these forty years of teaching (including private lessons) Raffi had old pupils and friends both in the three services and in civilian life (some of them in posts of high responsibility) who owe to him at least the rudiments (in some cases very much more!) of their knowledge of the Russian language and of Russian culture.

Arshak Raffi was a tireless worker, making heavy demands both on his pupils and on his own strength. His method was worked out as the result of years of practice; and it is a matter of regret that, so far as is known, he has not left behind any ordered *Manual*, just as he never published one during his life. By academic standards he was not a philologist, but he was a pedagogue of no mean calibre, and an unashamed enthusiast for his task. During years when, for political reasons, the study of Russian was under a cloud in this country, he went steadily on with his work, until he retired from the School at 66 in 1945. Even then,

and although he was warned by his physician not to tax his strength, he continued to work in Cambridge, and can verily be said to have died in harness. The sympathy of all his colleagues and friends goes out to his bereaved consort.

W. J. ROSE.

ARSHAK RAFFI—AN APPRECIATION

ARSHAK RAFFI, senior lecturer in Russian in the School, died in August. When I joined the School in October, 1919, one of its first real assets was Raffi. While we attached the greatest importance to the scholarly study of philology, it cannot be said that we attached any less to the driving of a practical knowledge of Russian into the slowest mind, and in this task, on which all Raffi's work was concentrated, he was positively brilliant. How many generations of service officers has Raffi compelled to think and speak in Russian! In the early days of the Revolution in Russia, I knew of no one who could make better stump speeches there than Colonel Thornhill, and he learnt his Russian from Raffi in King's College. Another of his pupils was Joseph Barnes, a distinguished American correspondent in Russia and now Foreign Editor of the *New York Herald Tribune*. Raffi was not to be escaped by the thickest defence of the slowest student. Using the Direct Method, he would pique his victim with his inexhaustible ingenuities and his provocative sallies, to which an answer in Russian had to be found. The heavy-witted gunner would murmur to himself in desperation: "Oh damn! what's the word?" In nine months, the original term of intensive study, he would be thinking and speaking in Russian.

Raffi more than filled his rôle in the School.

BERNARD PARES.

BOOK REVIEWS

Outlines of Russian Culture. By Paul Milyukov. Edited by Michael Karpovich; Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943. Three Parts.

ALMOST exactly fifty years ago Milyukov began the publication of his *Outlines of Russian Culture*, which were completed in 1903. They consisted of three volumes; the first on the demography, economic and social structure and governmental apparatus of Russia; the second on religion (with special emphasis on the Old Believers and the Sectarians), literature and the other arts, and education; the third on "nationalism and public opinion," a study of national and European influences on Russian thought and life from the 15th to the end of the 18th century. Milyukov wrote them, as he said, as "scientific popularisation, intended for a very wide circle of readers." For that reason no doubt there were no footnotes, though there were bibliographies. The *Outlines* had an important influence in pre-revolutionary Russia and constitute Milyukov's most outstanding and characteristic contribution in the field of general Russian history, but they assume a considerable knowledge of Russian history and they are, even for Russian readers, by no means easy reading.

After the Civil War in Russia, Milyukov became an *émigré* in Paris, where he died in 1943.¹ In addition to his great activities as journalist and politician, he turned back to historical work and wrote much, perhaps half of it still remaining in manuscript. The principal result of his second period as an historian was the new "jubilee" edition of the *Outlines*, to celebrate his seventieth birthday. This was published in Paris in 1930, 1931 and 1937. An entirely new first volume was devoted to geographical and climatic conditioning factors and to the pre-history of the Slavs; this was intended as an introduction to the original first volume, which was re-written but remains as yet unpublished. (This is probably the most valuable volume in the whole series, and it is much to be hoped that it can now be given to the world.) The third volume, on nationalism and westernisation, was republished without important changes. The second volume, divided into two separate parts, was expanded to twice its original size, chiefly by new chapters covering the second half of the 19th century and the first three decades of this. The earlier chapters were very little changed, except as regards medieval and 18th-century painting and as regards music, which in the original edition was only touched upon.

It is this greatly expanded second volume which now for the first time appears in English, under the editorship of Professor Karpovich, in three slim volumes of a hundred and thirty to two hundred pages each. (Part 1, Religion and the Church; Part 2, Literature; Part 3, Architecture, Painting and Music.) Unfortunately the most interesting section of all,

¹ There is an obituary notice by Boris Elkin in Vol. XXIII, No. 62, of this Review, pp 137-41

that on education, has been omitted altogether from this translation, "partly because there are some competent books on the subject available in English, but mostly because of considerations of space." The three volumes now given us are an abridgement with the authorisation of Milyukov, who contributes a preface. The abridgement, which is not severe, has been judiciously done, and Professor Karpovich also provides concise explanatory notes, brief bibliographies designed for English readers, and postscripts to each volume bringing the subject in question down to the War. The whole represents a most competent piece of editorship. A special word of praise should be given to the translators, Valentine Ughet and Eleanor Davis. Milyukov was no stylist, but the English version, except occasionally, is very well turned and reads simply and clearly.

Part 1 on Religion is primarily a study of the last three centuries, Orthodoxy since the Schism. Milyukov in his early years came under the influence of Spenser and Comte and he writes of the Orthodox Church, particularly from the time of Peter the Great to the Revolution, with a strong bias against it. Nor is his treatment of the early centuries satisfactory. It is too short, and it is cut too much to a given pattern. Scarcely any indication is given of the monastic movements of the 14th and 15th centuries, and the names of St. Sergius and Metropolitan Alexis, for instance, are not even mentioned. On the other hand, his analysis of the Old Believers and particularly of the Sectarians is of great interest, and his final chapter on the Church since 1917 is informing and valuable.

Part 2 on Literature is a long essay in interpretation rather than an historical sketch. The reader may be surprised at being confronted with an opening chapter on "the secularisation of literature," scanning the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, followed by a chapter, on more usual lines, on "the classical period" from about 1800 to 1880. The explanation lies in the fact that this section forms part in the Russian edition of the composite volume to which Milyukov originally gave the title *Church and School (Religion, Creative Arts, Education)*. For Milyukov, as for Comte, "secularisation" is one of the master keys for the history of culture, in the sense that every culture begins by being rooted in religion and then its different elements free themselves from their original roots by processes and at a rate that vary in each country according to its individual particularities. There is much of interest in Milyukov's views on Russian literature of the last hundred years, but there is an element of wilfulness, and at times of impatience and incomprehension, which detracts seriously from their lasting value. A study which barely refers in passing to Lermontov or Griboyedev and does not refer at all to Tyutchev or Leskov or Alexis Tolstoi (while it gives four pages to Merezhkovsky and appears to rate the Symbolists as Decadents) must be approached with caution.

Part 3, devoted to architecture, painting and music, suffers from one very serious defect—in both the Russian and English editions there are

no illustrations (save for a couple of rather indifferent photographs of Kolomenskoe and Dyakovo churches and for a page of sketches illustrating the different types of domes, etc.). Milyukov was the son of an architect, but he never appears to have studied its history deeply, and the section he wrote on it is his weakest. As in the original edition, the achievements before Peter the Great are too cursorily treated, and he never revised his unduly low estimate of Rastrelli. The section on painting (nearly three times as long as that on architecture) is much more satisfactory than that in the original edition, which was written when Russian icons and frescoes were an almost unworked field in the history of art. The discoveries and scholarship of the last fifty years have revolutionised our knowledge and enormously expanded our possibilities of appreciation. Milyukov made good use of some of this new learning, though, in my opinion, he continued to underestimate the elements of originality and diversity in medieval Russian painting. The section on music, which is more abridged than the other sections, is perhaps the best in this volume, except as regards Soviet music on which it is very weak.

Professor Karpovich is to be congratulated, and thanked, for the appearance in English of this large portion of the *Outlines*. He would be doing even more of a service to Russian studies if he could arrange for the translation of the remaining volumes. These, and not those here translated, give the core of Milyukov's historical thought and the richest fruits of his learning and judgment, apart from his earlier specialised work. These earlier studies, it is true, are by far his best work as a pure historical scholar, bred in the Moscow School under Klyuchevsky and Vinogradov (he was born in 1859). But his *State Economy of Russia and the Reforms of Peter the Great*, his *Disputed questions in the financial history of the Muscovite government*, his other studies on Muscovite institutions, and (to a lesser extent) *The chief tendencies of Russian historical thought in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* are works of historical scholarship confined to the few. The *Outlines* were his great gift to the world at large, and it is certainly right that it should be these that should be translated.

The especial merit of the *Outlines* is that they are an interpretation of development and a history of ideas in their concrete setting. Thus they comparatively rarely sink into the pitfall of a catalogue of names, even in the sections on literature and the other arts. It has been truly said that for Milyukov "history and sociology are not two different scientific fields: history is, so to speak, concrete sociology." Milyukov was at his best in dealing with institutional and social history, with general intellectual currents, and with that which is capable of being handled in the mass. He was far less successful in understanding individuality, the spiritual, or the artistic or creative impulses and inner rhythms. Hence much of what is translated in these three parts does not do him full justice. He was apt to impose patterns that conformed to his guiding ideas, and, since he never made any deep study of Russian history before the reign of Ivan the Great, his patterns for Russian medieval history

least successfully stand the test of time. His conception of the divorce between the main mass of the Russian people, still in the 19th century living in the ways of the traditional faith, and the intelligentsia, characterised above all by religious indifferentism, is an over-simplification which does less than justice both to the tragedy and to the richness and variety in Russian 19th-century thought and creation.

Milyukov's central conception was that of the conformity of the historical process to guiding principles or laws (*zakonomernost*). By this he did not mean that it was possible to discover, from the infinite complexity of historical phenomena, "the laws of history," but that human development in different regions or countries follows certain broadly similar lines, though the living content of and the transformations in that development in different societies differ very widely owing to physical surroundings, the particular make-up of different societies, and the rôle of particular individuals. How far he was successful in working out his fundamental position is open to doubt, but it is certain that in the *Outlines* he gave an exceptional and a richly illustrated, if in part one-sided, analysis and synthesis of Russian development. His central theme was the perennial question in Russian historical writing: is the historical development of Russia to be considered as predominantly peculiar to herself, or as following the same general lines as European development? In many respects Milyukov may be classed as a "westerniser," notably in his championship of Western liberal ideas in his political career—a championship which, begun before he published the *Outlines*, diverted him from history to public life, and brought upon him several arrests and long periods abroad before he made his name as the principal leader of the Kadet party in the Duma. In the *Outlines*, though he regarded the principal trend of Russian historical development as similar to the Western, he allowed great weight to the differences caused by the tempo of Russian development, its resultant political effects, and geographical factors in the widest sense. In this jubilee edition these last are especially emphasised and greater weight is put than before on the unique elements which differentiate Russian from European development. The volumes that are now translated, from the nature of their subject matter, hardly reflect this change in emphasis. The main lines of Milyukov's treatment in them may be illustrated from the opening of the section on music (part 3, p. 101):

"In passing to the history of Russian music, and in comparing it with that of the West, we shall find in this field the same parallelism in the development of general traits and the same peculiarities of detail—at times very essential—that we found in the history of painting and literature. Naturally here too, because of the special conditions of national development, the differences between Russia and the West were particularly great at the beginning of the Russian historical process, while with the approach towards modern times they become gradually attenuated and are replaced with a more and more clearly defined parallelism."

The fruits of the October Revolution, rightly or wrongly, did not cause Milyukov to modify his general position. His attitude to what has happened since 1917 may be seen in his preface to part 1 (dated Christmas 1940) "I was not alone in believing that the habitual course of such attempts would be followed again, and that the high ideals and early successes would be greatly modified by the conditions that Russia's past had brought forth. . . . The revolutionary cycle has apparently reached its pre-destined end . . . Russia is still there—a Russia even more centralised and ruled more severely than ever under the *ancien régime*, but still Russia. The new Union is heir to all the evils of the old bureaucracy, evils that have been exaggerated while its few virtues have been eliminated. Far from 'international,' Russian communism has been restricted within its national borders and has followed a pattern that, whatever else it may be, is certainly not socialistic. The only description, good or bad, that can be applied to Russian foreign policy is nationalistic imperialism. . . . The 'alien' element of higher cultural achievement is hopelessly gone in Russia, but new elements have appeared. *Quality* has gone, but *quantity* has succeeded—the larger extension of the social base whence cultural seeds may be borrowed. In this very book, the reader can discern, here and there, tendrils of new life pushing their way through the old. . . . Russia as a whole needs no rehabilitation. This book will show the reader what Russia has achieved in the long chain of her generations. A few decades cannot utterly destroy the fruit of these centuries. My book was not written to prove this, but if proof is needed, it is here."

B. H. SUMNER.

The Russia I Believe In : The Memoirs of Samuel N. Harper, 1902-1941.
 Edited by Paul Harper with the assistance of Ronald Thompson ;
 University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1945, pp. 289.
 Foreword by Bernard Pares.

"SAMUEL had just completed his preparation in time for the First Duma, Russia's first essay in parliamentary life," writes Sir Bernard Pares. "Neither he nor I were correspondents bound to the telegraph office but students of contemporary history," he continues : "We worked out a procedure of our own. We visited anyone who took a prominent part in the hectic public life of that time . . . and, as all confidences were respected, he would tell us his whole story. . . . Usually we went together : one of us handled the conversation, and the other committed it to memory ; the results we always recorded before we went to bed. . . . All these materials are now to be preserved at the University of Chicago. . . . We took far more interest in the Russian people than in Russian politics. . . . For a time we worked together at the University of Liverpool. Harper returned to Russia after the break caused by the Revolution. . . . He was the first expert of his standing to do so. . . . In

1939 I witnessed in London a part of his last great journey to Russia. . . . It was on his advice that I came to America in December, 1941." Finally, mentioning the sudden end, Pares exclaims: "Was ever a task more fully discharged?"

This quotation seems rather long for so short a review. Yet we have to keep in mind that the Memoirs are not material collected in conversations, during seven visits to Russia (1906-1917) and seven later ones between 1926 and 1939, with personalities of all imaginable loyalties, official or revolutionary. Before the Revolution Pares and Harper did get "the whole story from everyone they visited." Few other countries would offer such opportunities, and their records collected for that period will fascinate the historian.

This approach to Russia was bound to have what we shall have to call a psychological effect upon the investigators. They were being integrated into the life of a nation which otherwise might have remained subject-matter and nothing else. Only thus can the pretentious title: *The Russia I Believe In*, whether chosen by the late Samuel Harper or by his editor, be excused or understood. The "I" has to be envisaged as the rational and emotional I, not with reference to the academic status of a Chicago Professor.

But Harper's brother, Paul, the editor of this book, must also be quoted. We read in his Preface: "I was impressed by the frank, clear disclosure of my brother's character, by his informal and personal approach to the heroic struggles of Russia over these forty-odd years." Harper's manuscript was available only in fragments, "but he obviously meant the book to be as much about himself in relation to Russia as about Russia itself."

The MSS. had to be supplemented by notes, fragments of memoranda, and letters, among which those of Samuel Harper's mother are of particular charm and warmth. Did he not insist on her staying with his friends, the Petrunkevichs, in a rather out-of-the-way place near Torzhok, to share with her his intense enjoyment in what he calls the free and informal Russian social intercourse—so different from the one he appreciated in Liverpool, where however he also had his mother as a guest. The "freedom" alluded to was a real compensation for what was lacking in the political sphere, a compensation that was to shrink, and almost to disappear after the Revolution. This explains that the study of Russia before the Revolution, as Mackenzie Wallace had noticed in 1870 already, depended upon the personality of the investigator. The give and take of a genial kind would loosen the tongues, perhaps even open the hearts.

The convulsion of 1917, when more than one important friend was to fall a victim, the advent of the Leninist cathartic operation seemed also to Harper at first a senseless butchery. But now we come to the transformation of that personal outlook, which for the sake of brevity we can call the lyrical and liberal approach to Russia, into something to be described not merely as historical but metahistorical. The material

illustrating that change is of a peculiar kind. As the editor admits, he and his assistant had to harmonise fragmentary memoirs with family letters and notes, as well as memoranda, relating them and supplying Samuel Harper's characteristic conversational tone.

The impression of this reviewer, who knew the author for a number of years, and stayed at his house in Chicago, can be formulated thus: The whole book reads as if it had been put before the public by Samuel Harper himself, in its simplicity and unassuming honesty, with a rare confession of errors and mistakes!

The subject matter is unusually vast, the whole a survey with a light benevolent touch. In no other book is the absence of an index more regrettable. It would register perhaps a thousand names of significance—Americans, Frenchmen, Germans, Englishmen, Russians, Norwegians, Swedes, Poles, Zionists, Syrians, Turks of all descriptions. Harper was a good mixer. In 1902 and 1903 he studied Russian at the Sorbonne and achieved the adaptation in English of the famous *Russian Reader* by Boyer and Speransky, published in Chicago in 1906. Russian history he studied under Klyuchevsky in Moscow, where he arrived on 4 February, 1904 (the day of the Japanese attack on Port Arthur). Thus he became a student of politics—inevitably, since the assassination of Witte's opponent Plehve, and the Zemstvo Congress with the Russo-Japanese War in the background, could not but fascinate him. After another year, dotted with revolutionary events of some magnitude—a general strike, mutinies in the army and the navy, and an armed rising in Moscow, his second visit in April, 1906, was still more interesting. He watched the First Duma. His powers of observation were trebled by his meeting with Pares, who was over ten years his senior, and who knew the country.

The field of observations was widened by contact with peasants, members of the Duma and by acceptance of the familiar beliefs of liberal reformers. "It was a little disconcerting to note the rapid spread of anarchy all over the country." Yet all whose minds worked according to European political experience (they were to be found even at the very top of the social ladder), had only one remedy—a modicum or somewhat bolder dose of liberal reforms. The Emperor himself was assured, and for a time accepted—though without great confidence—the view of "informed public opinion." Apart from the clairvoyant revolutionaries, who then appeared "empty and irresponsible," the optimism of liberal opinion was the daily bread—quite unrationed, although the revolutionary concussions showed the presence of endemic and highly discomfiting forces—discomfiting for the Western mind, whether in Russia or outside. The forces were accurately called the "peasant myth." The lyrical spirit endowed this myth with almost messianic prospects. To canalise the myth into forms known to the civilised world without adulterating its purity was the keynote of many a talk.

These foreign observers who, as mentioned before, had at any rate imbibed what Priestley has called the spirit of fraternity—not a post-

revolutionary product—could not remain immune. In London and Vienna statesmen visualised forebodings of a social revolution. Peter Stolypin spoke and acted, taking a stand for the defence of property. Bold dreams dissolved, but a tolerable reality was gained, which the “dioscuroi” acknowledged with many others, yet without satisfaction, and quite logically, since the means of restoring order were too drastic—martial law and summary jurisdiction. It was the time when L. Tolstoy, a friend-in-arms of Stolypin’s father, addressed the young Premier with his “I cannot remain silent”—a plea against the death penalty. Yet “these years 1907–1909 brought a certain progress to Russian life” (p. 55), and interest flags.

In 1908–1909 Harper accepted a fellowship at Columbia, in the Faculty of Political Science, and widened his horizon in talks with Mr. Rockefeller on the one hand and Emma Goldman, the anarchist, on the other. Then followed his teaching at Liverpool (1911–1913), as Pares’s assistant, with the Anglo-Russian *rapprochement* in the background. Closer contact with Russia follows in a study of the Russian areas which supplied America with immigrants. From September to the middle of October Harper made one of his most extensive journeys. “It was a hard trip but most valuable.”

Part V on the War and the Kerensky régime is interesting because of the various personalities mentioned, as well as of incidents, few of which were encouraging. Yet the student in politics was surprised by what the October–November Revolution meant to those believers in a more spirited prosecution of the war. “The United States simply overlooked the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and the new government, and spoke to the ‘Russian people’ over the heads of the Soviets” (p. 109). We note the following sentence “After the Bolshevik demand for a general democratic peace in November, 1917, the Allies were somewhat put to it to formulate their own war aims; and on 8 January, 1918, President Wilson announced his famous Fourteen Points.” “Innumerable incidents arose . . . On 8 August, 1918, President Wilson announced ‘aid’ to Russia.” “Russia becomes a difficult problem.” Harper took an active part at the State Department during the period of waiting (1921–1925) but the proclaimed faith in the Russian people, in their high character and their future remained the official formula, whatever its translation into anything more than hope that those promising Russian people should get rid of the maniacs who were posing as renovators of mankind.

In 1926 he was admitted to Russia to see for himself, and he found Moscow under the New Economic Policy quite tolerable. Many personalities, mostly foreigners, are mentioned. The sharp change of policy initiated by Stalin, formerly only the “party boss,” and the Five Year Plan did not affect in any way one conclusion, namely, “that the engineers would find working in Soviet Russia an entirely different matter from working in the United States; that they should have an adventurous spirit and a desire for new experiences.” Harper had a love both for his

subject and for the Russians, and he returned to see what Stalin's planning really was achieving. And here we have the recurrent penetration of the Russian atmosphere. The liberal charm had been broken by its inadequacy. The promised liberal Russia had vanished ' For the genuine Russian liberal it was harder to burn his idols the foreigner could do it since they were not the gods in his native land, but merely those meant to work miracles in Russia. Why not adopt them if their rule seemed acceptable to the young, to those who were trained in a new civic education, to whom the future would belong? "Despite the many examples of waste, inefficiency, and *human misery* (real outright cruelty—the liquidation of about a million of peasant households, p. 176) which we had encountered, I was inclined to feel that the first Five-Year Plan would be by no means a failure. Perhaps the positive factor which impressed me most strongly in 1930 was the great enthusiasm of the Young Communists, who were the products of that civic training which I had studied with such interest in 1926.¹ 'The utilisation of machinery for educative, as well as productive, purposes struck me as a significant political fact, which many had failed to take into account. . . . The class struggle side of the Five-Year Plan was constantly emphasised. . . . If one did not accept the principle of class struggle as a constructive force, the subordination of all policy to this principle would seem most short-sighted' (pp. 177-79).

In these important passages we have the authentic words of Harper. We shall see how this infection by the prevailing optimism among the young was bound to bring him to accept as logical consequences acts which, under other circumstances, and in any other country, he would have registered as unbelievable iniquities. The year 1936 showed him marked advances in the operation of collective agriculture; the piecework system of payment proved an effective incentive. The school system with better grounding and less indoctrination of Communism offered more education, and less propaganda. In the writing of history there was more freedom and more freedom of criticism within "the framework of the new socialist order." Two years later he summarised some of the Russian problems. Stalin was a dominant leader, not a dictator. He always related his position to the party. The new society was never rigidly outlined. The Revolution was intended to release new forces; and then, from experiments (often costly) and experience (often bitter) and mistakes (many of them) these new forces were to give the shape to things to come! (p. 243). The reader can see from these quotations how far Harper was won by the vista into the future and by certain aspects of the present.

The years 1937 and 1938 he calls sombre ones for the Russian specialist. Foreign correspondents were reduced in numbers, and in freedom to travel. Soviet newspapers became dull [*sic*!], and ranted against Trotskyites, etc. American and British scholars were obliged to leave Russia because

¹ Harper published his findings in *Civic Education in Soviet Russia*.

of the anti-foreign attitude. " . . . those damn trials in Moscow have had a devastating effect on the attitude of our public toward the Soviet system. . . . It looks as if some good wood were being included in the pruning, but I have enjoyed the removal of certain branches. . . ." Working on his textbook *The Government of the Soviet Union*, Harper was uncertain about his conclusions. He returned to Moscow in May, 1939. He could see the younger generation at work—better equipped, though more rough and ready than the old Bolsheviks. Others, studying on the spot, " were agreed with me that the Soviet system was strong internally . . . strengthened in many respects by the purge."

All these pronouncements are quite definite and show how " the forward look " has exercised its magic. Did even America lack vigour ? It seemed so ! How else can one explain the passage about Trotskyism having become mainly an American—a New York phenomenon—" which, if true, is a good thing for the peace of the world " ? (p 246).

The German-Soviet Pact of 23 August, 1939, is explained by the reserve or unfriendliness of Chamberlain, and even Bonnet. More completely does Harper identify himself with Soviet methods in the annexations and the Finnish war. " Russia acts alone." The march into Poland is sovietisation " along the pattern of the New Economic Policy, i.e. without collectivisation. The elements of the population that did not fit into the new Soviet order were handled roughly." This action, taken under the second pact with Germany, is accepted as a measure of military security. One feels an undertone of the author's old irritation with the anti-Bolshevik and anti-Russian attitude of the Poles—even the Polish socialists. The annexation of the Baltic States, whence " between 200,000 and 300,000 *recalcitrants* (italics ours) are said to have been sent east . . . means the establishment of a new régime of workmen, peasants and toiling intelligentsia " (p. 273).

The words used for measures amounting to extermination sound like a justification. Harper's transformation seems complete. The son of the humanist is unrecognisable.

After such a testimonial, there is no need to probe any further into what Harper would have found to condone in Moscow's proceedings. He does not oppose Eastern to Western standards but shows the East deliberately choosing between three systems. For nearly forty years he was in the habit of reporting unofficially, and sometimes officially, to the United States diplomatic representatives and to the State Department as an independent scholar, a " popularis," " honestly—credulous, liberal,"—who staked property and life for the watchwords of a programme. Harper was to discover that he had been fighting not for a reality " but for a phrase." To a Western observer he thus would have become a greater problem than the U.S.S.R. herself. He accepts every means, however cruel, that leads to the goal (or seems to), because the goal is so vast that its realisation can only be vaguely visualised.

The source of inspiration is no longer, as in the beginning of his (on

the whole) care free career, the charm of Russian, an intercourse, free and frank. That source had dried up. It was first the optimism of the young, as he himself says, but yet something indefinable must have moved him to proclaim a general pardon for the Soviet system. In Warsaw almost immediately he feels irritated. In Berlin under the Nazis . . . disturbed about the future, in the U.S.S.R. excited. In the Near East the Jewish cultural activities impressed him less than the statesmanship of Kemal Pasha, "one of the real statesmen of our period." Statecraft appeared to him bewitching only in the U.S.S.R.

The *Soviet Understanding*, which Richard Terrel (Heinemann, 1937) has very clearly analysed, appears in Harper, as probably in others of the same school of thought, rather as an intuition than as a systematic convincing doctrine. He knows the doctrine, but it is not the doctrine that has convinced him. He continued to live and act as a member of progressive America, but he was fascinated by the northern lights. It is perhaps intellectually nutritive material, but it is not turned into living matter. It will be praised as detachment of which only a foreigner is capable. Again and again Isocrates' remark to Philip of Macedonia comes to one's mind. The Greek can be persuaded, the barbarian must be compelled.

A MEYENDORFF.

Iskusstvo Perevoda (The Art of Translating). By K. I. Chukovsky; M.-L., 1936.

Vysokoe Iskusstvo (The Lofty Art). By Korney Chukovsky; M., 1941.

"A translation is like a woman: if it is beautiful it is unfaithful, if it is faithful it is unbeautiful."—Saying.

"It is not the words that must be translated, but the strength and the spirit."—Dryden (Quoted on p. 96 of the *Art of Translation*).

THESE two works by an author famous for his books and poems for children are in fact one work, *The Lofty Art* (though I can find no specific reference to this) being an enlarged and revised edition of the earlier *Art of Translation*. (The preface to the latter work speaks indeed of a still earlier essay written in 1919, "which for the present edition has been revised on the basis of new material"). Thus it seems to me that anyone who, having read and enjoyed *The Art of Translation*, without warning purchases *The Lofty Art* (or vice versa), must inevitably experience a certain disappointment. All the more since each book taken by itself is so magnificent. For one thing, they are among the funniest books I have read for years; and in these days how welcome, and how rare, is humour! I read *The Lofty Art* for the first time about two

years ago, and was reduced by it to tears of helpless laughter, despite the repetitions, the same tears flowed when I recently read *The Art of Translating*.

Why mistranslation should be so mirth-stimulating it is difficult to say, the explanation probably lies in the incongruity essential to all humour. That it is provocative of laughter is undeniable, as all who have had to mark piles of examination-papers, and found thereby some small consolation, will readily confirm. And Chukovsky treats this intrinsically humorous aspect of his subject with a dry and rather Shavian wit. (" . . . Editors have edited this tongue-tied rubbish, compositors have set it up, proof-readers have read it in proof, artists have illustrated it, readers have read it—and so far no one appears to have noticed that it is not a translation at all, but a criminal misuse of paper ! ")

Chukovsky's object is not, however (except perhaps by way of warning), to produce something funny. According to the preface to *The Art of Translating*, the book "pursues the modest aim of providing novice-translators with something like an A B C of their trade." The author further hopes that the book "will be of use not only to novice-translators but also to the wide circle of readers who, as consumers of artistic translations of foreign prose and verse, desire to make themselves familiar with the criteria by which they should be guided when passing judgment on translations."

Why Soviet translators must be able to make good translations, why Soviet readers must be able to judge translations critically, is explained by Chukovsky in the preface to *The Lofty Art*, where he says, with reference to conditions in the many-tongued Soviet Union, that "the question how to produce an artistic translation, formerly concerning only a very narrow circle of writers and philological specialists, has now become one of immense political significance, a question in which millions of people are vitally interested." Further, "with the growth of culture of the Soviet peoples, more and more importance is acquired by translations of world-literature." And Chukovsky asserts that in Soviet literature "there is being worked out and established a Soviet style of translation, a *scientific-artistic* style," much superior to anything before seen in Russia.

Nevertheless, even in his treatment of Soviet translations (mainly those of Shakespeare into Russian) Chukovsky's approach is perhaps critical and destructive rather than constructive. Most of his positive statements will meet with general approval; e.g. that a translator should reproduce "the artistic individuality of the writer he is translating in all the varieties of his style"; that minor mistranslations do not matter, provided the translator achieves the principal aim, which is "to reproduce in his text the temperament of the original author, his voice, his style"; that "the chief danger of bad translations is that they pervert not so much individual words and phrases as the very essence of the original"; that "a phonetic, aural reproduction of the text must be one of the main

concerns of translators", that nevertheless "every translated sentence should sound Russian, conforming to the logic and æsthetics of the Russian language," Tolstoy's translation of his French dialogue in *War and Peace* being cited as a masterpiece in this respect; that on the other hand "whenever this does not destroy the normal construction of Russian speech, the syntax of the original must be re-created with maximum accuracy," and so on. But I have a feeling that the "novice-translator" may remain in some uncertainty as to how he is to achieve these "lofty" aims. He may agree that Balmont's translations of Shelley result in "Poems by Shellmont"; that "for all his talent, Balmont's literary personality was so marked that he was incapable of reproducing the individuality of the other poet; and as his talent was foppish, in his hands Shelley became foppish", the moral would appear to be that a translator should not have a marked literary personality, or a foppish talent. The statement that "the principal tragedy of the art lies in this, that a translation nearly always embodies a libel on the original," while probably true, is depressing.

One tendency of translators which Chukovsky posits, and condemns, is that "they frequently make use of the texts they are handling to confirm or defend their own social position." This is because "every translator in fact translates *himself*, i.e. consciously or unconsciously reflects in his translation his own class-essence. . . . Longfellow, for instance, translated with amazing accuracy Frenchmen, and Germans, and Provençals, and Spaniards, and Turks; but read his translations one after the other, and before you will rise the figure of a bourgeois humanist-professor leading a comfortably respectable existence in genial alliance with the banks, churches and gaols of his decorous Puritan-State." Balmont's translations of Walt Whitman reflect "the struggle with the original which we observe whenever a writer belonging to one social stratum translates the works of a writer belonging to another social stratum." However, Chukovsky relents to the extent of conceding that "translations of older writers . . . may be made with a more objective and scientific accuracy." And, of course, "in the classless society of the future the work of translators will become much easier; there will no longer be these barriers (and sometimes barricades) between them and the original." As things are, "a translator should not set about translating authors who by their temperament and the nature of their gifts are alien or inimical to him."

Translators should have wide vocabularies; "they should take Théophile Gautier's celebrated advice and keep reading the dictionary," and while studying the Russian classics make a note of words which may come in useful; then they will be able to select the best of several quasi-synonyms to reproduce the "feel" of the original word. This is sound advice. So is the suggestion, too often disregarded, that "no one who is insensitive to style has the right to undertake translation."

"It would seem an easy matter," says Chukovsky, "to translate a

given author literally, without trying to improve and embellish him ; yet this is in fact so arduous a process that it requires to be long and assiduously studied. Here there is need for a systematic training of the will, a stern discipline of the mind. Only as the result of long practice will the translator learn to check his impulse to personal creation." Chukovsky goes on to speak of the " fatal urge to comment on and explain what seems to the translator unclear in the original. Let unclarity in the text remain unclear in the translation ; you may elucidate the point in a footnote, but the text must remain inviolate." Here I disagree with Chukovsky to this extent, that where unclarity may spring from the reader's unfamiliarity with the background of the original I think a slight manipulation of the text permissible, and certainly preferable to a bothersome footnote. On the other hand, no one could justify the divergences from the original found on every page of the 19th-century translations of Dickens by Irinarkh Vvedensky, many of which were clearly intentional and not due to his faulty knowledge of English ; of these Chukovsky gives amazing examples, ranging from the relatively innocuous " I printed a kiss on her cherry lips " for Dickens' " I kissed her " to such monstrous *otsebyatiny* as his personally contrived ending to Chapter 2 and beginning to Chapter 6 of *David Copperfield*.

Chukovsky goes on, to be sure, as follows : " It sometimes seems that in Vvedensky's translations Dickens is more Dickensian than in the original. This is of course an illusion ; but we shall always prefer Vvedensky's inaccurate translations to the accurate translations by other hands, for in fact his inaccurate translations are more accurate than the accurate ones which, while servilely serving up the letter of the text, reproduce neither the rhythm of the original, nor its intonation, nor its style " But in accordance with the demands of modern Soviet standards " the contemporary translator must renounce his individual peculiarities , he must learn to imitate alien gestures, intonations, poses, manners, forgetting his own Ego."

" Apart from talent," asserts Chukovsky, " the translator requires profound scientific knowledge in the field of linguistics, philology and history. . . . The Soviet reader . . . rejects the services of dilettanti, and demands that the mediators between him and foreign art shall be masters of translation who can guarantee a scientifically accurate translation." This is the ideal. In fact, Kuzmin's translation of *King Lear*, for instance, " is remarkable for its mutilation of the original text in eleven different ways." One of them arises from the contemporary insistence (condemned, and I think rightly, by the author) on " equilinearity " ; i.e. the principle that if the original contains 2,170 lines of verse the translation must consist of 2,170 lines, neither more nor less. This the author describes as an attempt to square the circle ; it causes Kuzmin to perpetrate his " third mutilation of Shakespeare ", which (as a result of the length of Russian words), amounts to converting the Bard's lines into " a sort of spasmodic bark." (The application of the principle of

equilinearity to translations from Russian into English would presumably result not in a bark but a yawn.)

In the interests of accuracy, Chukovsky suggests that before its appearance in print "every translation, no matter how good it may seem, should be carefully checked with the original by some competent person." This method is being adopted in Russia, but here too, as Chukovsky caustically points out, practice leaves much to be desired. For instance, the editor of a new edition of Vvedensky's translations passed things like the following. Dickens (translated by me from the Russian). "I wish you many happy returns"—Translation. "I wish that you may return as often as possible from the other world"; Dickens: "His heart is in the right place"—Translation. "Nevertheless he is an experienced fisherman", Dickens: "With her teeth"—Translation: "With both rows of gleaming teeth", Dickens: "The Major turned red"—Translation. "The Major puffed, turned blue, turned red, turned purple," and so on.

Chukovsky sets translators many hard tasks, and deals them many hard blows. For all that, it is very encouraging to find someone who considers translation worth doing, and worth doing well. Most of what Chukovsky says may be taken to heart by translators into English, thus applied, his principles may, I think, be summed up as follows: (1) The translator should understand the original. (2) He should translate into *English*.—Not all current translations satisfy both these fairly modest demands.

WALTER MORISON.

A NEW HISTORY OF RUSSIAN LITERATURE

Istoriya russkoy literatury. Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk S.S.S.R. Moscow-Leningrad, 1941.

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(Ed. by A. S. Orlov, F.S.A., Prof. V. P. Adrianova-Perets and Prof. N. K. Gudziy.)

Vol. III: *Literatura XVIII veka* (Part One); pp. 420. (Ed. by Prof. G. A. Gukovsky and Prof. V. A. Desnitsky.)

Vol. V: *Literatura pervoy poloviny XIX veka* (Part One); pp. 435. (Ed. by Prof. V. V. Hippus, Prof. V. A. Desnitsky and B. S. Meylakh.)

THIS new composite *History of Russian Literature*, due, it is said, to the initiative of the late Maxim Gorky, began to appear piecemeal during the War. It is sponsored by the Institute of Literature of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and is edited by an editorial committee headed by the well-known Communist critic, P. Lebedev-Polyansky, and consisting of two

famous writers (Sholokhov and the late Alexey N. Tolstoy) and several specialists in the history of literature, including Prof. A. S. Orlov, Prof. G. A. Gukovsky and Prof. N. K. Pksanov. Two or three editors are jointly responsible for each volume. The whole work was planned in ten volumes, vols I and II dealing with literature before 1680; vols. III and IV with 18th-century literature, vols. V to IX with literature of the 19th century, and vol. X with the period from 1890 to 1917. So far only vols. I, III and V have reached this country; whether any of the others have appeared I do not know.

To give a detailed estimate of such a vast and ambitious work in a short review would be impossible; and in any case it would be premature to judge of the work as a whole before seeing the other volumes. All that can be done here is to give the reader some idea of the underlying principles of the whole work and of the contents of the volumes under review. As the Editorial Committee rightly points out in its Introduction, this is the first attempt to give a scholarly interpretation of the entire process of evolution of Russian literature, embodying the fruits of most recent research. Naturally enough, the editors in their general approach are guided by "marxist-leninist ideology." The names of several of the editors and of many individual contributors to this collective *History* offer, however, a sufficient guarantee of sound scholarship. To quote from the Introduction to the whole work, "The general idea of this *History of Russian Literature* is. (1) to show up Russian literature, on the basis of rich, and often new, factual material, as one of the advanced literatures of the world, (2) to outline the complex and contradictory process of interaction between Russian literature and world literature, while disclosing at the same time the ideological and artistic originality of Russian imaginative literature; (3) to present the literary-historical process in its social conditioning and normality, and to trace the class differentiation and the struggle of literary schools and currents; (4) to elucidate the significance of literary heritage for Socialist civilisation." While realising the impossibility of fully living up to their ideal, the editors have aimed at the greatest possible unity of treatment and even style.

Each volume is subordinated to a more or less unified plan and contains a general Introduction giving the historical, cultural and linguistic background of the respective period, and a number of chapters dealing either with individual *genres* and forms of literature (in the earlier volumes) or with individual authors and schools (in the 18th- and 19th-century volumes). Here is, for example, the table of contents of vol. I (11th to early 13th century):

Introduction.

- Ch. I: Historical Survey
- Ch. II: Art in the Kievan period
- Ch. III: Culture and literary language in Kiev Russia

Translated literature of the 11th to early 13th cent.

- Ch. I General estimate
- Ch. II Stories from the Bible
- Ch. III Apocrypha
- Ch. IV Hagiographic literature
- Ch. V Byzantine historical literature
- Ch. VI Tales
- Ch. VII Collections of moral and philosophical aphorisms
- Ch. VIII Christian hymnography
- Ch. IX Patristic literature
- Ch. X Scientific works

Russian literature of the 11th to early 13th cent.

- Ch. I General estimate
- Ch. II Folklore of the Kievan period
- Ch. III Early chronicle
- Ch. IV Vladimir Monomakh's *Charge*
- Ch. V Regional chronicles
- Ch. VI Lives of Saints
- Ch. VII Patristic literature
- Ch. VIII Travels
- Ch. IX *Slovo o polku Igoreve*

In vol. III (18th century down to Sumarokov) there is a similar general Introduction; one of its chapters (written by G. Vinokur) deals with Russian literary language in the first half of the 18th century. But there are also chapters devoted entirely to individual authors and their place in the literature of the period (Feofan Prokopovich, Kantemir, Trediakovsky, Lomonosov, Sumarokov and his school). In the later volumes the work of individual authors is discussed as a whole, even when it offers great variety and is spread over a long period: thus Tolstoy will have a chapter to himself covering the whole of his activity in vol. IX. This interferes, of course, with the purely chronological order, but there is much to be said in favour of this method.

In the first chapter of the Introduction to the 18th-century volume Prof. Beletsky discusses the interesting problem of the relation between 18th-century Russian literature and the preceding period. Modern Russian scholars have rightly discarded the traditional conception of 18th-century Russian literature as purely imitative and at the same time new, that is, having no roots in the pre-Petrine period. Prof. Beletsky is at great pains to place various trends in 18th-century literature in their proper perspective.

Vol. V covers a comparatively short period of 19th-century literature. The only individual authors dealt with at some length here are Karamzin, Dmitriev, Ozerov, Krylov, Izmaylov, Narezhny, Zhukovsky, Batyushov and Gnedich. But a large space is given to social, political and cultural background of the period from 1789 (a somewhat arbitrary

and questionable date chosen to begin this period) to 1820, to periodical literature, to literary societies and to the echoes of the 1812 War in literature. The following volume (VI) was to be devoted to the Pushkin period, with Pushkin himself as the central figure.

Allowing for a certain general bias governing the whole work, which may not be acceptable to everybody, one must welcome this work as a sound and serious attempt at a synthesis of Russian literary history.

All three volumes here reviewed are lavishly illustrated.

GLEB STRUVE.

Literaturnoe Nasledstvo : Lermontov, I. Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R., Moscow, 1941.

IN 1920 Alexander Blok ended his article on Lermontov with the words, "A full appreciation of the poet, founded not on fragile, personal impressions—even though these may be shared by many—but on a firm, scholarly basis, is still a thing of the future." The present work, the first of two volumes in the series "*Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*," published by the Academy of Sciences on the centenary of Lermontov's death, is an admirable proof of the serious and thorough attention which Russian scholars have given to this task in the last twenty-five years.

In the history of Russian literature Lermontov ranks next to Pushkin ; yet until the last ten years there was much that remained obscure in his life and works. The paucity of documentary material relating to his private life, his literary connections and the original inspiration of his works, his premature death at the age of 26 at a critical moment in the evolution of his genius, and the mystery surrounding his death were (and to a great extent still are) difficulties with which biographers and critics have had to contend.

Of his wide correspondence only about fifty letters in his hand have been preserved. Until I. Andronikov discovered Lermontov's infatuation for N. F. Ivanova, in 1936, two poems now conclusively proved to have been addressed to her were believed to have been dedicated to V. A. Lopuchina. For purposes of publication the text of his poem *Valerik* was usually printed from a rough draft, heavily scored and corrected, some lines of which are indistinct. No other complete version appeared to have been extant, until in 1939 V. S. Nechaeva discovered a version in the archives of Lermontov's friend, Yu. F. Samarin.¹ The manuscript of the *Demon*, from which the 1856 edition was published at Karlsruhe, was considered lost until 1938, when A. Mihailova made the discovery of two versions, one apparently an intermediate one, anterior to 1838, the other the original of the Karlsruhe edition.² There is also the strong possibility that some of his album verses may still be unknown. In 1838 Lermontov wrote to M. A. Lopuchina, "All these people whom I criticised in my verses are trying to overwhelm me with flattery. The prettiest

¹ "M. Yu. Lermontov, Stat'i i Materialy." Sotsekgiz, 1939.

² *Vide Noveshie Materialy o Lermontove*, S. Ivanov, Noviy Mir, 1941, Nos 7-8.

women are begging me to write them verses, and boast of them as of triumphs." Three such poems, unautographed but almost unmistakably by him, have come to light recently; others may be awaiting recognition.³

Until 1939 little was known of Lermontov's early years (1820-1830) spent in the Moscow Universitetsky Blagorodnyi Pansion, of his relations with the aristocratic circle of society in the 1830's, with the slavophiles, and with contemporary writers. Even his movements on receiving news of Pushkin's duel and death, significant in that these news inspired him to write his *Death of a Poet* and earned him a sentence of exile in the Caucasus, were inaccurately recorded. New material has fortunately now dispelled or confirmed some assumptions and filled in some of the gaps. Nevertheless much in his life and background is still necessarily conjectural, and for this reason the time and circumstances in which certain of his works were first projected, and consequently their significance in the development of his literary powers, are as yet undetermined.

The editors of the present volume, aware of the problems that still await solution and of the lack of any standard works on Lermontov, wisely decided to depart from their usual procedure in this series, i.e. the presentation of hitherto unpublished material on literature from the writings of Marxist-Leninist classics and of discoveries relating to the literary activities of Russian writers. They have instead published a number of critical articles on Lermontov. In a little over 800 pages of quarto size some of the foremost scholars have examined his work in the light of recent investigations.

The first article, "The Literary Position of Lermontov," by B. Eichenbaum, summarizes the results of recent research, laying particular emphasis on the philosophical and political background of Russia in the 1820-1830's, and on Lermontov's early attraction to Schiller and the philosophy of Schelling. Mr. Eichenbaum traces the development of Lermontov from abstract philosophical conceptions to psychological realism and sociological psychology, with special reference to his prose. In discussing the poet's connection with the slavophiles and their collections of folk poetry, he makes the interesting suggestion that if he wrote the poem after the death of Pushkin and before his arrest, Lermontov may have deliberately turned to the past in his *Pesnya pro Kuptsa Kalashnikova*, choosing a theme which would show his dissatisfaction with his own times. There are some grounds for this supposition in the light of N. L. Brodsky's discovery of S. A. Raevsky's articles on folklore, and the strong probability that the *Pesnya* was not written without Raevsky's participation. This would place the date prior to Lermontov's arrest and would seem to indicate that the illness of which Lermontov appears to have written in his letter on the *Pesnya* was misunderstood either by Kraevsky or Viskovatov (quoting Raevsky), and may have been meant to refer to the illness which kept Lermontov at home on the days following Pushkin's death.

³ Vide *Noveishie Materialy o Lermontove*, S. Ivanov, Noviy Mir, 1941, Nos 7-8.

V. Asmus in *The Scope of Lermontov's Ideas*, reaffirms the poet's belief in the importance of will and action, and attempts to reconcile this with his fatalism. Little has been written of Lermontov's positive values, and this article is a welcome addition. Another aspect of the poet's convictions is given in L. Grossman's *Lermontov and the Culture of the East*, which analyses his Oriental interests and themes. A significant section is that dealing with Lermontov's early play, *Ispantsy*, in which the author sees the influence of the trial, from 1823-1834, of the Jews of Velizh, accused of murdering Christian children.

Six articles are devoted to Lermontov's verse. In *Lermontov's Work and Western Literature* A. Fedorov attempts to bring some order into the mass of conflicting suggestions as to the influences exercised over Lermontov. He indicates the advisability of replacing the elastic term "influence" by the more sober expression "literary tie," and distinguishing between translation and imitation, influence, the borrowing of some particular element and coincidence, due to parallel poetic evolution and similarity of environment. He also points out that in dealing with Lermontov it is important not to neglect national traditions, such as the Byronic tradition in Russia. Working from this, Fedorov first lists the number of "influences" hitherto suggested, then proceeds to a careful analysis of them, rejecting those which are insufficiently substantiated, and tracing the development of the poet's interest in Western literature against the literary background of Russia. An admirable article by I. Rõzanov classifies the different metres and rhyming patterns used by Lermontov with reference to other examples of similar constructions in the works of contemporaries.

Lermontov's use of folklore, culminating in his *Pesnya pro Kuptsu Kalashnikovu* is one of the most important aspects of his work. M. Azadovsky in *Lermontov's Folklorism* and M. Shtokmar in *Traditions of Folk-Poetry in Lermontov's Work* deal respectively with his approach to folklore and with the metrical patterns and vocabulary in the *Pesnya*. The two remaining articles are of a more general nature. G. Vinogradov gives some interesting information on the penetration of Lermontov's works into the repertoire of peasant songs; while L. Pumpiansky, differentiating between the two basic themes of Lermontov's poetry, that of solitude, which he considers to be the expression of "a vast, unspent, social love" and that of *narodnost'*, co-ordinates and elaborates some of the views already expressed by B. Eichenbaum and H. Ginsburg, proving that these themes are treated by Lermontov in two separate styles and forms of verse structure.

Two articles deal specifically with Lermontov's prose. As the title of B. Tomashevsky's *Lermontov's Prose and Western European Traditions in Literature* indicates, his article draws a parallel between the prose works of Lermontov—*Vadim*, *Princess Ligovskaya* and *A Hero of Our Times*—and similar themes in the works of contemporary French novelists. In *Vadim*, he finds echoes of Chateaubriand, Hugo, and Balzac's *Les*

Chouans, in *Princess Ligovskaya* of Jules Janin's *Chemin de Traverse* and in *A Hero of Our Times* of Charles de Bernard's *Gerfaut*. In how far the two latter influences were directly responsible for similar passages in Lermontov's work and in how far Lermontov was conforming to the general principles of the analytical "reflective" novel of society is difficult to determine in the absence of any positive evidence.

Lermontov's Prose Style by V. Vinogradoff traces with conscientious thoroughness the various devices used, and their origin and their development in the poet's hands. By comparing these, together with Lermontov's vocabulary and rhythmic structures, with the achievements of his predecessors and contemporaries, he indicates the relationship of Lermontov's prose to the general development of the novel in Russia. The article is lucidly and fascinatingly written and gives an admirable picture of the period of the 1820-1830's, when the Russian novel was first emerging from obscurity.

V. Komarovich's *Autobiographical basis of "Mascarad"* analyses the evolution of this, the best of Lermontov's dramas, and reveals how his growing attraction towards realism and social satire here, as in his verse and novels, gradually came to overshadow all other elements.

The volume ends with two articles on Lermontov and Russian literary criticism. The first, *Lermontov and Russian criticism of the '40's*, by N. Mordovchenko, presents a conclusive case for identifying the journalist of Lermontov's poem, *Zhurnal'ist, chitatel' i pisatel'*, with Polevoy. The second article, by Ya. El'sberg, *Lermontov as appreciated by the Revolutionary Democrats*, systematises the opinions expressed by Belinsky, Herzen, Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov.

This volume cannot naturally be regarded as the final word on Lermontov. As the editorial preface admits, only the most important aspects of his work are discussed, and although there is general unanimity as far as general conclusions are formed, there are differences of opinion on separate points, especially in the question of influences and original inspiration. Nevertheless, it achieves what is most necessary at this stage in the study of Lermontov—a scholarly co-ordination and analysis both of existing material and of Lermontov's works, and of the relation of Lermontov to his period. Not the least valuable part of this book is the emphasis laid on the social and literary background against which he wrote. The old manner of isolating Lermontov from his epoch was one that led to grave misjudgements in the past.

The book is beautifully illustrated, not only with numerous reproductions of Lermontov's own drawings, but also with reproductions of illustrations to his works by Vasnetsov, Vrubel' and Repin, stage costumes, stage and film-sets designed for the presentation of his works. In view of the complexity of the subject-matter and the interest of the drawings, an index to both would not have come amiss.

The contents of the second volume, which is not yet available, are listed at the end. These are in line with the policy of *Literaturnoe*

Nasledstvo, the publication of new material on or by Russian writers. They include three newly found letters by Lermontov, the original text of the Karlsruhe version of *Demon*, fresh data on Lermontov's school-days and his social life among the aristocratic circles of the 1830's and on his relations with his publisher, Kraevsky (editor and publisher of the journal *Notes of the Fatherland*), against whom there has long reigned an unaccountable prejudice. Of particular interest should be the recent discoveries with regard to Lermontov's duel with Barant and his fatal duel with Martynov.

In 1938 P. A. Efimov in an article under the title of *Duel or Murder*,¹ discussed the duel between Lermontov and Martynov according to contemporary duelling rules, and came to the conclusion that Martynov had deliberately murdered his opponent. From letters of contemporaries written at the time of Lermontov's death and from police documents on the case, published in 1939,² it seems clear that Lermontov's apology was refused, whereupon he fired into the air. Then Martynov walked up to the barrier and shot him. This was the current version in 1841, which is further confirmed by letters and documents included in the second volume of *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*. Martynov's behaviour, not only at the time of the duel, but also during the trial that followed, in which he consistently lied in order to throw the blame on Lermontov, was utterly despicable; yet to call Lermontov's death, as the preface of *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo* states, "a finely masked political murder" is surely to attribute a degree of political premeditation to Martynov which is unfounded.

NINA BRODIANSKY.

Nekrasov v russkoy kritike. Ed. A. Egolin; Ogoz. Goslitizdat, 1944.

MR. EGOLIN, himself author of a short critical biography of Nekrassov,³ has here grouped together a selection of articles written on him by eminent Russian thinkers and scholars. The scope of the book is wider than its title suggests, for the author has not confined himself to assembling the appreciations of leading revolutionary democrats, such as Pisarev, Zaitsev, Plekhanov and Lunacharsky, but has also introduced a personal note by including Chernyshevsky's Reminiscences of Nekrassov, his corrections of the posthumous edition of Nekrassov's works (S.P.B. 1879) which abounded in mistakes, and two letters from him to the poet. These Reminiscences and letters are significant not only because they describe the circumstances under which Chernyshevsky became associated with the *Sovremennik*, of which Nekrassov was the co-editor, and testify to the intimacy between the two writers, they also throw a new light on Nekrassov's character, and refute the accusation of despotic miserliness alleged against him by some biographers. Finally,

¹ *Oktjabr'*, 1938, No 7.

² M Yu Lermontov, *Stat'i i Materialy*, Sotsekgiz, 1939

³ *Kritiko-biografichesky otchet o Nekrasove*, A. Egolin, M., 1941.

about half the book is devoted to extracts from a number of articles on various aspects of Nekrassov's work by P. Sakulin, V. Evgeniev-Maximov, K. Chukovsky, N. Andreev, and B. Buchstab, first published between 1922 and 1938.

As Egolin points out in his introductory chapter (the first part of which is reproduced from his book)¹ Nekrassov is perhaps one of the most controversial figures in Russian literature. Until the revolution he was labelled a "civic poet," and his poetic genius was almost completely ignored. Only since the 1920's has his reputation as a poet been established beyond dispute, chiefly owing to the work done on him by the Formalists. There were several reasons for this delay in his recognition. They were partly due to his own diffidence and partly to the very nature of his poetry. In his poems he laments that in his heavy, awkward verse there is no free poetry—he calls his Muse a Muse "of vengeance and of grief", and in *Poet i Grazhdanin* he states that though a poet's verse may drag, yet he should still strive to write of national ills, because only thus can he be what his country most needs—a citizen. Thus Nekrassov himself bade his contemporaries judge him not as a poet but as a "civic poet"—by the content of his poems. As a result, his reputation was at the mercy of the political views of his critics, and since he wrote mercilessly of the liberals and reactionaries, they did not spare him. The championship afforded him by the utilitarian school of critics, headed by Pisarev and Zaitsev, who rejected æsthetics in favour of the depiction of social and political evils, was an obstacle rather than an asset. He wrote too at a time when Tyutchev and Fet were producing exquisitely chiselled lyrical poems, and his critics pointed out, by contrast, occasional irregularities of his metre, and his lapses into melodrama. The extraordinary beauty of his shorter lyrical poems, penetrated with melancholy, his remarkable use of folklore and peasant speech, based on patient, painstaking observation, were disregarded. Nor did his critics realise that in the variety of his rhythms, in his experiments in folklore and contemporary folk poetry, he was developing with no less artistry what Pushkin and Lermontov had begun to do.

Even the admirers of his subject matter were not altogether faultless in their appraisal. Plekhanov, for example, saw in him a purely negative poet, who sang of the patience and resignation of the peasant. Resignation there certainly was; but for Nekrassov, who wrote of it, it was no virtue. He rejoiced at every evidence of an independent spirit, and looked forward to the day when this spirit would manifest itself openly among the masses. The reason for the moderateness of his views in this respect lies in the rigid censorship of his time. How irksome and dangerous this control was can be seen from Chernyshevsky's account of the storm raised by his incautious publication of *Poet i Grazhdanin* in 1856 in the *Sovremennik*, during Nekrassov's absence abroad—and from Nekrassov's own letters.

¹ *Kritiko-biografichesky otchet o Nekrasove*, A. Egolin, M., 1941, Ch. XI

Among the few criticisms that can be levelled against Nekrassov is perhaps that he was least successful in his attempts to portray the heroines of the aristocracy in his *Russkie Zhenshchiny*. He took endless trouble to obtain detailed information on the journey to Siberia, and on the experiences of Princess Troubetskoy and Princess Volkonsky, changing character and incidents for greater effect. Nevertheless they possess an artificiality which is all the more surprising by its absence from the rest of his poetry.

In his excellent introductory article the editor deals with the history of Nekrassov's reputation, comments on the selections included in this volume and dispels some of the errors of judgement passed on him. The book ends with a brief synopsis of Nekrassov's life and a bibliography. It is to be regretted that an extract from Chukovsky's analysis of Nekrassov's metres is not among the articles, since this is frequently a stumbling block to those who are only slightly acquainted with Russian prosody. However, as it stands, this book is stimulating and instructive not only to those who wish to study Nekrassov, but to anyone interested in literary criticism and in the interplay of literature and politics in 19th-century Russia.

NINA BRODIANSKY.

Gosudarstvennii Bvudjet S.S.S.R. By N. N. Rovinsky; Gosfinizdat, Moscow, 1944, pp. 381, 21 roubles.

THIS book by Professor Rovinsky is designed as a textbook in connection with "a special applied course" in financial-economic institutes in the U.S.S.R. dealing with State income and with "budgetary planning and financing." As such it is almost entirely a descriptive work, and falls somewhere between what in this country would be classified as a university textbook and a technical handbook. Clearly written, and illustrating its main points with numerous statistical and arithmetical examples, it provides a good deal of detail which is of interest to the specialised student of Soviet economy. Attached to each of the main sections of the book is a brief bibliography, referring to the chief books and articles dealing with these aspects of the subject in greater detail: in nearly all cases literature quite unknown to this country and absent from libraries, so far as the reviewer is aware.

The scope of the book is considerably different from what an English reader might suppose from its title: an interesting witness to the fact that the budget in Soviet economy is regarded, not as something boxed within the limits of 19th-century notions of State expenditure and revenue, but as crowning the edifice of the Financial Plan of the economy as a whole. Little or nothing is said about particular taxes and sources of revenue or about the categories of State expenditure. Nor is it a textbook about the principles of public finance in the manner of English or German textbooks on the subject; although a section (a very short one of 26 pages)

entitled "The Composition of the State Budget of the U.S.S.R." refers to some of the principles on which the budget is based. Rather is it a handbook of financial grants to the economic system and of the drawing up of the credit plan; and the financial plans of economic enterprises have pride of place. One is reminded of the old school of Cameralist writers—in up-to-date clothes.

At times an English reader will wish that the author had said more about principles and less about the details of administrative practice, and had analysed and generalised his subject matter rather more. Clear and concise though the exposition is, there are times (particularly in the second half) when one feels that the wood is getting lost in the trees. But these complaints may amount simply to the vain wish that the book had been written for a purpose other than that for which it was designed. Nevertheless, there are some illuminating points touching more general notions which will be of interest to English economists: for example, there is an interesting discussion of the method of calculating the "normative" of working capital to which an enterprise is entitled, and the relation between this "normative" and the "period of production." The system of planning costs and prices, and the relation between planned profits and actual profits and the destination of the latter, are described and illustrated with a number of examples. There is less about the turnover tax and the part it plays both in pricing and in State revenue than the reviewer himself could have wished. But this lack is compensated for by some concluding chapters which speak about the important matter of budgetary control and the part which "financial discipline" plays in the actual physiology of the system. Earlier in the book the author has made this statement about the financial plan, which illustrates something of the perspective from which financial questions are viewed. "Being a synthesis of all quantitative and qualitative indices of the production plan, the financial plan needs to serve as a guiding document for each enterprise in its day-to-day work. With the aid of the financial plan the State controls (steers) the productive and financial activity of economic organisations."

M. H. DOBB.

Actors Across the Volga. By Joseph Macleod; Allen & Unwin, London, 1946.

MR. MACLEOD has wrestled valiantly with his material, but the outcome is never in question. In both parts of his book, particularly in the first part, he is no match for the difficult task his welcome enthusiasm has prompted him to undertake.

His musings on the 19th-century Russian theatre are intended to provide some historical background for a study of the Soviet theatre in wartime. Unfortunately, ignorance of the early development of the

Russian theatre, arbitrary emphasis on unimportant detail coupled with striking omissions of important fact, too often combine to make Mr. Macleod's reflections irrelevant and his generalisations rash.

Thus to attribute the invention of "patriotic drama" to Nicholas I is to ignore completely the panegyric plays of Peter I's and succeeding reigns. Peter, in particular, fully realised the propaganda value of dramatising contemporary events and his victories figure largely in the elaborate performances of the Moscow Slavonic Greco-Latin Academy. It was, in fact, on this very issue that the German company imported in 1702 to act in the first public theatre in Russia came to grief: it could provide only a conventional repertoire instead of the patriotic and topical plays that Peter demanded.

In Chapter II we are given a fleeting glimpse of "slave" [*sic*] theatres in the provinces, but no reference is made to the most famous of them all, the Ostankino theatre of the Sheremetevs. Situated on the outskirts of Moscow, it has been preserved as a theatre-museum for the delight and instruction of both student of history and the theatre. Here, in cross-section, is the paradox of a theatre founded on and maintained by serf labour, which could challenge comparison with professional theatres at home and abroad. Ostankino, the finest of several Sheremetev theatres, was the passionate hobby of Count N. P. Sheremetev, admirer of Rousseau and owner of 210,347 souls. It now remains a lasting monument to those serf architects, engineers, musicians, actors, producers, and translators, who made the designs and scripts so lavishly imported from Paris a vehicle for their Russian talent, and whose names and achievements have been rescued from obscurity by recent research.¹

A digression on the Ukrainian theatre begins impressively with a learned reference to interludes performed in a village near Lvov in 1619. It then skips two centuries with an evasive sentence on the drama of the Church schools. Without an understanding of the importance of Kiev as a centre of learning it is impossible to estimate the far-reaching influence of scholastic drama, which spread from Kiev to towns as far apart and different in character as Rostov, Chernigov, Tobolsk, Tver, Yaroslavl, Smolensk, Moscow. Not only did the Russians first learn to write plays in the ecclesiastical schools and academies: it was there also that they first learnt to stage and act them. In fact, although in the late 17th and early 18th century foreign tutors and plays were imported to instruct the Russians, the drama of the schools had deeper roots and an influence on the theatrical sense of ordinary people which Mr. Macleod has missed. Russia's first two great actors, Volkov and Dmitrevskoy, graduated from a provincial amateur theatre clearly modelled on the scholastic pattern. In the comic interludes of scholastic drama, drawn from life, and often composed and acted by wandering students for village folk, we can already see traces of that feeling for local colour and character

¹ Н. А. Елизарова, «Театры Шереметевых». Издание останкинского дворца-музея, Москва, 1944

which was later to give such crowded richness to Russian literature and such evocative power to Russian acting.

Mr. Macleod refers to the Petrovsky theatre in Moscow and to celebrated 18th-century actors who performed there. It is a great pity that he omits a fact of outstanding interest to English readers, namely, that the moving spirit of the Petrovsky theatre was an Englishman. Michael Maddox, graduate of Oxford, came to Russia in 1766, and the tradition propagated by his descendants has it that he was tutor in physics and mathematics to Paul I. In 1776 he appears in Moscow as entrepreneur in a theatre which, rebuilt on Petrovka after destruction by fire in 1780, was known as the Petrovsky theatre. Maddox's theatre, neither "slave" nor "imperial," could boast of an ambitious repertoire which included plays by Lessing, Schiller, Voltaire, Molière, and the Russian dramatists, Sumarokov and Fonvizin. His actors were often the most distinguished of their time, and in 1806, a year before Maddox finally ended his work in Moscow, many of them went over to a newly formed "Imperial" company which was to form the nucleus of the Moscow Maly Theatre.

I cannot help wondering how Gorky would have regarded Mr. Macleod's footnote on Leskov (p. 89). For it was Gorky who, in acknowledging his debt as a writer to Leskov, said of him, "He is an altogether outstanding writer with a profound knowledge and subtle understanding of Russian life, a writer whose contribution to our literature has still not received the recognition it deserves."¹ Mr. Macleod will find a sober and informative appreciation of Leskov's work in a recent monograph by the Soviet critic, Leonid Grossman.²

In his chronicle of the wartime evacuation of theatres from Moscow, Leningrad and the Ukraine, Mr. Macleod has done his best to give some life and feeling to a long catalogue of names of people, places, plays. Second-hand, so much detail obscures rather than reveals the facts. What does emerge and is rightly emphasised is the vitality and strength of a theatre which so quickly adapted itself to the manifold demands of total war over a vast area. Theatres were evacuated, but theatrical brigades moved up to the front and spread through the Urals to the industrial rear. Most sympathetic is Mr. MacLeod's account of the lively and fruitful intercourse between outstanding producers from the war areas and the theatres of the outlying republics. No one who has seen the amalgam of races and cultures which goes to make up U.S.S.R. can doubt that free and creative interaction between them will give an even greater richness and diversity to the Russian theatre.

So little has been written on the Russian theatre in English that every new work sets a standard. Mr. Macleod's standard does less than justice both to his subject and his own very real love of the theatre.

BERTHA MALNICK.

¹ М. Горький, «Избранные литературно-критические статьи» (стр. 248). Гос. издательство худ. литературы. Москва, 1941.

² Леонид Гроссман, «Н. С. Лесков» Гослитиздат, 1945.

Grammaire de la Langue Polonaise. By Henri Grappin, Paris, 1942, in the "Collection de grammaires de l'Institut d'Études slaves."

ONE cannot help feeling a little disappointed on being told in the preface to this excellent work that historical explanations are lacking, but these are promised in another work by the author. Professor Grappin's descriptive grammar of Polish is larger and more ambitious than its predecessor, which appeared in 1921 as the first in the series of valuable works written by the French slavists. The Meillet-Grabowska grammar is out of print and difficult to obtain, so an enlarged and improved handling of the subject is most welcome.

In the description of the phonetics there are several useful points about assimilation and dissimilation. The modern form *maszerować* for the older *marszerować*—*marcher* is an interesting parallel in consonantal dissimilation to *ojcostwo*, pronounced and written thus, in place of the old form *ojcowstwo*. The pronunciation of the nasal vowels is not fully represented. *Będzie* is *bendzie*, *ką* is *kont*, but a note on "ą" and "ę" before labials, like *zab*—*zomp*, *sep*—*semp* might have been given. The vowels, in positions such as *reka*, *rak*, require some comment, so does *ń* in words like *pański*, *hetmański*. The last paragraph on phonetics dealing with stressed prepositions explains adequately why one says *wziął go za nos* but *wodni go za' nos*. More examples would strengthen this good point.

The complicated morphology of the nominal declension is given with a mass of detail. Vowel alternations of the *zab*—*zęba* pattern are the general rule, but deviations are frequent, the student of Polish will soon meet words like *pogląd*, *sąd*, *prąd*, etc., where the alternation does not take place. It might have been advisable to list the limited number of nouns ending in labial consonants in which the soft declension prevails. Who would guess that the word *karp* has genitive *karpia*? It is hardly sufficient to inform the reader that nominatives ending in a labial do not of themselves indicate the nature of the final consonant, and it does not help to say that these "soft" labials were once denoted by an accent; such accents are now never found in Polish texts. The survivals of the ancient nominative-accusative are quoted; they might have been more convincingly explained by referring to the conservative power of the preposition in fixed standard phrases. All these remnants are prepositional locutions, viz. *za pan brat*, *na miły Bóg*, *siadać na koni*, *na święty Michał*, *iść za mąż*, etc. The general rule that the preposition preserves such archaisms is borne out by the survival of similar remnants in other Slavonic languages. Professor Grappin has made more of the reverse process than is usually found in descriptive grammars, and rightly so, as Polish makes a fairly extensive use of the device of animating inanimate nouns. Such cases, by the very nature of the thought-process justifying their existence, always have an "a" genitive-accusative; *Znaleźć grzyba*, *rydza*, are good examples. *Zjeść muchomora* might well

be associated with them. In listing the substantives taking "a" or "u" in the genitive singular, the author might leave the unwary reader with the impression that *wołu* could be used as an accusative. One must of course say *widzę woła*. The absence of historical explanation makes a distinction between *kotu* and the proper name *Kotowi* quite intangible. In the mixed declension of the masculines in "a," there is no mention of the factor governing the retention of the original feminine terminations in the singular, and the predominance of the characteristically masculine terminations in the plural. The principle is well illustrated that the singular, normally far more used than the plural, possesses a more tenacious conservatism. Plurals tend to take on the predominant normal gender-endings, e.g. *wojewoda*, acc. *wojewodę*, pl. *wojewodzi*, and better still, *wojewodowie*. The survival of the old instrumental plurals could be explained by showing that the need for distinguishing between the accusative and instrumental is not so strongly felt in the examples quoted; these are all associated with a declined word, rendering the now normal "ami" termination not absolutely necessary, viz. *wszelkimi sposoby, dobranymi wyrazy*. Neuter nouns of the *ciąg* type are tending to follow the Russian pattern of words in *ЕНОК* *Kociątko, orlątko, kurczątko*, etc. are more likely to be used in modern Polish than *kocię, orlę, kurczę*.

In the adjectival declension the *ym-em* or *ymi-emi* argument is mentioned. The reformed orthography prescribes *ym* for masculine and neuter, *ymi* for the plural. The "e" forms, however, abound in literature and are still written by many Poles. The important point is that "y" is the correct standard pronunciation and an "e" sound is a visual affectation. It is good to see *lekki-lżejszy* explained rationally as a normal formation from the *lg-leg* stem.

The three accusatives *tę, tą, tamtą* are distinguished. The persistence of *tę*, in face of the growing strength of *tą*, can probably be justified by the fact that *tę* is a stressed monosyllable; in *tamtą* it is not, and this is the only form in use. Is it sufficient to tell readers who are presumably without historical knowledge of the language that "the t of ten becomes ć before i"? Had the original form *t*, without the secondary *en*, been mentioned, the personal masculine plural and the rest of the adjectival declension of the word present no difficulty. The same thing applies to the anaphoric pronoun. It is impossible to explain *jego, jemu*, etc., let alone such combinations as *nań, zań, weń, przedzeń*, without reference to the original form *j ja je*.

The chapter on the use of the cases and the prepositions is very good. *Wczoraj* is rightly quoted with the examples of the temporal genitive and *dnie* as a locative singular in the phrase "*we dnie i w nocy*." The numerals are treated in the orthodox manner, but unfortunately they remain the same intricate problem as ever. It would be most valuable if some competent scholar would at last present us with a really convincing theory about some of the strange antics of the Polish numerals. The author

includes the anomalous genitive plural *razy* in the chapter on numerals, without comment on the form. *Króć* is also given without comment.

The section on word-formation contains some interesting facts about the modern tendency of the language regarding the suffixes *ma-owa* and *anka-ówna*. *Kim* is coupled with *yni*, actually *kim* is a double suffix—*ka* + *yni*. Ample analogy for this process is seen in the reinforced diminutives. *Matka* is given with a note on the absence of diminutive value. An interesting point might have been made in this section about the originally diminutive forms *ojciec*, *serce*, *owca*, etc. One of the reasons why these have entirely supplanted the earlier forms is that the shorter words could not maintain themselves in Slavonic any more than analogous examples in French show, viz. *goupil*—*vulpes* > *vulpecula*, *ouaille*—*ovis* > *ovicula*, *oreille*—*auris* > *auricula*. No monosyllables derived from these Latin positives have survived in modern French and the existing diminutive forms have now no diminutive value. A tricky point is explained in this section about place-names, as illustrated in the pair *Jarostaw*—gen. *Jarostawa* and the soft adjectival place-name *Jarostaw*—gen. *Jarostawia*. Names of masculine persons in *ca* have a useful note on the capricious behaviour of *t-d* before the suffix—*radca*, *wychodźca*, *zdrajca*, *winowajca*.

It could be expected that Professor Grappin would succeed in presenting a clear and scientifically accurate picture of the complicated verbal system. This the author has done exceptionally well. The awkward pair *źreć* and *wrzeć* are rightly grouped with *drzeć*, *mrzeć*, *trzeć*, etc., *źreć* naturally has *r* instead of *rz*, because of the preceding *ź*. No attempt is made to explain the form *wre*, which is in common use, but *-wrzeć* (close) in *zawrzeć*, and the modern *otworzyć* for *otewrzeć* and their uses are clearly noted. The modern trend toward *nać*-infinitives to replace the old ones in the *g-k* radicals, e.g. *legnać*—*lec*, *przysięgnąć*—*przysiąc*, is well brought out, but the old forms of the present of *biec* are not mentioned, so that *bieżący* and a few other survivals were omitted. *Gnać* is classed with *brać* and the archaic finite forms are given to justify the classification. *łże* and *łżeć* and the secondary infinitive *łżeć* are mentioned; *rżeć*, O.C.S. *ръзати* is a further important illustration of the process here involved. Russian *ржать* has progressed halfway in the same development. All the present finite forms of *zwać* are given. The *zowie*, *zowiesz*, conjugation of this verb can be regarded as an analogy with the labials of the *czepać* type. A similar analogy can be applied to the conjugation of the verbs *pomnieć*, *zapomnieć*, *przypomnieć*, and the *słomć* family. Here the analogy is with the *nać* verbs. The groups *przyćmić*—*przyćmiować*, *oślnić*—*oślniewać*, *przegrzmieć*—*przegrzmiewać*, *podejrzewać*, are all satisfactorily classed without recourse to the irregularity expedient. The section on the morphology and conjugation of the verb is followed by a most competent handling of the aspect difficulties; here several valuable points are brought out which I have not seen before in any Polish grammar. The author has adhered to the tradition of the grammars issued by the

Institut d'Études slaves in not devoting very much space to syntax. The book concludes with a few brief notes on Polish versification.

Professor Grappin's full description of modern Polish is probably the best of its kind so far produced. Being written in French, it is usable by a wide range of readers; it is to be hoped, however, that this will not deter Anglo-Saxon scholars from attempting to produce an equally good textbook in English.

J. O. ST. CLAIR-SOBELL

La langue polonaise dans les pays ruthènes. Ukraine et Russie Blanche 1569-1667. Par Antoine Martel, avec une préface par André Mazon (Professeur au Collège de France). Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille. Nouvelle Série: Droit et Lettres. No. 20. Lille, 1938, pp. 318.

A VERY valuable contribution to the history of culture in Eastern Europe, this study gives a comprehensive picture of one of the most interesting intersections of Byzantine and Roman civilisations. The introduction traces the historical and geographical background and gives a clear definition of the problem to be treated. Historically, the Ruthenian lands, i.e. those regions of the ancient *Ruś*, which had been included in the Polish-Lithuanian State, were opposed to Muscovite Russia. They had their own Western civilisation, and were bound together by Byzantine Christianity and by the similarity of their dialects. The characteristic feature of Ruthenian culture is Byzantine influence enriched by Polish Western influence.

In the 16th and 17th centuries the Polish language virtually replaced the old Slavonic as an instrument of culture in these Orthodox Ruthenian countries. How that happened is the subject of this research work. The period treated is that between 1569 and 1667, i.e. the Union of Lublin, which united these countries under the Polish Crown, and the peace of Andrusovo which marked Moscow's penetration towards the West by occupying the provinces on the eastern bank of the Dnieper. This occupation brought an eclipse of Polish civilisation in the Ruthenian countries.

The problem studied has a wider cultural and historical range than that of a conflict between languages. It presents one of the aspects of the antagonism between West and East which was debated here in the 16th and 17th centuries. The author shows the significance of this conflict by extending his interest, at least in an indirect way, over the whole of Eastern Europe, including in his research Moscow, as well as Moldavia and Lithuania, and detecting also links with Transylvania.

In explaining the adoption of Polish as the language of culture in the Ruthenian countries, Martel rightly emphasises the principle of a superior civilisation as the main cause in this process. Political pressure, religious propaganda and proselytism were, in the author's view, secondary

factors in determining the change of language. A century later Russian civilisation played the same rôle, in the name of the same principle, in this geographical space. In the 16th and 17th centuries the Ruthenians abandoned Church Slavonic, which could not fulfil the function of a literary language, and adopted Polish; in the 18th and 19th centuries, for the same reason, Russian became the official language of culture in those countries. The creation of the Russian literary language, at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, had been discussed by Martel in his work *Michel Lomonosov et la langue littéraire russe*, 1933. In both instances, however, the political and administrative factor are not to be disregarded, and their importance should not be minimised.

The author concludes his thorough investigations, based on the rich literature in various Slav and non-Slav languages and on archive materials, with the remark: "Even now, when Bielo-Russian and Ukrainian literary languages are being developed, one cannot say that the crisis opened in the 16th century has found its definitive solution."

The study comprises two distinct parts. The first presents the facts, the second discusses the causes of the change of languages in the Ruthenian countries. Presenting the facts, clear distinction is made between the newer Slavonic language of the chanceries, and the language used in literary works of ecclesiastical and profane character, which is more conservative.

Of great importance is the stress laid by Martel on the fact that the language used in the chanceries was not uniform. There were great varieties according to the place and the time of its use. There does not exist unity in this language (p. 42). This statement must be emphasised, because historians very often take the simple view that the language of the charters in these regions, and even elsewhere, e.g. in Moldavia, was an old Western Russian dialect—"staroe zapadno-russkoe narěčie," or Bielo-Russian. It would be misleading to adopt these terms which do not express the reality. The linguistic characteristics of Bielo-Russian and of Ukrainian appear only sporadically, while the basis of this artificial, mixed language of the chanceries is Church Slavonic (p. 43). The linguistic characteristics of the acts in different regions and at various epochs, before and after the Lublin Union of 1569, are considered. Polish and Latin were introduced progressively into the acts of the chanceries. Slavonic was, in the end, used only in certain formulæ.

In the Church, Slavonic commenced to decay in the 14th century; in the 16th it was little known in the Ruthenian lands, and was maintained only by tradition. The attempted revival was a failure, although it was made by Orthodox as well as by Uniate and Protestant leaders. It is surprising that in this struggle of tongues, instead of reviving the dying Slavonic, no one attempted to use the vernacular dialect, as happened later in the 18th century in Muscovy. The reason was the conception that Slavonic was Ruthenian, just as even in the 19th century in Moscow some still believed that Slavonic was Russian. The conservatism

of the Church, which used it as the liturgical language, supported this conception, and personalities like Peter Mohyla and Smotrickiy, had their minds formed in Western patterns. The vernacular was used since the 14th century to expound the Gospels, but it did not become a literary language. Even those who defended Slavo-Byzantine tradition, like Peter Mohyla, Zizaniy, and the monks of Kiev, used the Polish language in their polemical and theological works. Curiously enough the initiative to write Polish came from the Orthodox, the Uniates were more conservative, and even the Protestants and Jesuits respected the tradition (p. 142, p. 239). In profane literature the high level of Polish literature influenced Ruthenian literature to such a degree that even when it used the vernacular dialect it was, in syntax and vocabulary, like Polish written with Cyrillic characters.

In discussing the causes of this change of language, stress is laid on the rupture of balance between the two civilisations. Until the Renaissance the two cultures were on the same level. The Renaissance enriched Polish culture, whereas Ruthenian remained sterile by not participating in this movement (p. 162). The conclusion of the Lublin Union (1569) enhanced the prestige of Polish culture, while the Ruthenian countries had no succour from outside except from the Roumanian countries (p. 192).

By the political penetration of Poland towards the East, its civilisation was expanded beyond the Dnieper, and religious activity followed in its wake. The background of the religious struggle is sketched only inasmuch as it brings some explanation of the introduction of the Polish language into Ruthenian culture. Protestantism helped in this task. It detached many Orthodox aristocratic families from the Byzantine tradition, but with the Counter-Reformation they then went over to Catholicism (p. 218). The author presents the Roman-Catholic point of view, yet he dedicates a chapter to the defence of Orthodoxy. The creation of the Theological Academy in Kiev by Peter Mohyla was the outstanding fact in this religious resistance of the Orthodox. This school was organised after the pattern of similar Jesuit schools with a view to introducing the students to Western civilisation, while preserving, however, their Byzantino-Slav faith.

Taking into consideration political, cultural and religious factors, the author gives us a rich picture of one of the most interesting periods in the history of Eastern European culture. The study is valuable for its abundance of data, and for the co-ordination of the results in the various fields, but even more by the problems it raises and by the suggestions it makes. These should be pursued in different directions, as the author himself did in his study about Lomonosov.

By the premature death of this brilliant French scholar, the history of Eastern Europe has lost an eminent research worker; and we would add our tribute here to the warm words of appreciation uttered, in the preface, by his master, Professor André Mazon.

GRIGORE NANDRIȘ.

1848 *The Revolution of the Intellectuals*. By L. B. Namier The Raleigh Lecture on History 1944, published by the British Academy, pp. 124

It is a welcome sign that a Raleigh Lecturer, who has won his place as an authority on 18th-century English history, should venture into an important field on which almost nothing has been done in this country until now. The great events of 1789-1793, and—to a lesser degree—the equally momentous happenings of 1917 and succeeding years at the other end of Europe have commanded due attention, but the “half-way house” of 1848, which is of significance for the whole of Central Europe, has been wholly neglected. So far as I know it has been the subject of only one book—sixty years ago! One is tempted to wonder why.

Professor Namier has then, so far as the English public is concerned, a virgin field before him; and his essay would be worth while even if it did no more than draw attention to what Germans and Czechs and Poles (and French), not to mention other students, have written about this “spring of the nations.” But of course he goes right into his subject, equipped with a linguistic knowledge rare in these islands. What is more, we learn with satisfaction that this short work is only an earnest of bigger things in store. The Editors of this Review welcome most warmly both the present study and all future prospects, and hope to give special attention to various phases of the subject in the years immediately ahead. These paragraphs are an evidence of that welcome rather than an appreciation of Namier’s lecture—at most they will comment on some things said or implied as to the part played by the Poles.

The author of this essay has strong views on what was then known as “the Polish Question,” and he is sometimes caustic over the mismanagement and half-measures that prevailed. The truth is, of course, that both in Poland and elsewhere two forces were at work—those of national and those of class aspirations, each with its own particular enemy; and that they were neither co-ordinated nor clarified. The peasants (in some lands they were still serfs) wanted freedom and their piece of land, and soon lost interest when they saw the leaders of national emancipation (who were bent on liquidating the imperial dynasties) discussing the sovereignty of the people in terms they could not understand. In consequence, there were plenty of leaders (officers), but few troops; and no revolution can succeed save by force!

Polish hopes of success were rooted in large part in the hopes of a quarrel between relatively liberal Prussia and the black reaction of Imperial Russia under Nicholas I. This point might have been made clearer in the book, as might also the substantial backing given to the “rising” of 1846 in Poznań by the townsmen and the arbitrary liquidation of the hitherto Free City of Cracow. But the whole movement proved abortive, partly because the centres of dynamic were too far apart, and central Poland was held in a tight grip by Paszkiewicz. The

result was failure all along the line. Nationalism triumphed at Frankfurt, liberalism could not stand against it while the Slav Congress at Prague was able only to sow seeds, but could not reap a harvest. In "reaching for the stars" the revolutionaries acted in the Utopian spirit of the time—best seen in the Messianic literature of the Polish poets and philosophers—but the time was not ripe, and seventy years were still to pass before liberation came.

One tiny inconsistency has crept into the text—why *Bromberg* on p. 68 when the Polish name is given five pages later? What about "passed the buck" on p. 83?

W. J. ROSE.

The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Bulgaria. By C. E. Black; University Press, Princeton, 1943, pp. 344, 25s. net.

MR. BLACK is to be congratulated on this, the first serious survey by any foreign writer, of Bulgarian constitutional history, and indeed it may be doubted whether any native Bulgarian product on this subject will be able to challenge comparison. The reasons for this are only too obvious. No sooner had Bulgaria achieved autonomy as a result of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, than the forms of government to be assumed by the latest nation to escape from Turkish tyranny became a subject of dispute for rival political creeds and parties. Domestic and foreign issues were even more inextricably mixed up than is ordinarily the case, and the constitutional issue was exploited on the one hand by the new Prince, and on the other by the Russian occupation authorities, as a means of attaining and extending political power. Bulgaria, says Mr. Black, "was handicapped by a political heritage which included no tradition of self-government, and by a strategic position which made it the centre of a major diplomatic problem. It was part of an economic system which was necessarily dependent on a larger area, and finally it had developed nationalist aims which the imperialist powers were not prepared to satisfy." (He has no difficulty in showing that "there was a very real constitutional movement within the country itself"—p. 4.) Unfortunately Prince Alexander, despite many high qualities, played from the first a dynastic hand, and sought to build up the princely power rather than to rely upon the spontaneous growth of public opinion and administrative experience. It may be that a compromise would gradually have asserted itself between the Prince and the people if Bulgaria had not been from the outset an object of intrigue between the Great Powers. But in any case the "Union of the Two Bulgarias" in 1885 "completely upset the political equilibrium which had been achieved," and Alexander withdrew precipitately from the scene, leaving the road open for newcomers who paid lip-service to constitutional principles, but all the time followed quite other aims. The romantic and fascinating figure of Alexander of Battenberg, standing out in full relief against the sullen,

bullying nature of his cousin, Tsar Alexander III, surrounded him with a mist of sentiment, to which his pathetic love-story gave added zest ; and this served to obscure the very grave responsibility of the Prince for the failure of what had been a unique, and at the time not unhopeful, experiment in constitutional and parliamentary government. Mr. Black does not go beyond 1885, but it is to be hoped that he will soon give us a second volume describing the further mischief wrought by foreign interference during the Interregnum, and the long record of tortuous intrigue which was as breath to the nostrils of the second Prince, Ferdinand of Coburg, and by the fate which in our own day swept his son, King Boris, after a period of seemingly genuine democratic effort, into the eddies of autocracy and revolution.

For the first time in English Mr. Black, in an introductory chapter of fifty pages, surveys the " Social and Intellectual Background " without which the political threads of modern Bulgaria remain an intricate and confused web. Of the three great leaders of Bulgarian revolutionary ideology—Rakovski, Lyuben Karavelov and Botev—his sympathies seem to lie with the second, who came under the influence of Bakunin. Karavelov's creed was summed up in the phrase : " Freedom is not given, it is won. Not a single Cabinet will help us, if we do not help ourselves." Behind this outlook was his sympathy with Russian revolutionary aims, and his keen distrust of Tsarism. " If Russia comes to liberate," he wrote prophetically in 1870, " she will be met with great sympathy. But if she comes to rule, she will find many enemies." This is a phrase worth stressing, for it corresponds to the outlook of other Balkan revolutionary leaders, notably in Serbia, who were steeped in Russian literature but had, and have more than ever to-day, every intention of running their own affairs.

Chapters III and IV describe Russian administration after 1878 and the preparation of the Organic Statute ; V, the Tirnovo Constitution and the Parties ; VI, the Prince's relations with Europe ; VII and VIII, the events leading up to the *coup d'état*. Chapter IX deals with the " search for stability " and the discovery that no such thing had been achieved. The whole treatment is lucid and critical, without ever exceeding due limits.

The value of the book is enhanced by translations of the Constitution of 1879, of the Statutes of the Council of State of 1881 and of the constitutional amendments proposed in 1883. On pp. 321-23 suggestions are put forward for the transliteration of the Bulgarian alphabet. Specially to be commended is the admirable " Bibliographical Essay " (pp. 275-90).

The only serious slip I have been able to detect is on p. 40, where the author writes of " the North Banat, Erdel and Transylvania "—evidently not realising that " Erdely " is the Magyar name for Transylvania, and that the two are identical.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

"Das russische und ukrainische Wort *Raduga*." Eine etymologische Studie von Knut-Olof Falk; Almquist & Wiksells Boktryckeri Ab. Uppsala, 1944, pp. 27.

RUSSIAN *raduga* and Ukrainian *raduha* have had many explanations. As early as 1878 a Russian scholar suggested that they contain *duga* (*duha*), "arcus." A year later, another Russian scholar put forward the supposition that the word might be composed of *rad*, "gay," and the suffix *-uga*, to be found also in *bel-uga* "kind of fish." An attempt at combining the two explanations into one was made by Preobraženskij in his *Etymological Dictionary of the Russian Language* (1910-1914) where *raduga* was shown as having been derived from an earlier **rado-duga*. The problem was and still is rather complicated because of the existence of two variants *raiduga* and *ravduga*, the former of the two, which presents a possible connection with *rai*, "paradise," being sometimes regarded as the original form of the word.

M. K. O. Falk accepts the explanation of the second part of *raduga* as "arcus," and sees in the initial *ra-* a phonetically correct development of an **ar-*⁽⁻⁾, meaning "air, space, skies." According to him, a Common-Slavonic **ar-doga*⁽⁻⁾ would be similar to compounds which, like **gospodъ*, from an earlier C.-Sl. **gostpotsъ*, had been formed without the thematic vowel. A Baltic equivalent of this C.-Sl. **ar-*⁽⁻⁾ is to be found not only in the Lith. *oras*, "space, skies, air, weather," but also in the Lith. *orarykštė*, "rainbow," which to M. K. O. Falk is composed of the same *oras* and of *rykštė*, "a switch."

It seems, however, that another explanation of the Lith. *orarykštė* is perhaps more plausible. It can be noticed easily that an object made of copper can be made to shine in exactly the same colours as those of the rainbow. The Lith. for "copper" is *varis*, adjective *varinas* (old) and *varinis* (new). To the best recollection of the author of these lines a *varinė juosta*, "rainbow," literally "a copper belt," has actually existed somewhere within Lithuanian lingual territory (the number of Lith. words for "rainbow" exceeds thirty). It seems that the element *var-*, meaning "copper," is to be found in such Lith. words for "rainbow" as: *vai-vorykštė* (from **var-vār-*, *i* as in *gai-gal-as*, "gander," the lengthening of the vowel such as in *mažmožis*, "trifle," cf. also *vaivorai*, "vaccinium uliginosum") and *vovorykštis* (from *vor-ver-*, cf. C.-Slav. **po-pelъ*, "ashes," from an earlier **pol-pel-*). The suffix *-ykštė*, *-ykštis*, is to be found in such formations as *šiandienykštis*, "to-day's," cf. also *kunigas*, "prince, duke" (to-day: "priest") and *kunigarkštis*, "same," originally "young prince, duke," the primary meaning of these suffixes being "derived from, coming from." Thus the original significance of the two Lith. words for "rainbow" quoted above would be "copperlike," i.e. shining like well-polished copper.

It seems probable that at the start *vai-vorykštė* and a feminine

**vovarykšte* were adjectival formations serving as qualifiers for the noun *juosta*, "belt," which forms part of the presumably most ancient Lith word for "rainbow". *laumes juosta*, "belt of the *laume*" ("a fairylike being"), later "Christianised" into *dermes juosta*, *derejimo juosta* and *sandoros juosta*, "belt of alliance" (the one concluded by God with mankind after the deluge), and even *Švenčiausios Paneles juosta*, "belt of the Virgin Mary."

It remains to be seen whether *vovarykšte* can be explained as also being derived from *varis*, "copper," *vorar-* continuing an earlier **vor-var-*. The difficulty is that the development of **vor-var-* into *vorar-* is not similar to that of **vor-ver-* into **vo-ver-* as in the above-quoted *vovarykštis*, "rainbow," and as found in the indubitable *vo(r)-ver-e*, "squirrel." Can we not, however, assume a **vovarykšte*, later changed into *vovarykšte* under the influence of *voras*, "spider"? This change would constitute the first attempt at popular etymology where most unexpected associations so often occur. Later, a more rational procedure, *vovarykšte* would have been changed into *orarykšte*, cf. *oras* in the meanings already given.

If the explanation propounded is correct, surely *raduga* would not be related to *orarykšte*.

ST. WESTFAL.

"Ursł. *bъčela*, *Apis mellifica*." Von Knut-Olof Falk; Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri Ab.; pp. 16.

MOST of the explanations of the Common-Slavonic **bъčela*, "bee," give an onomatopœic root: *būk-* or *bik-*. M. K. O. Falk is of the opinion that the word is an old composite, the first part of which is equivalent to the Lith *bite*, "bee," while the second part is related to the Common-Slavonic **čьlo-věkъ*, "man," *čeljadъ*, "servants," and *kolěno*, "knee." He assumes that the *bъčela* which is to be found i.a. in the Church-Slavonic Codex Marianus, is a later development dating from the period of the rather fluctuating use of the semi-vowel signs.

To justify the lack of the usual vocalic ending of the first component the author has recourse to such Common-Slavonic composites as **gospodъ*, and to a number of Baltic composites in which the first part is *bit-*, cf. the old-Prussian place-name *Butpelkis*, "bee-moor."

The author deliberately refrains from suggesting any explanation of *bite* which to him is—most probably—an ancient "Kulturwort," of an obscure and not easily traceable origin.

The second component which is related to the Slavonic words already quoted is said to have meant "Volk, Geschlecht, Gemeinwesen, Staat." The formation **bit-kelà* originally meant "Bienenstaat, Bienenvolk." At a later stage the collective meaning was "individualised." Nevertheless, it has still survived in Serbo-Croat.

In connection with this interesting etymology one may remark that in so far as the interchange between individual and collective meaning

is concerned, the 16th-century Pol. *mężczyzna*, "men," as compared with to-day's meaning "man," might be quoted. Furthermore, in contemporary Polish the singular *szarańcza* is regularly and exclusively used for "a host of locusts" as well as for "one locust," and *owad* may sometimes denote not only "one insect," but also many "insects."

ST. W.

Les voyelles nasales sont-elles nasalisées ? Par Birger Calleman, Gleeurpska Univ.-Bokhandeln, Lund, 1941, pp. 97.

THE author critically surveys the existing theories of the formation of nasal vowels from groupings of an oral vowel plus a nasal consonant and of the disintegration of nasal vowels into an oral vowel plus a nasal consonant. He questions the traditional view according to which these developments are due to an anticipation or a retardation of the opening of the soft palate respectively. The author's own theory is based on a detailed—acoustic and instrumental—analysis of the speech of four inhabitants of the commune of Goworowo, near Ostrołęka, Mazovia, Poland. It purports that the formation of nasal vowels is due to a backward movement of the tongue accompanied by a simultaneous slight raising of the soft palate. The resulting narrowing of the air-passages brings about the articulatory conditions proper for the specific timbre of the nasal vowel, the "nasillement." The backward movement of the tongue explains the velar articulation of the nasal vowels as contrasted with their oral counterparts. If this evolution becomes more accentuated, the movement of the tongue becomes what the author terms "un relèvement de la langue." This movement causes the loss of dental contact, i.e. the disappearance of the dental consonant of the grouping. The labial nasal consonant disappears as a result of the enlargement of the opening between the two jaws which is bound to follow the withdrawal (*recul*) of the tongue. The nasal vowels are not nasalised but *nasillées*, which term denotes a lesser degree of nasalisation.

The disintegration of nasal vowels into the grouping oral vowel plus nasal consonant is due to a reverse process, i.e. to a forward movement of the tongue.

ST. W.

"Au sujet du développement phonétique du polonais." Par B. Calleman; reprinted from *Svio Polonica*, No. IV, 1942; Carl Blooms Boktryckeri, Lund, 1943, pp. 19.

THIS interesting outline represents an attempt at defining the main tendencies of the phonetical evolution of Polish. The change of common-Slavonic *e* and *e* into *o* and *a* respectively before the occlusive non-palatal dental consonants, cf. *miód* and *kwiat*, is due to a tendency towards velarisation. Its limitation to the position described—no similar change

occurs before the other occlusives—reveals the rather weak character of the tendency. Later, an opposite tendency characterised by a forward movement of the tongue effected the change of the ancient nasal (*nasillées*) vowels into a combination of an oral vowel plus a nasal consonant before all the occlusive consonants, cf. *tędy*, to-day pronounced as *tendy*.

The author gives a detailed description of the evolution of the nasal vowels in Polish dialects.

ST. W.

Orthographical Dictionary of the Literary Bulgarian Language By S. Mladenoff, H. Danoff, Sofia, 1941, pp. 704

THE author of this fine work has been professor since 1921 in the University of Sofia, and has published several works, e.g. *History of the Bulgarian Language*, published in German in 1929: *Studies of Slavonic and Comparative Philology Introduction to General Philology. Language and Culture. Comparative Indo-European Philology: The Position of the Bulgarians at the time of Asperuch in the Turki Branch of the Arvo-Altae Peoples. Dictionary of Foreign Words in the Bulgarian Language: A Thousand Years of the Bulgarian Language: A Grammar of the Bulgarian Language* (written in collaboration with S. P. Vasilev).

In 1927 Professor Mladenov (in association with S. P. Vasilev) was appointed editor of the journal *The National Language* (Rodna Rech), and he also took part in the compilation of the *Explanatory Dictionary of the Bulgarian Language*. Besides this he edited the second and third volumes of Professor B. Tsonev's *History of the Bulgarian Language*.

Hampered by lack of space, the author points out in his preface that this Dictionary is in certain respects incomplete, and that interesting points have had to be omitted owing to the limits and restrictions imposed upon him by the editors. In consequence he claims to have achieved only a certain basic and essential minimum of information. However, in spite of the handicaps which he mentions, Professor Mladenov's work is a very remarkable achievement and covers an unusually wide field of research. He gives, beside the Bulgarian words, some of their unusual grammatical forms, their etymological derivation and traces their connection with the other Slavonic and Indo-European languages.

This is the most comprehensive Dictionary in Bulgarian. The words are arranged in alphabetical order to facilitate reference; all stresses are fully indicated, and the general lay-out is clear and concise. In his preface, the author enumerates several other works in the field of Etymology. He gives a short survey of the development starting with the works of Professor T. Miklošić, going on to mention every important Slavonic Etymologist (e.g. N. Goryaev of Prague, E. Berneker, A. Preobrazensky), and ending with the latest Etymological Dictionary by G. Holub. Other Etymological Dictionaries in Indo-European languages are also mentioned and concisely but exhaustively discussed.

There follows a short summary of Bulgarian verbs and of the difficulties which they present to the foreigner. Professor Mladenov illustrates this section with a comprehensive series of examples, and adds many enlightening remarks concerning the deficiencies of certain dictionaries. In the next paragraph he puts forward his own views on the orthography of the Bulgarian language in 1941—at that time the so-called “Tsankov Orthography.” He shows its inconsistency by tracing back the derivation of the words and advocates the adoption of the orthography devised by N. Gerov and his associates about 1890.

Professor Mladenov advocates a general reform of orthography, recommending a very straightforward three-point scheme

V. JUKOVA.

Practical Russian. By E. A. Moore and Gleb Struve ; Book I, Edward Arnold & Co , 1946.

TEACHERS of Russian who for thirty years have had to make do with grammars and manuals put together on the basis of 19th-century methods will rub their hands when they open this book. Here—for the first time in this country, so far as I know—they will find applied to Russian the approach and teaching technique long adopted for French and German. Instead of grammar served up in hunks and then re-hashed through a jejune series of disconnected sentences, each lesson here pivots on a passage of continuous Russian prose, which the grammatical section seeks to comment and elucidate. Instead of labouring to render dull English into duller Russian, students are encouraged to keep thinking in Russian by exercises which ask questions, and expect answers, in Russian on the main text ; or provide verbal and grammatical drill by requiring students to complete sentences by adding missing inflections or inserting appropriate words. The subject-matter of the texts is kept Russian as far as possible ; and texts and exercises are supplemented by illustrations and useful idioms.

From all this it is clear that the book represents a pioneering effort which would be admirable at any time, and is all the more so in the present difficult conditions in printing and the book trade. It is surely to such difficulties that some of the shortcomings of this first edition must be attributed.

First, it is to be regretted that the print is so small, especially in the grammar sections and revision exercises. It is certainly beautifully clear ; but we all know that students starting out on a strange language, and especially on a strange alphabet, require the characters to be rather larger than normal if they are not to suffer from a sense of strain.

Secondly, the number of misprints averages almost three to every two pages. Admittedly most are not serious : it is a matter of punctuation omitted, capital letters and heavy type in the wrong places ; accents omitted or misplaced ; and erroneous cross-references. But of

course even these stand in the way of using the book for self-teaching. This is not the place to try to list such slips, but my notes are at the disposal of the authors when they turn to the business of producing their second edition.

There are, however, not only the difficulties of book production but those that naturally attend the blazing of new trails. It is, therefore, natural that a number of points should call for query or criticism.

As regards pronunciation, there may well be differences of opinion as to how far the sounds of "hard l" and "hard i" are suggested by such words as "bulk" and "dewy" respectively. And it may be that the aspirated pronunciations of *r* and *к* were considered sufficiently unimportant to require no mention. But surely it was only by oversight that the closed sound of "е" (ель) is not mentioned.

As for the texts and exercises, it would no doubt be impertinent for a mere Englishman to look for holes in language passed by Mr. Struve. Yet even Jove may nod; and even a mere Englishman can hardly help rubbing his eyes on coming across such a sentence as: Его дед взял своего внука . . . (p. 55). Unexpected too, though on a different plane, is the authors' fondness for questions of the type exemplified on pp. 42, 43, 49, 77, 81, 85, 89, 92. It is generally agreed that in Russian questions introduced by an interrogative pronoun or adverb the "natural" order puts the subject, if a pronoun, before the verb, (e.g., Где ты был? Что он сказал?). Of course, here, as elsewhere, it is possible to depart from the "natural" order so as to shift the emphasis or to secure particular effects of rhythm. But what purpose is served here by the authors' constant departures from the "natural" order? And whatever the purpose, would it not be desirable to indicate what the "natural" order is, and why it is disregarded?

Turning to the grammar sections, which form the weakest part of most Russian "grammars," one may welcome a gallant attempt to avoid old defects by subordinating grammar to text; and congratulate the authors on their concentration on such virtues as succinctness, relevance (we are spared the doubtful pleasure of speculative excursions into etymology and comparative philology) and simplicity of exposition.

But there are three virtues even more important. Grammatical rules must, above all, be formulated: correctly—i.e. so as to give a true picture of the word-changes and word-combinations under consideration; unambiguously—i.e. so as to leave a student of normal intelligence and linguistic understanding in no doubt as to what he should and what he should not say and write; and comprehensively—not in the sense that every matter can or should be treated exhaustively at its first introduction, but in the sense that the rule should never take two bites at one cherry.

In terms of these criteria *Practical Russian* can hardly be said to rise above the level of its predecessors. Space again precludes mention of all the points in each lesson over which I would join issue with its

formulae. I must limit myself to pointing out actual errors, adding only a few specimens of rules which appear to me either ambiguous or incomplete.

P. 26, par. 3b · it is not true that -и is the prepositional ending "for nouns ending in two vowels." It is the ending for nouns with stems ending in -и- (and, optionally, for neuters with stems ending in -ь-).

P. 41, par. 3 · свой does not "always"—or even usually—refer to the subject of the sentence. It normally refers to the subject of its own clause; though in many proverbial and idiomatic expressions it is used without reference to any particular subject.

P. 52, par. 3 · сказать is not the perfective of говорить in its intransitive meaning of "speaking" or "talking," but of говорить in its transitive meaning of "saying" or "telling."

P. 52, par. 7: the sentence "себя, which can be used like свой for any person who is subject of the sentence" is ambiguous as well as incorrect. "Sentence" should be "clause," and "for" should be "in referring to."

P. 60, par. 1Db: there is of course no fleeting vowel in the genitive plural of отец, день, немец, but only in the nominative singular.

P. 84, par. 8: when does с mean "away" or "away from"? Spatially it means "off," "down from," "from", temporally—"since," or "from."

P. 96, par. II d: the type of declension illustrated under this heading is characteristic not of "nouns ending in vowel + -я" but of nouns ending in -ия.

P. 98, par. 6 · the adjectives said to be "formed from names of animals" might more properly be designated "adjectives of species": they signify "pertaining to" or "characterising" such-and-such "a species" of beings; but it need not be an animal species. In any case it is not true that they only "have the endings of soft adjectives"; in the nominative and accusative they have the endings of soft nouns.

An example of a rule so ambiguous as to be almost meaningless is p. 42, par. 6: "In Russian double negatives are used." What this really means can be expressed either technically: "in Russian non-functional negatives reinforce functional negatives and one another"; or analogically: "the forms of negation in Russian are the same as in French"; or simply: "whereas in negative sentences English negates only either the verb or *one* pronoun or adverb, Russian negates both the verb and all of any pronouns or adverbs."

Examples of incomplete rules are:

P. 27, par. 3 on the secondary locative in -y. It is not mentioned that these forms are alternatives (i.e. that nouns which have them have two forms of locative); nor that they are used only after в and на; nor that they are always stressed. And incidentally this par. should have

been appended to par. 3 of the preceding lesson, in which locatives in -y are first used.

P. 32, par. 3. Why are we told that some 1st conj. verbs end in -ечъ, when -чъ would include those in -очъ and -ичъ? And why are not the verbs in -ытъ and the monosyllabic verbs in -итъ mentioned here, since examples of both occur in this book?

P. 38, par. 6 ѡ should be included among the letters to be followed by "soft" endings. Similarly: p. 80, par. 3a, p. 88, par. 2. On p. 60 (par. 1B) ж is omitted and on p. 97 (par. 2)—ч.

Such examples could be multiplied.

It will be observed that the above strictures concern points of detail. Indeed it is precisely because this book marks such a great advance in conception, and because so much of the execution gives equal cause for satisfaction, that it is worth while devoting so much attention to blemishes which can easily, and should be, removed. Messrs. Moore and Struve have in any case earned the gratitude of their colleagues; if they will give just a little more attention to the printing of their book and a little more thought to its grammatical sections, we may look forward to using it as a standard work for many academic generations.

F. F. SEELEY.

A Companion to Hungarian Studies. By various authors, with preface by Count Stephen Bethlen, published by the Society of the *Hungarian Quarterly*, Budapest, 1943, pp. 532. With numerous illustrations and maps.

THIS sumptuous volume was prepared, as Count Bethlen tells us, to meet the practical need of supplying foreign "experts" wishing to write on Hungary, but unacquainted with the language, with sufficient facts for their needs. It is not very well adapted for that particular purpose, for which something much handier in format and much more encyclopædic in make-up would have been far more suitable. There are a very great number of facts which the enquiring "expert" will not find here—even many aspects of Hungary and Hungarian life with which this book does not deal at all. The contributions are in essay form, nearly all of them deal with the past, and a high proportion of them with the distant past. Thus nearly half the volume is devoted to a history of Hungary which ends at 1918 and some of the same ground as is covered in parts of this section is gone over again in the articles on the Hungarian language, ethnography and the history of the minorities. Nevertheless, the individual articles are for the most part excellent. The history follows, with small variations, the now orthodox lines laid down by Professors Hóman and Szekfű. The two articles on art are enriched with some beautiful illustrations.

It is no small tribute to the degree of cultural independence which Hungary preserved up to 1944 that it should have proved possible to

produce this volume in 1943, as the 1942 issue of the *Hungarian Quarterly*. It is sad to remember that M. Joseph Balogh, Secretary-General and Editor of the *Quarterly*, who did so much for the cause of Anglo-Hungarian relations, was butchered by the Germans in 1944.

C. A. MACARTNEY.

Hungarian Grammar. By Robert A. Hall, Jr.; Baltimore, Maryland, Linguistic Society of America, Language Monograph No. 21, 1944, pp. 91.

THIS is Professor Hall's second attempt at offering a scientific descriptive grammar of modern Hungarian. Compared with his *An Analytical Grammar of the Hungarian Language*, published in the same series in 1938, the treatment has become more austere, with the result that the present version is even less adapted to initiate beginners into the mysteries of this Finno-Ugrian language. On the other hand, it will prove indispensable to more advanced students. The book is logically built, the system of the language being gradually unfolded in six chapters dealing successively with phonology, inflection, form- and function-classes, word-formation, phrase-structure (here the treatment is particularly novel and interesting), and clause-structure. In the Introduction the relationships and general characteristics of Hungarian are competently discussed, while the Appendix gives a useful list of verbs and adjectives which govern certain suffixes or postpositions.

In its present form, Professor Hall's work is an excellent systematisation of current Hungarian usage, most of the obsolete and artificial forms appearing in the earlier edition having been weeded out. Nevertheless, one is inclined to regret his decision to give Hungarian words throughout his book in phonemic transcription only: owing to the almost completely phonetic character of Hungarian spelling, there was no real need for this; moreover, the usual Hungarian symbols for the *a* and *e* sounds (*a*, *á*; *e*, *é*) indicate to some extent that these pairs differ not only in quantity but also in quality; this difference is, however, obscured in the corresponding phonemic signs (*a*, *aa*; *e*, *ee*).

Professor Hall has cast his net wide and has some enlightening remarks on clause-intonation and a few hints on the intricacies of word-order; he even lists and explains such rare passive phrases as *iparosok lakta helyek*. On the other hand, one misses an elucidation of the important perfective function of the prefix *meg-*; there is still some confusion about the exact relation of the *-lak*, *-lek*, "incorporating" ending and the rest of the definite conjugation, owing to a defective definition of the latter.

These and similar minor slips, which can be easily corrected, do not however impair the usefulness of a work which is definitely the best descriptive grammar of the Hungarian language in English, and among the best in any language.

N. J. SZENCZI.

Poland and Russia 1939-1945. By James T. Shotwell and M. M. Laserson; King's Crown Press, N.Y.C. 1945, pp. 114 with maps and Bibliography appendices—N.D.

THIS valuable little essay was published for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, as one of a number planned to help provide information bearing on the post-war settlement of Europe. Its main subject is, of course, the rights and wrongs of the mixed-language area dispute (for such it was) between Poland and the U.S.S.R.—an issue that has now become past history. This does not, however, detract from the value of the work, which approaches the subject from four points of view—those respectively of the two interested Powers, and of the White Russians and the Ukrainians; and brings the story down to the proclamation of the Moscow-sponsored Government of Nation Unity in the early summer of 1945. In other words it includes the Yalta decisions, and remarks that the Polish Government in London was not pleased with the plan to take from Poland everything east of the Curzon Line and give by way of compensation "substantial accessions of territory in the north and west," since it would aggravate German hostility, and make Poland more than ever dependent on Russia for future security (p. 4). I have noted the following slips—the reference to 3,000,000 Germans [*sic*] living in Poland in 1935 (p. 23); the apparent confusion of Pan-slavism with the Slavophile movement on p. 56; the cavalier dismissal on p. 66 of Polish agrarian reform (too widespread a practice among writers on Poland), some confusion as to the date (or matter) of Churchill's speech on p. 81; and the rather naive assumption as to Poland's western frontiers at the bottom of p. 86. But these lapses in no way detract from the value of the study, which gives a good selection of documentary material—on a matter which, as noted above, is now of interest to the historian rather than the peace-maker. Who is to question what Moscow has decided on?

W. J. R.

Wayside Willow—Prose and Verse translated from the Polish; publ. by Klub Polski, Columbia University, pp. 50.

The Polish Land—an Anthology in Prose and Verse; publ. by Klub Polski, Columbia University, pp. 127.

THESE two charming little volumes are the fruit of work done by members of the Polish Club at Columbia University, many of them Americans of Polish extraction, under the direction of Professor A. P. and Mrs. Coleman. The former contains extracts from the pen of writers as far apart in time as Marcin Bielski and Edward Slonski: the latter is devoted chiefly to the beauties of the Polish landscape, including the provinces now ceded to the Soviet Union. Over fifty authors are represented in this collection, some of them little known. Every passage rendered—and the selection

is well made—breathes in one way or another affection for and understanding of *ziemia polska*. Many of the extracts are paraphrases rather than translations of the originals, but they lose nothing thereby.

W. J. R.

ERRATA. 1. In Vol. XXIV, No. 63, of the REVIEW, p. 25, the first two lines of the first poem by M. Eminescu were inadvertently printed in a mis-translation. The lines should read :

“ If branches rustle at your window pane,
Tall poplars tremble, dear,”

2. p. 26, V, l 10. for *torrent* read *torment*

3. N.B.—Owing to the loss of some galley proofs, which was not detected in time, a serious and highly regrettable confusion occurred on page 229 of No 63 of this REVIEW.

The whole concluding paragraph (lines 20–28—“ The casual reader . . . ” to “ . . . and of Jugoslavia ”) is made to refer to *Documents on Mihajlovic*, whereas in reality it refers to Mr. Adamic’s book. This error, which makes nonsense of the whole review, can best be corrected by reading as follows.—

Line 20, for “ the book ” read “ *My Native Land* ”

Line 28, for “ *Documents* ” read “ *My Native Land* ”

PROFESSOR SAMUEL H. CROSS

WHILE this number of the Review was in the press, the Editors learned with very great regret of the sudden death on 14 October, 1946, at the age of 55, of Professor Samuel H. Cross, of Harvard, an American Contributing Editor. It was by his generous gesture in 1941 that the British Review was kept alive during the war years, when he made arrangements to start in America a Review which, while being a continuation of its British counterpart, was also the beginning of the *American Slavic and East European Review*, of which Professor Cross was the Editor and which has had an independent existence since 1945. His British colleagues will not soon forget their indebtedness to him, and their sympathy goes out to all his fellow-workers in the United States on the loss of one of the leading scholars in the Slavic field.

The *Slavonic and East European Review* hopes to publish a longer Obituary of Professor Cross by one of his American colleagues in its Spring number of 1947.

W. J. R.

I should like to add a personal note to the memory of Professor Cross, with whom I had the privilege to have many long talks during my visit to America in the summer of 1945. I spent five very pleasant days in Cambridge, during which time I saw him frequently, in the Widener Library and privately. His kindness, and that of his collaborator Mrs. Katherine H. Benedict, touched me deeply and left a warm feeling which makes my stay in Cambridge one of the best recollections of America for me. He was a man of wide learning and culture, and yet very human, generous, full of energy, with a great love of life and of good living and a keen sense of humour. I confess that I was rather frightened when I was safely escorted by Professor and Mrs. Simmons to a delightful house in which I was to be a guest and where Professor Cross was waiting for our arrival. But he made me feel at home and comfortable from the start, and did not show that he was disconcerted (though I am sure he was) at finding that I did not drink the cocktails that had been prepared. Throughout my stay, although he was very busy, he put himself liberally at my disposal, telling me all about the work at Harvard, showing me round the Widener and the University, introducing me to his colleagues, taking me to dinner at the Harvard Club and getting a table at one of the famous Boston "Pops."

American Slavic studies, which have recently suffered several severe losses by death, could ill afford at this moment to lose the Professor at Harvard who was one of the chief and most energetic scholars in this field; and both for this reason and on personal grounds the death of Professor Cross must be grievously felt. I should particularly like to express my sympathy for Mrs. Benedict and his other collaborators in Harvard University and the hope that the way will be found to continue the work to which he devoted himself so unsparingly there.

DOROTHY GALTON.



BERNARD PARES

THE SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW

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BERNARD PARES

1867-1922-1947

IN 1947 the *Slavonic Review* celebrates a double anniversary—its own 25th year of publication, and at the same time the eightieth birthday of its senior Editor, the first Director of our School.

Under these circumstances the duty of toastmaster devolves upon his senior colleague in the School, who as he fills his glass, looks back upon a long series of difficulties and adventures shared in common. Sometimes too, it may be, upon differences of opinion on vital subjects, yet never for a moment upon any serious clouding of personal relations. To me, a native of the northern Kingdom, and not, I am told, lacking in that *perfervidum ingenium* which is ascribed to the Scot, Bernard Pares has always seemed a type of the Englishman at his most characteristic and best—holding unshakably to deeply rooted beliefs and sentiments; always as ready to hear “the other man” as to argue out his own case (and therefore to offer hospitality in print to those whose views he does not share); tenacious and resourceful, yet capable of making rapid changes of plan and plucking from apparent defeat the promise of ultimate victory; not afraid to call a spade a spade, and brimful of that gift of humour which is the saving grace of all men, but especially of a pioneer in little travelled ways or of a champion of contentious causes; an opponent of all pedantry, yet suffering gladly from administrators, and often in the end winning them over for a reasonable compromise.

“B. P.” has devoted a long and busy life to the cause of Russo-British friendship and mutual understanding between the Slavonic and English-speaking worlds. In no other country has Fortune turned her wheel so ruthlessly and jerkily as in Russia: but Bernard Pares has always met disappointments and rebuffs “with a heart for any fate,” and at an age when he had abundantly earned leisure and retirement, he took a full share in the strenuous task of interpreting Russia to America. We do not grudge him to our American friends, but we hope to see him soon again in his own country, and in the meantime send him greetings second to none in warmth and heartiness.

1 March 1947.

R. W. S. W.

POETRY

BODY AND SOUL

*Translated from the Russian of YEVGENY BARATYNSKY
by BABETTE DEUTSCH **

Of what use are you, days ? There can be nothing
New for the mind to greet ;
The world is full of things and all familiar,
And time can but repeat.

Not vainly did you strive in your impatience,
O frantic soul, to gain
Your full development before the body,
That cannot slip its chain.

Since you have long since locked the sorry circle
Of sights beneath the moon,
You drowse, fanned by recurrent dreams ; the body,
Accorded no such boon,

Must stupidly watch morning dawn, relieving
The night for naught, and mark
A barren dusk, crown of a day that's empty,
Drop down into the dark. (1840)

“ WE SHALL NOT OVERCOME ”

*Translated from the Russian of KAROLINA PAVLOVA
by BABETTE DEUTSCH*

We shall not overcome our sorrows
On earth by struggle proud and grim,
But only if to God we humble
Our hearts and lift our souls to Him
Shall we, this earthly tribe of mortals,
Through grief and trouble safely flee,
As once of old the Jews passed over
The mounting, salty, evil sea !
And as the rising wall of waters
Supported them upon that day,
So shall our bitter, fateful sorrow
Be unto us a holy stay. (1862)

* ED. NOTE.—These three poems are printed by courtesy of Avrahm Yarmolinsky and the MacMillan Co, N.Y.C.

SPRING

*Translated from the Russian of PYOTR VYAZEMSKY
by BABETTE DEUTSCH*

" Ah, Spring, sweet Spring, chief pride of Nature ! "
The air is foul, the ground is sludge ;
Men curse the mud when they go walking,
And plunged in muck, a horse can't budge.

The cab breaks down, so does the carriage ;
Season of colds in chest and nose,
To you, fair Spring, is reverence tendered
By cartwrights and by medicoes. (1866)

THE UPAS TREE

Translated from the Russian of PUSHKIN by MARRIS MURRAY

Deep in the arid wilderness,
Over the incandescent waste,
The Upas tree its dread watch keeps,
In all creation loneliest.

When Nature in her day of wrath
Conceived it on the burning plains,
She swelled with poison every root,
The sombrous leaves, and pallid veins.

The poison seeping through its bark,
Liquescent in the noonday sun,
Coagulates as evening falls
Into a thick, translucent gum.

No bird flies to that tree of death,
No tiger prowls ; the dark simoom
Is tainted, blowing through its leaves,
And whirls away, a wind of doom.

And if a wandering thunder-cloud
Chances its serried leaves to drench,
Straight, on the burning sand beneath
The rain drips poisoned from the branch.

But to that tree, with haughty stare,
A man sent forth his fellow man.
Meekly he trudged away, and bore
The poison back as day began.

He brought his lord the deadly gum
And, wrapped in withering leaves, a bough :
Swiftly, in ice-cold streams, the sweat
Poured from his livid brow.

Laden he came, and faltering, fell
Where dark the domed tent soared
The poor slave perished at the feet
Of his relentless lord.

His swift obedient arrows then
The great prince with this poison baits,
And ruin sends, and death to men
Who lived at peace beyond his gates.

MONASTERY ON MOUNT KASBEK

Translated from the Russian of PUSHKIN by MARRIS MURRAY

Pitched high above your brother snows
Kasbek, your royal pavilion glows
With rays of sempiternal light.
Your monastery soars above the white
Clouds, like an ark floating in heaven,
Over the mountains, almost out of sight.
Far distant, hungered-after haven !

Could I to that free summit fly,
Leap sheer across the gulf,—
There, in a shining cell, on high
Next door to God, I'd hide myself.

THE DEAR LITTLE MOON

*Translated from the Czech of K. H. MÁCHA by H. H. MCGOVERN **

Oh, sweet little breeze,
as you hurry so swiftly
over the blossoming meadow,
why do you bow down the heads
of the little feathery blossoms?
Why do you churn up
The silver-bright waves of the brook?
Why do you pillage
the young trees of the blue grove,
scattering their leaves
and covering the paths with them?

The little breeze answers:
I hurry over the meadow
with swift-speedy steps,
for I would wipe away the tears
which in the night the moon,
the dear little pale moon,
wept upon the blossoms
in the dark-dusky night.
I bow down the heads of the flowers,
the dear little feathery heads,
to gaze in their chalices,
lest the wonderful sweetheart
of the moon, the pale little moon,
should dwell there.

Round and round I seek her,
I seek her through the groves,
through the bright-blue groves,
I seek her through the woods,
through the dark-dusky woods,
but I do not find her.
I seek her in the brook
lest its silver-tressed waves
should cradle her.

Often changéd in storm,
in dire-dreadful storm,

I seek her over the sea,
in the depths of the sea,
in its deepest depths.
I tramp over the whole sea,
I cast up the whole sea,
But I do not find her.
Everywhere, everywhere I seek,
Where the eye of the moon,
Of the dear pale little moon
may never penetrate,
but, alas,—never she.

Every night the moon,
the dear little pale moon
comes out above the mountains,
above the grey mountains ;
ever on his coming-out
a new hope shines in his face ;
which, as he rises higher
and does not find her,
ever grows pale and paler.
In the silent night he weeps,
and on the little feathery blossoms
(fall) the bright tears of his weeping

And so from the creation
of the whole wide world
he strays through the clouds,
through the silver clouds,
seeking a sweetheart ;
around him flow a multitude
of bright little stars,
every night the blossoms,
the little feathery blossoms
he dews with his tears,
with his bright shining tears.
But when his great grief
overpowers him, he wraps
his face in a veil,

in a dark-grey veil,
and then dark night,—
dark, dusky night
covers the whole world.
And all things then mourn
with the little moon,
the dear pale little moon,
Throughout the whole night.
But when he does not find
his sweetheart in the night,
then early in the morning
far, far away.
beyond the little blue woods
he dives into the sea.

And so the moon
the dear pale little moon
must wander forever
from the beginning of the world,
the whole-wide world,
Until the ending of the world,
the whole-wide world—
seeking the beautiful sweetheart
that he will never find.

THE MINSTREL

Translated from the Czech of K. H. MÁCHA by H. H. MCGOVERN

Casting its fragrance round and round
stood a tree in the beauty of blossom ;
about it flew the birds,
extolling its beauty
in joyous song.—
But it blossomed early ;
at dawn a frost surprised it ;
down fell blossom after blossom
and the fragrance vanished with the blossoms ;
down fell leaf after leaf
and its beauty vanished with the leaves ;
alone stood the withered tree.—

The flock of birds lamented
the lost beauty of the withered tree
in the blossoming orchard.

Over the pool on the crag,
on the crag on high,
in the dark bodeful night
fire spreads brightly upwards—
flame after flame blazes out
in the wide-spreading forest.
The glow is born upwards
and the heavens likewise redden,
and the pool shines in the glow,
and the gold-bright waves
whisper merrily together.
Already the fire is burning low,
flame after flame blazes out,
gleams—flickers—glows and dies.
The heavens once more grow dark ;
the glow burns out in the pool
and the dark waves whisper
as in a burial dirge.

A nightingale flew to and fro
in the blossoming orchard ;
it swung in the blossoms
whitening on the apple trees.
It flew on over the wood,
over the grove it outspread
its swift-speedy pinions,—
and wherever it flew
its tender song sounded loudly ;
the blossoming orchard (heard it and) grew still,
the broad wood and the grove were hushed,
the breeze folded its wings
and slumbered in the green grove
in the tops of the highest pines.
The brook heard faintly
the touching song of the nightingale.
There the nightingale slept,
slumber sealed its eyes ;
it fell from the blossoming bough ;

upwards spread the moss over it.
Its songs were stilled,
and over its grave
the deep forest murmured sadly.
And the swift breeze
in the full light of the moon
lamented its death.

A youth passed over the mountains,
over the broad plains of his country,
carrying a tuneful harp.—
He was ever a welcome guest ;
when with skilful fingers he
roused the quivering strings to music,
the eyes of many a sad girl—
like stars growing gloomy,
would veil with bright tears ;
and as with the Dawn the dew
gleams on the rose's petals,
so, on the blossoming cheeks
of each maid did the pale tears gleam.
Often his sweet song sounded.
to the full moon above the grove.
The youth is now no more ;
in the cold grave he slumbers ;
for on the wings of his song
his gentle spirit flew forth.
As the fragrance vanished with the blossoms,
as the glow died out with the fire,
as the song with the nightingale was hushed ;
so with this goodly youth
away sped the touching songs,
and the tuneful harp grew mute.

NOTE BY TRANSLATOR

KAREL HYNEK MÁCHA (1810–1836) lived and wrote in an Age when the works of Byron and Scott were dominating the literary worlds of the Continent. It has well been said that if the untiring labours of men such as Dobrovský and Jungmann in reconstructing Czech philology gave the Czechs back their language after 200 years of oppression, Mácha was the first man who turned that “new” language into music. Of all the Czech poets he is the most purely lyrical.

His fame among the Czechs rests on his masterpiece "May," a romantic poem which combines colourful imagery, deep sensitivity and fine lyrical qualities with a masterly technique which has caused latter-day critics very rightly to style it a "May-symphony." There are, however, among his lesser-known works other poems which display a delicacy of thought and sensitivity to beauty in its most spiritual forms, recalling the Shelley of "To the Night" and "A Sensitive Plant," viz. *Měsíček* ("The Dear Little Moon") and *Zpěvec* ("The Minstrel") in which the passage relating to the nightingale makes the reader wonder whether Wilde could have possibly read this poem. It recalls vividly Wilde's imagery in "The Nightingale and the Rose."

Such a conjecture is not entirely groundless, since in the complete edition of Wilde's Works, published in America, there are translations from the poems of a Polish poetess who might perhaps have read Mácha's poem to him in English. Wilde's Polish translations suggest to anyone who knows Slav languages that they were based on roughly-made English versions, which he then proceeded to remould and polish.

The present translator, while regretting that the two versions here submitted are not in rhyme, nevertheless feels that prose translations, which are almost "word for word" as in their original language—more successfully reveal the true Mácha than a rhymed rendering which would have necessitated a freer treatment.

H. H. M.

ED. NOTE—Cf. this *Review*, Vol. XV, pp. 400 seq., on "Mácha and Byron"

THIS SPRING IN BOSNIA

Translated from the Serbocroat of SLOBODAN GALOGAZA
by W. A. MORISON.

Spring has smiled its warm smile
on the plum-orchards,
on the distant hills;
young breasts are blooming, and the cherry.
Warm is Bosnia's embrace.
At this hour,
when the clouds have remained in our eyes
small and transparent and light,
pattens have pattered down the lane,
the feet of peasants have trod the meadows,
this spring.

And a ploughman is singing
of the blue distances,
of the wind that makes the forest burgeon,
of the corn, wide like the sea,
of the corn, wide like the sea,
of autumn's russet face.
And a man is singing :
For a long journey I make me ready.

They have not yet sunk into silence, the glorious songs
of the deeds of the mountain haiduks.
In the cool of the undergrowth
still seems to doze
the dark wolf Starina Novak.

Whitely the highways wind by.
The hawk circles overhead.
Defending its forests and meadows
our people its blood will shed.

Somewhere, beneath the gallows' weight,
village and town have exuded blood,
winter and summer.
In summers when the hay smelt sweet,
in winters coated with an icy crust.

Dear Bosnia . . .
Hurtful are sombre rememberings
of furrowed faces
in this evening's murk, in this morning's light.

Bloodily, painfully groans the fence-wire :
An end to slavery !
Over the stones and the rivers the reed-pipe plays
all the sufferings of man.
Hearts shrink together about the age-old pains
of the ploughmen of Bosnia
every morning and every evening.

Bent backs behind the plough are eloquent :
Songs shall resound above our tree-clad hills

from fallow-field and homestead,
songs swollen with the blood of the land's yearning.
Each inch of this dear land shall be defended,
this earth that friable beneath our footsteps crumbles.
Thus speaks the eye, the mouth, the forehead,
the voice of hill and forest.

And when the time has come, and deeds await us,
a rampart will arise of bodies, hearts and hands,
and Bosnia will then
the cradle be
of new, mountain-born
haiduk bands.

The swallows have nested beneath our eaves
and the lilacs their sweetness raise
and these days
and these days . . .

Whitely the highways wind by.
The hawk circles overhead.
Defending its forests and meadows
our people its blood will shed.

BENEATH TWO TREES

*Preface to the Polish novel "Janosik" by JALU KUREK*¹

BELOW Czorstyn murmured the curving, narrow, winding Dunajec, turning whirlpools in its bed. The old gypsy-woman was looking at the palm held out to her.

"The wondrous hatchet of Geordie Janosik, hewn from a rock, has come to life and gleams in the sun. A new robber-outlaw, Saviour of his people, is coming. The poor folk will have joy of you."

She kissed the hand, deep-veined though small—the slender hand of an unpretentious lad. By appearance one might have given him sixteen years, but such an estimate would have run the risk of being too generous.

"What more?"

"It is written that you will have a lofty death." He smiled. When?

She was frightened at what she had said. And how much did she still know, but did not dare to tell? She gazed confounded at the line of the palm.

"Well, why don't you speak?" he insisted.

She shook her head helplessly. "I don't know, there is no sign," she hiccuped in confusion.

He was not a well-grown youth in appearance: rather the reverse,—short, slender and frail. But he had unexpected power in his muscles, and a curious look in his grey-green eyes, which dissolved people into mist.

"What line is this?" He showed the gypsy-woman a short, deep furrow from his pulse in the direction of his forefinger.

"That is the line of love," she explained coquettishly, but in her eyes terror was concealed. "The maids will cling to you and love you; but you will not be satisfied with them."

The grey peaked cap, pushed back from the brow, showed a shapeless mass of blond hair in tangled tufts. The face attracted you—easy, bold even to shameless, that of a child. The dancing eyes of an urchin, in which at bottom there slumbered a cold fire that disturbed you. The blue shirt with a folded, soft collar, was going yellow from the sun. The sporting trousers of dark brown were rolled up to the knees, revealing bare calves of the shade of

¹ ED. NOTE.—A somewhat patronising account of Kurek's pre-war work can be found in this *Review*, Vol. XV (1936-1937), p. 669. The human interest of this sketch will be apparent even to the reader who is critical of the too lyrical language.

gilded bronze. How much work was done in turn to patch them by the women—Agnes, Mitanka, Sophie from Upper Cichy and her mother!

Was this the famous robber? Physical slightness was a flame in his case, but that slenderness went perfectly with strength of muscles. He seemed to be altogether compact of flying elements, of wind and sun, built at one and the same time of rubber and of steel. He looked like a tramp, though everything about him was an expression of his spirit—deep glance, body collected for leisurely seizing of prey, melodious voice that made light of things, face fierce and strained. He reached from one extreme to the other, as if wholly clad in contradiction. Betimes he would half-close his eyes, as if wearied with looking or worried with thinking. The eyes shone with a green flavour in the sun, their shafts bottomless as a well.

"Tell me now, gammer: how many years will I live?" he tried to catch the gypsy out. But she would not be shaken from her coolness.

"No one knows when you will die. Your hand tells nothing about that. It tells of death, of a lofty death, of great fame, of lush loving."

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It was July, the month of enduring heat. In this very season my mother died in Cracow, a full-blooded highland woman. She grew to maturity very far from her native village of Naprawa. She knew well the grandfather of Janosik, in whom—though she recognised the bandit—she always succeeded in respecting the man.

To you, departed mother, I dedicate this book. With you I begin the first instalment of the story, for all of it has its origins in you—was inspired by you. This mountain-tale has its colour from blood that flowed from you.

The sun hung over the landscape, hot and huge. There you have the life of Jan Dziura, which grew into poetry. There it flourished among half-frozen, watery potatoes, between a heaven that was usually clouded and a forest that was always restless. Perhaps from those villages, sparsely spread out on hillsides clothed in green, that life got a fever that was to hound him up and down the borders of two kingdoms.

Round about the tamaracs murmured, mingled with beeches. Up till then this virgin wood had not been cut down to make masts for docks beyond the seas. But there escaped from it a breath of long ago, which no form of modern civilisation can express quite in full. The roar of the train far down in the valley lames that beautiful

day—a day bathed in golden sun. The forests themselves bow down flat under the song as the rails do under the steel coaches. How health-giving sounds out and echoes their old-world melody ! Is it a song about a Hetman ?

It was July, the month of enduring heat. And right here I interrupt the tale of Janosik, and return to my own mother. Both she, and the mother of the robber-outlaw were born in one village—Naprawa. You, my readers, will thus get to know *me*, who write, before you get to know my hero, for whom the gypsy-woman prophesied a famous life and a lofty death. Let us then take up the story from the beginning, and write the book from the ground up. We begin with my father and mother.

They toiled and suffered long before they were honoured in the greatest achievement of their hard life—their children. These all grew up ; to the joy of their parents none died in infancy. They grew up healthy and mature, while their parents began to slip into the shadows of death. That is the law of every living thing ; thus is proclaimed the destiny of all matter : while living, step by step we perish.

In March I lost my father, in July of the same year my mother. One might say that, if a father and a mother have lived to sixty-eight or sixty, they are older people and by the natural course of things they die ; but for children, who love their parents, their death will always come too soon.

How then shall one mourn a father ? He was a quiet man, and of humble heart. How shall one mourn a mother ? She was an exceptional woman ; you will believe this, when you get to know the facts of her life. A resolute maiden, daughter of stout, highland stock, she brought to her domestic life in Cracow the vitality, hardiness and good housewifery of the mountain folk. Although father also was of village origin, he was a son of the Tarnow plainland, and possessed a calm and yielding nature.

We grew up under hard conditions, in a close little room, lighted by a faint gas-lamp. There were four of us children. For nearly thirty years we lived in a narrow and deep courtyard, where the rays of the sun never found entry. It was not even a courtyard, but a misty dungeon of a place, ringed about on four sides by the walls of an age-old building. Bits of fresh air found their way down there rather by mistake or in compassion. The woman from the highlands and the man from the plain founded their home-nest in a strange, inhospitable place ; they sank roots in this dampness with the same passion and heroism, with which Polish peasants,

as pioneers, cut down the primitive forests of Brazil.² They founded a family in a large city, brought up four children, and gave them a higher education. What consecration on the part of a young couple, wrestling thus with fate! Certainly, for such people in those times the education of children was a luxury.

Mother had come at the start to the city as a servant-girl. There were too many of them—lean peasant's daughters, living on a few stony acres. How she must have worked as a servant, what sacrifice and humiliation she endured! Father too had come from the country in search of work. After a few years he achieved the goal of aspirations of a whole neighbourhood's poverty, the object of envy of all the men of his village—a permanent post with the state. He got the job of porter in the Chemistry Institute of the Jagiellonian university. Everyone knows what that meant. He had an assured job to the end of his days, a guaranteed wage at the first of every month, security for his wife, a modest but "bricks-and-mortar" future. And in the shadow of this thirty-eight-year-long post our family came into being.

Father's Institute looked out on the Plantations—that stately circle of green, which stood in the centre of the city; so that my childhood was cradled by the rustling of trees. This cradling wrapt me from my earliest years in lyrical accents, which have become as inseparable from my speech as the wind is from mother-nature.

The recollection of those years is for me the sweetest faraway music. I was born in the atmosphere of a university—half dour, half mystical. During thirty years the narrow and dark room in which my father served lulled me to sleep. My youth, which was rather sad (save for the murmur of century-old chestnuts) was compassed about with the smells of laboratories. When in solitude I experienced the first tremors of what is called inspiration, I was on the way in the evening to the empty laboratory where my father, smoking his pipe, was saying his prayers; and I recited unconscious verses in the presence of hundreds of bottles filled with acids. When today I pass along that street and glance into those windows, darkened by wild vine, it seems to me that there, in the acids, flows poetry—perhaps the same that I breathed over a score of years ago into hundreds of bottles. At that time there was no one there, it was dark, terrible and deserted; there were walls that frightened one evenings, there were shelves with bottles; and there was my father praying, and pulling at his pipe on its long stem.

² A reference to the emigrants from Poland who were acclaimed seventy years ago by the poetess Marja Konopnicka in *Pan Balcer z Brazylia*.

Then I would go to my mother. She would be busy with her work, scrubbing the floor of our dwelling, or washing. Not that she washed in our room for outsiders—no, it was for herself. Like a spark from a higher race, there would gleam in her eye a great mother-love, an understanding ripeness of life. She would say “I shall not get enough to eat, shall not buy myself an overcoat; I shall go out in my old shawl with my can to the market for milk: but my children will go to high-school.”

I can see my mother in the close, foggy air of evening. She gets up from her kitchen stove, from her pots, from the wearying halo of everyday toil, and gazes at me with a tender glance. I can hear her voice, as if coming from faraway worlds “Jalinku! Jalinku!” Was it thus that she kept urging me to hold out?

I am holding out. Of course, I am. I was educated at the bottom of a stony precipice, amid rats and seepage, and I know what hard life is. In war-time³ and during the great depression I was a witness of misery, on which no one could look without a shock and tears. I saw in what frightful conditions the villager lived, I knew the bitter bread of poverty, the grim vegetating of city cellars. No one needed to teach me the wormwood of life; I have drunk it myself. Six of us lived on a monthly income of ninety crowns [Austrian, tr. note] and we did not complain.

And mother? She said nothing; she held her tongue and toiled on. She was strong and proud, a genuine highlander. She could have said of herself: “Listen! Life has beaten me like a dog, without pity. No one ever gave me anything. Everything I have worked for with my own hands!”

Evenings father would come home, bent over from carrying coal, with the kindly smile of a naïve child. Neither he nor his wife lived any longer for themselves, but only for the oncoming brood, to whom they had given life. The years went by, the war broke out; year by year their hair became greyer, while we children in school were climbing higher and higher. We grew up under the branches of two parental trees: one of them, the paternal, stern and strong, was sparing of its sap toward us; while the other, shaken back and forth by the wind and bursting with love, shared to the limit its life-forces with her children. The one-time village goose-girl determined by the foreseeing line of her thought the paths of our lives. She made the decisions: you will give yourself in war; you will be a wife and a mother; you will explore the secrets of human diseases, while you, the youngest, will be as the bird that sings—

³ Reference to the war of 1914-1919 and to the hard years 1931-1933.

you will become a poet ! Thus did she assign her four to different walks in life, like a brood-hen who leads her chicks into the field ; and in this way she planted her own restless blood in the life of the rising generation.

So it turned out. Her watchful mind and wise heart foresaw everything. We knew that, unless we did as she wanted, things would go wrong. It was always so.

The window of our room opened on a tightly built-in air-well, on the other side of which there rose the two-storey wall of the Greek Catholic [Uniate, tr. note] Church. In the wall they made, years afterwards, an opening with glass, a primitive window, which was opened rarely, and was always veiled by heavy curtains. The widow of the former sexton lived there, whose son—a kindly giant—worked in the railway workshops. He would return home as night fell, and after supper at a late hour he would play feelingly on a guitar. The playing sounded unnatural in the silence of the walled-in courtyard, and made on one a shattering impression. There was something of the rending chords of death in the moaning music of the instrument. Thus did sob every evening the harsh prose of a proletarian courtyard, the realist misery of mews ; thus from the darkness and stench rose upward dreams of the beautiful, the song of a head that has been severed.

At long last, after a wearied spell of crawling in darkness, we made our way into light—from the cellar up to the first floor, to an entrance bathed in fresh air, to space and sun before our eyes. So long had one to work, in order to make a home ! A score and a half years it took. And how short were my parents to live there—a score of months !

By now we had behind us a stretch of active and independent life, and we thought “ Now mother will breathe easier. She will no longer toil for us to the elbows. We shall make her old age a happy one at our side. Father too will not work any more, he will get his pension, he has thirty-five years of service behind him ! ” Then for the first time we hired a servant. But the working habits of the highland village did not allow mother to be robbed of occupation ; she continued to be busy in the kitchen. Only a small shell of her was left. So restless was the family strain in her, that during the whole day she never rested a moment.

Was she happy ? Doubtless she was, if such a state can ever be won in life. Doubtless she attained her goal. The daughter of a poor villager from near Luboń, the wife of a university porter, had grounds for pride : she had reared and educated four children

—a colonel, a wife of a cavalry officer, a doctor and an editor. Such was her title to boasting. What more could one wish ?

If we could only have made permanent this state of things ! But happiness, if it exists, is neither certain nor lasting. Illness stole secretly in. It did not enter suddenly, but developed slowly in her body. Who knows whether, from the time of an accident with the gas, it did not worm its way into her constitution and slowly poison her blood. It may be that, after coming back from the half-way house of death, my parents could not altogether enter again into life as of old, bound as it were by undefined threads of consciousness to the other shore. Perhaps the long, unconscious sleep of poisoning introduces them to a foretaste of rest, and for that reason they were not keen to return to the bosom of existence that destroys. Mother said once with a smile, which smoothed out the ageing lines of her face :

“ What a pity, that we were brought back to life ! It was so pleasant to forget everything. It is good to leave the world in such a way, as if in sleep, and not to awaken again.”

She was right ; and this was a foreboding, for she was to die suffering. It was not hard to understand the regrets which foresaw the future. Without knowing it, she was entering the country of purification, and her joy was suddenly interrupted.

The disease, which had treacherously ambushed itself in her vitals, spread through the tissues without stopping for breath—slowly, steadily, mercilessly. One day it spoke up clearly : “ Here I am ! ” Then we understood for the first time that there was no escape.

Both father and mother went, as if by agreement, in the course of just under four months ; leaving their house in order, everything arranged, as a model for all generations. Children of rural misery had sunk their roots in the city, given to Cracow a generation of immigrant intellectuals, the first healthy blood of the village, with which for ages the city has restored her tired arteries.

Father left the land of the living in March, during the first spasms of spring. Through the window there was pouring into the room an unfathomed flood of sunshine. The eyes of the sick man had a distended expression ; as though he were embracing everything from his bed with a whitened gaze, which pierced through the square-box of the room, directed to the faraway spaces, where the saints of the Lord were to assure eternal life to this simple and firmly believing nature.

This first hope of spring had begun too early. The city was

revealed, lighted from top to bottom by the sun, too bright for that treacherous season, too fair for so miserable a life. March, most tragic of months for the sick and aged, unfolded its poisonous course. Fresh and vigorous young married women were appearing with their prams on the streets. Children reached out little hands from the depths of their wrappings to the budding flowers. But on the bedding, bound to it until death, lay a frame that was loosed from its tendons, a sick stalk torn from its fruit. The head of an eagle, but in its glance—a psalm. The eagle profile reached out fiercely toward immortality. Like a stout tree this handsome, grey-haired man was dying, rosary in hand, his features clear cut as bronze, yet sweet withal. Above the phials of injections his lonely spirit hovered like a bird released from its cage. Thus was passing away Peter—divine ashes—my father, now in heaven, a peasant's son, the father of a poet, whose spirit lives about me. Sitting on the floor at the foot of the bed, I read in a voice broken with sobs the litany to All Saints and the psalm for the dying. From the square could be heard the shrill cries of children, and the troublesome shrieking of motor sirens. Such were the last hours of an old man, without any coughing, and not lightened by a glance. The heart still beat inside a frame that was weakening. This upright man, for whom the earth was a warring church, who had gone through life without a stain, was accepting death as an entrance to the world of the triumphant, reaching out in humility for the reward promised since twenty centuries to the faithful. He was going without a word, listening intent to the choirs of archangels.

Evening found him at prayer. "Jesus!" whispered lips that had not asked for food for a long time. It was twenty o'clock and twenty minutes—a murderous hour. The signal from heaven—it is time! Twenty-twenty by the clock! Father was taking off his earthly robe, which no longer hurt him. His body was lifeless. As he lived, so he died—in silence.

Mother, conversely, was tortured on the day of her passing. As her husband had gone out in peace, like a martyr conscious of the cause for which he was giving his life, so she was to die suffering. And yet it was the same disease which took her as him. She did not want to surrender, far from it; she fought heroically, trying to outwit the enemy, deceive him, fool or ignore him. She was in revolt at the very thought—why should she have to depart from this world, which she had only begun to fashion? Why should the tree go dry, whose branches, grafted on to earth, flourished and were about to bear fruit?

She had her eyes closed for some hours, wrestling as she breathed with internal pain. It may be, in that moment she was moving in thought over the meadows of her own village. When she already felt that she was not to get up from her bed, she worried endlessly over one thing. she would not see Naprawa again and would not be able to do her own will anywhere. And all the time the countryside frolicked in its beauty, unmindful of the prodigal daughter, who had long since gone off to the city.

There she lay under the quilt, a frail little wing, devoured by disease. Yes, that was her body. It fell to me to keep it still in the world by my love. More than once mother would ask me in a simplicity of spirit that revealed the highest measure of doubts :

"Tell me, you are a man of learning. is there life over there?"

"Where?"

"There, after death," and she made an undefined movement with her eyes.

We called the doctors. They expressed hope, but too vaguely for physicians. They smiled benevolently, but without conviction. They quickly left the place, visited by the threat of a speedy end, hurrying to other patients.

"Lay me on my right side!" begged the sick woman. She believed that so it would be better, since her heart was not under her. "Now I want to be on my left side," she would change her mind after a while, "for I do not want to squeeze my liver."

A famous quack-doctor arrived from his village. We hung on to every means of rescuing the dying spark of life. Is it not clear that the dimensions of a human being are still unknown? Or that it is sometimes given to simple people to sense illness more precisely than do the learned, or even to cure it? Or that the secret of pain is betimes revealed in surprising fashion to herd-boys, although the microscope of the scientist does not see it? We are all still feeling our way about this world.

Our whole hope rested in the visitor. He looked the patient in the eye.

"Nothing will happen to you. I know what is wrong with you."

Have you ever heard fairer words? By words alone a cure would be effected! He promised to send medicine. It came at the last moment, when we were not to use it.

"What time is it?" groaned mother, still conscious, on that tragic morning.

"Seven o'clock."

"Wounds of Christ!"

She lay on her death-pillow, growing sadder, as if knowing in advance that we could not do without her. She met her end as great men do, grown out of the living soil, from the very stock of the healthy sod—conscious to the last, dazzled by the brightness of a clear vision—she for whom the wisdom of life was as an open book. She perished from a bodily disease that consumed her tissues, but did not touch her mind. The latter therefore worked on unwearied to the end. With bemisted eyes she gripped space, and held it firmly. A smile burst like a shell over her countenance. When she was gone, the air still trembled at the spot, disturbed by the action of the smile.

I looked long at her motionless form, in order to convince myself that this was her last sleep. I recalled that she was always afraid they might lay her in her coffin in a lethargic slumber but still alive, and I had inherited this fear from her.

Oh, mother! She saw in me the herald of the unknown that was not proclaimed in her. I know, for she told me herself, that betimes inspiration seized her, of the kind that visits poets and prophets. Only think!—she did not know how to write at all. Like a young barbarian I broke into the world of the spirit with the compelling, even wild longing of a village-woman in my veins. She herself, before she went out like a broken lamp, let me get to know, while a child, the white-hot content of her own flame. Thanks to her, I discovered a truth stronger than the life of organic things: people die, but song lives on!

In this union from which I was born, the woman was the stronger element. In her there flamed a heart, the purest gold of goodness, the unalloyed mark of holiness. Her keenness of mind left its impress on the generation that was born from the crossing of two strains. She it was who guided our lives; she gave them colour, tone and taste.

One should love both one's parents: but the mother will represent always the more powerful tie, the more enduring link, the experience that is not forgotten. Just as the child is bound more closely to the mother, being born of her, so it will feel that union more deeply all through its existence. To the child every mother consecrates her pain, even suffering physically because of it. How should one not feel this? Every other love is the result of chance; this only the result of blood. How should one forget it.

Honourable maid of the mountains, crucified on a steaming wash-tub! During so many months you went with a slow step into death. All that I did for you was too little. I should like to build for you

one day a monument in writing, such as the greatest leaders of history did not deserve. They sent at times into the massacre of battle many thousands of people; you are the conqueror, for you create, repair the losses of those leaders, and proclaim the triumph of life over destruction. Thus can live only good people and capable. If I could inherit even a portion of your competence, as I did inherit tenderness of heart, I should write with such persuasion that the cruellest scoundrel would have to break into tears. Yet the trouble is that my words stumble and halt when I remember you

You, most beloved! Perhaps I am stupid and mad; but if there is in me anything of worth, of a certainty it comes from you. From you I possess, handed down in my system, that beating of the heart which gives colour to the world, and without which it is not worth while to live. For you I mourn, for you I want to live. In me your own being is given another chance. I know that, though bound by the grave, you are always with me, just as in the former days of our life together. To you I render homage—a son born of your blood, of your restlessness and fire. Who knows—perhaps I am an echo of your desires and dreams, conceived in childhood in your upland countryside, and full of meadows and forests. But you—as says the poet—are for me the fairest thing I have known in life.

So then now, in the writing of this book, there appears on the paper in front of me your small form, the most silent craft of life. Think of me. Poets will sing of you, the woman of times past, who died before her time, the heroine deprived of the halo of revolution. And the maids about their cows will be singing this song of the goose-girl of Naprawa, who made herself immortal.

* * *

At this moment Janosik is entering the deep woods, in order to resume his robber-round of the mountains. Over the tips of the tamaracs his legendary steed is galloping. Only before evening itself is it given to men to see the unearthly gallop of the bay stallion.

The sun is setting; it will soon be evening. The daily spectacle is beginning of the struggle, the battle of light with darkness. The land of my dreams is breaking out with grass up to my knees. The birds are growing silent in the branches. The mountains, going grey in the dark, are assaulting the landscape threateningly. The heavens—promised paradise for the faithful—are wounded to pain. The sun, a deep wound thrust into the flesh, is being slowly wrapped in a bandage of clouds. From under the ragged bandage blood drips

out on the bluish horizon. Thus does the day leave us—beaten and wounded. Poets have called it sunset.

Mother ! There was too little of your blood—I know. The birds sing for you, the trees murmur for you ; with your breath the animals live, the flowers grow, the sun shines, the water flows downhill. You remain without interruption in your complex, heterogeneous chorus of nature. Perhaps this is the immortality of the soul, sung by the idealist. I too see you best at dusk, in the dark grey hour when the earth is gathering strength from the heavenly bodies. You hold a veil before my mind, so that I cannot read the future. When will you take me to you, in a flash, in a sudden outburst ?

I am on my way to you, woman of mourning !

*English by W. J. R. from the
Original in Twórczość, Nr.*

THE INN

Translated from the Roumanian of I. L. CARAGIALE

by MABEL NANDRIȘ

A YOUNG horseman came down the gentle slope from Poenița at a jingling amble. . . .

There was no need to hurry: the sun was just beginning to rise; he would arrive before noon at the inn at Sălcuța—more than half his journey. . . . There he would remain an hour to feed his horse; by late afternoon he would be with his landlord in the town. Thinking of the landlord, he groped in his bosom—the bundle of money was safe.

He passed on from the hillside into open country.

It was the day after St. George's Day. There was not a single cloud to be seen in the whole dome of the sky. In the valley, the morning air shimmered in waves to the far horizon, while in the little birch-wood at the foot of the mountain, the birds of spring called out to each other in the sun's rays and rivalled each other in a variety of songs.

"But where are you off to, lad?" asked a voice behind the young rider.

The latter turned round. Another horseman was overtaking him. Where on earth did that man come from? For, all the way, although the young man had often cast his eyes back on the way he had come, he had never noticed anyone behind; he had even been thinking: how quiet in the morning is this road, which at other times is so much used!

"Down the hill . . ." replied the lad. "And you?"

"Also downhill." And with those words, he prodded his horse in the leg and came alongside the rider in front. "Good journey, lad!"

"The same to you!"

"What a good thing I've met you! I hate to be alone, especially on the road."

The traveller, judging by his appearance and manner, seemed to be a merchant—a grain-merchant or a cattle-dealer, going from village to village on business; a burly, red-faced fellow, with a lively expression; snub-nosed and freckled; but a pleasant-looking chap and a cheerful companion; the only thing was that he had a squint and when he looked the young lad straight in the face, he made him feel rather faint, with a kind of headache between his eyes.

They continued slowly, side by side, in a jingling amble, talking of this and that ; and it was an understood thing that they should stop together at the inn for a snack. Talking of one thing and another, they were there, almost before they realised it, and entered Sălcuța. As they turned left behind the hillock where the church stood, the new tin roof of the tower suddenly appeared like the flash of a bullet, gleaming in the sunshine.

The lad urged on his horse, holding the bridle tightly. The merchant did the same. The horse took a breath. As he passed the church, the lad made the sign of the Cross. Then he heard his companion roaring with laughter a few paces behind. He turned round : the merchant was nowhere to be seen. What an extraordinary thing ! Where could he have gone to ? Had the ground opened and swallowed him ?

No . . . he was at the inn. . . . He was waiting for him on the verandah. . . .

The youth had not noticed the merchant passing on in front of him. Naturally, he must have done that : a horseman complete with his horse could not possibly enter the earth. . . .

At the inn, the pots and pans were boiling, the grills sizzling, the fiddlers playing ; a great uproar was going on and sounds of different kinds of bells rung by the cows and horses as they moved their heads.

The travelling companions sat down at a table, having hung sacks of oats round the necks of their horses. The merchant took a flask of brandy from his saddle-bag and treated the lad. It was good brandy ! A pleasant warmth filled their bones, and what an appetite ! The food was good and the wine even better. The merchant drank, urging the lad on, and the strapping youth kept his head : glass after glass and flagon after flagon.

By degrees the companions became well warmed up. But they needed wine and in vain they rapped the table and shouted : nobody heard them. There was a great throng in the shop and outside under the arbour. Losing patience, the merchant got up from the table and went into the bar. The youth remained in his place, very intoxicated, wiping off the perspiration and breathing heavily.

The other came back, bringing a buxom and pretty wench with him, who, with sleeves rolled up above the elbows, brought food and drink on a tray. Arriving at the table through the crowd, the squint-eyed man looked hard at the youth and occasionally turned his eyes on the girl.

She left the tray on the table and went away. The youth

wanted to take hold of her by the arm ; she escaped and fled : he called her back ; she turned her head and smiled, shrugging her shoulders as if to say " I've no time now for nonsense," and entered the shop. The squint-eyed merchant looked at the young man and again made a sign with his eyes " After her " . The youth stood up with determination and followed the path pointed out to him by the eye of his companion. . . .

A long time had passed since lunch and by degrees the carters, merchants and travellers had gone away, one by one, some up the hill, some down to the valley, and the fiddlers were silent and the whole place was empty.

Very few people had remained at the inn. In a room the two companions, each on a bed, drowsed after the meal. The girl brought them coffee. Now it was no longer in vain ; she could stay and talk to a traveller. The merchant looked at the girl, looked squinting at the youth, and then went to see what was going on in the room where some grain-merchants were playing cards . . .

Why waste words ? A girl who had so much work to do could not stay long. The girl had not yet left when the merchant went back to the room. The youth had fallen well and truly asleep. Was this the time to sleep ! In a moment he must follow his companion into the adjoining room where there was a great pool to be won : the grain-merchants are better at love-making—they play cards stupidly and clumsily.

" Come, get up ! "

Who should be among the grain-merchants ? Neica Dincă, the uncle, full brother to the father of the young man.

It did not take the uncle long to find out where the youth had come from, and where he was going. He had come from home and was going to the town to pay the belated rent of fifty gold pieces to the landlord, for the small estate in Poenița which his father had rented.

The game continued. . . .

The youth pushed in too . . . and began to play.

" Come, young fellow," said the uncle, " take your horse and go on about your business ! Do you hear me ? "

But the raw lad looked into the eyes of his companion who stood facing him and pretended he did not hear. He fired ahead, winning all before him. He had the most miraculous luck.

" Come, blockhead ! " said the uncle, " you've had enough ! Get out now ! "

It had become quite dark ; the cards could no longer be seen ; candles were lit.

" Hey, boy ! It's night-time. What are you doing ? "

" Leave me alone, uncle ! "

" All right," replied the old man, and went on playing.

But a game is a game and luck is luck. The boy's luck began to turn and to get steadily worse. He stopped to think, looking blank ; but he met the eye of his companion, which gave him stronger counsel than the most strict command. He plunged his hand into his bosom and pulled out the sack. Forward ! The uncle looked up at his nephew, smiled knowingly and without saying another word, leaned, with rapt attention, across the table.

It was three a m. The rent was gone ! Also two rings and his watch ! The horse and saddle would have gone too had not the uncle and the grain-merchants blown out the candles and gone to rest. Who won ? Naturally, the one who knew how to play : the uncle and his companion—one of the grain-merchants ; the other two grain-merchants lost not quite so much as the nephew, that is to say, not everything they had ; but they also lost enough considering they were not very affluent.

Now all the players slept, each in his own room. The clouds thickened after midnight and it was pitch dark.

Our youth sat out on the verandah, his head on his hands, while before him stood his travelling-companion. Lost in thought, he raised his head and it seemed to him that in the darkness he saw the queer eye gleaming which had mastered him all day.

" What's to be done ? " he asked.

" They are all sleeping like logs," whispered the squint-eye. " The door is off its lower hinge. If you raise it up well, you can enter underneath ; you can then unlock it from inside and get out easily. Go in quickly ; crouch down ; grope your way to the beds ; listen carefully for their breathing and pass this handkerchief over everyone's nose. The moment they breathe in that smell, they won't waken until daylight, even should they be cut with a saw ! "

Saying this, he put the handkerchief into the boy's hand and pushed him gradually towards the door.

The boy took the handkerchief in his left hand and wiping off the perspiration, sighed : " Oh, Lord ! Lord ! " and with his right hand made the sign of the Cross.

Then a loud peal of laughter was heard. He swung round. All round him was pitch black and nowhere was the bright eye of his

companion to be seen. He gave way in all his joints and crumpled up on the verandah.

Daylight dawned.

"Get up, you! You've slept here, smart lad!" said a familiar voice.

The youth woke up dazed.

His uncle called him into the room; the nephew listened, scarcely able to stand on his feet.

"How much have you lost?"

"Everything!"

"How much was everything?"

"Everything I had . . . and . . ."

"And what else?"

"And . . . the rent. . ."

"Fifty gold pieces?"

The nephew nodded, casting down his eyes.

"Who forced you to play if you don't know the game?"

"The devil made me!"

"Didn't I tell you three times to go?"

"Yes."

"Didn't you understand I wanted to save you?"

"No."

"Fool!" And the uncle took out a large purse from his belt, brought out a handful of money and counted it on the table.

"You count it too. Are there fifty?"

"Yes."

After a silence in which the boy collected the money, bound it up and plunged the sack deep into his bosom, the uncle said:

"In future play only with me, raw youngster!" And in a parental fashion he gave him two resounding slaps. "Another time, don't you dare to play with older men unless you know how to play! Take your money and get off at once to the landlord. . . . Quick! . . . Take these few pence so that you can buy something to eat on the way."

"Thank you!"

In a trice the boy was on horseback. . . .

"What are you waiting for? Aren't you going?"

"Uncle, promise me, don't tell Dad. He would kill me!"

"If you behave, I'll not tell him."

"I will. Thank you."

The lad spurred on his horse.

"Hey!" shouted the uncle after him, "look out or the Devil will take you if you follow him again, blockhead!"

Towards evening the youth, hungry and thirsty, passed before the inn at Sălcuța at an ambling pace. A tall, buxom wench, with sleeves rolled up above the elbows, stood leaning against a door-post and looked long after the horseman. He buried his chin in his chest, pulled the bridle tightly and urged the horse to hurry on. He too would have liked to look round once, but he turned to the right behind the church hillock and the verandah of the inn could no longer be seen.

When he arrived at the foot of the hill where the road leads off to Poenița, the horse was panting and slackened his pace a little on the slope.

The sun, sinking in the west, looked back with warm perseverance on the little birch grove where so many birds of spring called out to each other, questioning and answering, rivalling one another with their myriad voices as they returned to their nests.

I. L. CARAGIALE (1852-1912).

THE WIND

Translated from the Roumanian of MIHAIL SADOVEANU
by MABEL NANDRIŞ

ON Christmas Night an idea came to the Wind to have a race through our Capital.

The street lamps burned in ivory circles among the snow-flakes which fell in whirls on the streets, entered empty corridors whistling, and behaved like great white wings in the muteness and solitude.

Occasional passers-by appeared for a second in the pale wheels of light, hunched up, their overcoat collars raised, hands and walking-sticks in their pockets; then they entered the sea of shade and became engulfed in shadows, like black phantoms. Red lights penetrated through frozen window-panes.

The Wind set out, first murmuring softly; then he raised up a great cloud of fine snow above the darkened city, where it seemed as if an illuminated smoke had risen; and he hurried thundering over the dark houses and above the flickering lights. Then he began to hum, wandering through empty streets.

From time to time he shook his great white beard, causing gusts, while his greyish hair crackled, whipping the cold walls. His eyes twinkled like two stars of phosphorus; and his transparent body twisted in tall spirals and rushed forward, enveloped in his white linens like a spectre.

"Come," whispered the Wind into his beard, "let's see what's going on in this Roumanian city. What's here? The Palace!"

He crept up to the walls, then descended on the sentinels, wrapped them in clouds of blizzard and passed them by. His voice echoed like a song sung softly under a dome. Solitude and silence everywhere. Only afar off, from one corner a melodious sound seemed to come as in a dream.

"Is this the desired place?" murmured the Wind. "Yes, this is the Palace of Silence and of Thought. Here live beings who have suffered much. Heaven help their souls!"

The Wind came out sighing, flung white sheaves of snow over the silent streets and passed on.

On Victoria Street, lights shone in the large shop-windows, and through the sifting, luminous snow-flakes passed silhouettes of elegant women. Young men in overcoats with giant shoulders walked behind them, taking long steps, bending their heads towards each other to whisper and smile.

"Fools!" said the Wind. Then he stopped. "But what's here?" The National Theatre. Bravo! We'll see what's here!"

A commissionaire opened the doors one by one to let the audience out, and the Wind stole in.

Empty stalls. Here and there on the seats, solitary shadows slept. On the huge stage, in the glaring footlights, a cavalier in embroidered suit, with a shining sword in his hand, sang mournfully and looked round him, frightened at the empty stage and deserted stalls.

"Heaven help them!" sighed the Wind, stealing out again. "Formerly what gaiety and what merriment there was everywhere. What misery!"

Murmuring, the Wind reached the boulevards and suddenly set out along them whistling.

He passed by dark corners, hurling heavy drifts of snow in the air, flew up and rushed over the tin-roofed houses, making them rattle dryly; shrieked down the chimneys; ran along the walls, hurling handfuls of sleet on the window-panes—and passed on. Here, his intonations were mournful melodies; there, shrieks of laughter, sometimes they cadenced into mournful utterances, which were drawn out into sad sighs like the plaintive sounds of a violin, or grew louder like the blasts of a horn, or descended into the lower notes of the flute, in deep murmurings.

The city was deserted; stooping shadows fled through the streets.

Suddenly the Wind stopped at a corner, laughing softly.

A citizen lurched heavily along a back street. He stopped now and then, mumbling indistinct words, then set off again quickly, groping towards a lamp. There he stopped brusquely, embraced the lamp-post, leant his body and his head forward, speaking dolefully. He was dressed in a ragged, crumpled overcoat, and wore on his head a torn top-hat, crammed down over one ear.

The Wind came out from the corner and began to joke with him. First he blew through the elbows of the overcoat, then tore open the buttonless lappets.

"A bad job!" murmured the man, "give me peace, sir. Now you want to take my overcoat too? You said you would let me have it on credit! Let me have the overcoat, old chap!"

"What's your name, brother?" whispered the Wind.

"What's my name? Well! You don't know my name," replied the man, letting go of the lamp-post and darting to the other side of the street; "I am a great man, sir, a great man. Let go of my coat! You challenge me? Do you know whom you have to deal with? They call me Honest Politics, old chap!"

"Bravo!" said the Wind. "Bravo! Honest Politics. Hold on tight to your overcoat!"

Mr. Honest Politics grabbed the lappets of his overcoat with both hands, but old man Wind blew into his torn top-hat and hurled it, dear knows where! Then he laughed in the red nose, enveloped him in a bluish eddy and hurried him forward.

"Monsieur, don't offend me!" shouted Mr. Honest. "Leave me alone at least for this night, for I am worried enough the whole year round! Give me my top-hat, sir!"

But the hat flew like a dark bird through the blizzard and Mr. Honest began to run after it, staggering all over the place, stepping high. The Wind dashed on quickly and penetrated the courtyard of a gentleman's house at the same time as the top-hat.

He looked in at the windows; finely-dressed people gesticulated and chattered; there was a great din within; discussions and laughter so that the chuckling of old man Wind outside could not be heard.

"Aha! Here is a great political gathering," murmured the Wind sneeringly. "Let me send Mr. Honest here"—and when a door opened wide and the light lit up the darkness without, the old man hurled the torn top-hat into the midst of the drawing-room. Then he took the citizen by the back of the neck and sent him after his top-hat.

An unprecedented uproar arose in the gathering.

"Out! Out! Out with the beggar! Throw him out!"

While the storm of laughter broke out over Mr. Honest, the Wind set off ahead, laughing, wrapping himself in his white linens.

In the darkness of the streets he met snow-drifts; he stirred them up, formed them into columns and hurled them into the night. Here and there, solitary trees stood out; he shook them, passed through them like the music of a cascade, taking the last remaining withered leaves and carrying them off in the current of his breath.

"Hu-hu-hu-hu," the old Wind began to laugh. "Let me see what the young people are doing too. Youth, full of life, hu-hu-hu-hu! Youth, love and poetry."

He stopped in the middle of a garden, at the windows of a little house. He drew a deep breath and his spirit passed like the sigh of a breeze through dry branches or through a solitary pine. Then he held his breath and crouched below the window.

A girl sat at the table and read by the light of a lamp. Long, drooping lashes cast a light shadow on her transparent cheeks. She

was reading, but it was easy to see that her thoughts were wandering. The Wind surveyed her for a moment in silence, then sighed and knocked on the window.

"Is it you, old man?" she asked.

"It is I."

"I am longing so much for him, old man"—and she laid her hand on her heart. "Go and tell him that I am thinking of him and I am longing for him, more than I can say!"

"Well, well!" murmured the old man tenderly, "I'll go, my dear. Don't worry!"

"Comfort him, Wind, kiss him for me."

The old man set off. He passed through deserted gardens, over cold, dark houses, through dark corridors where Misfortune stalked: passed on, stirring up, with his voice, many souls and many sorrows—and far, far away, on the outskirts of the city, he stopped at the window of the poor poet.

"Here is Poetry, here is the country's glory," muttered the Wind angrily, and peered in through the frosted panes.

The poet sat at the pine table, trembling with cold and perhaps with hunger. Not a single spark flickered in the ashes on the cold hearth. In the whole sombre room, only one single candle, guttering on a corner of the table, spread its desolate light.

The poet wrote. From time to time he raised his fevered eyes towards the grey ceiling; lifted his fist to his mouth and breathed on his frozen fingers.

"Here is the country's happiness!" muttered the Wind. "Come, old man! Go and say some soothing words to him. Let us warm him up with comfort. The girl has sent him longing and kisses."

The Wind assailed the window, smashed the panes, entered the room like a tornado, shook his beard, extinguishing the candle and imprinted an icy kiss on the forehead of the poet.

Then he blew out the embers on the hearth, left the poor room in darkness and silence, and went away singing up the chimney. He ran ahead through the city of weeping, bending down among the tall snow-drifts, shaking his beard and lashing the cold walls with it. His eyes shone like two stars of phosphorus; his voice awoke suffering, and wailed, tortured and tempestuous, like a fiddler on his violin, decreasing in volume until it became a tender murmur. He passed through the deserted streets, stopped at the darkened windows, singing softly, mournfully. Then sighing, he entered the chimneys of the houses of the poor; sang to the children of the

birth of the Redeemer : to the old people he hummed romances of happy, bygone times—and to everyone, now as for centuries, he brought the consolation that the star of Hope is rising for happier days.

MIHAIL SADOVEANU, b. 1880.

SLAVONIC CITIES IV¹

MOSCOW, 1147-1947

Moscow celebrates this year the 800th anniversary of its first appearance in history, and the occasion may be used to review briefly its development from the centre of a tiny principality into the capital of a great world power.

A Muscovite of the 17th century, looking back over the first half of the story, wrote, "What man could have divined that Moscow would become a great realm?" The 20th-century observer can only echo his words, though with a wonder deepened by knowledge of events he could not foresee.

In 1147, according to the Russian chronicle, Prince Yury Dolgoruky of Suzdal invited his ally Svyatoslav of Chernigov to Moscow and entertained him there to "a mighty feast." There is no conclusive evidence that the Moscow of this reference was on the site of the later city. The earliest association of name and site comes in 1156, when Yury "founded the town of Moscow" by enclosing with wooden walls the wedge of high ground between the river Moskva and its tributary, the Neglinnaya, thus creating the first Kremlin. It is unlikely, however, that the site, with its topographical advantages and its favourable situation at the cross-roads of natural routes of communication, should not have been occupied before 1156. Arab coins of the 9th century, pointing to trade relations with the Bulgars on the middle Volga, have been found in and near the Kremlin. Long before the Slavs appeared the area round Moscow was inhabited by Finns, and the name Moskva is of Finnish origin. There is a tradition that Stepan Kuchka, one of Prince Yury's boyars, held villages in the neighbourhood. Possibly one of these, bearing the name Moscow, was the scene of the "mighty feast" of 1147.

A subsidiary principality arose round the "town" founded in 1156 and passed from one minor prince to another until, about 1283, it became the permanent possession of Daniel, son of Grand Prince Alexander Nevsky, the first of a regular line of Moscow princes. From that time began the accumulation of lands and power which, in the course of two centuries, gave Moscow command of a solid block of territory dominating the centre of the Russian

¹ See this *Review*, Vol. XVII, pp. 416 sqq., Vol. XIX, pp. 62 sqq., and Vol. XXIV, pp. 81 sqq.

plain and within another 200 years took it to the Arctic, the Caspian and the Pacific.

It is difficult to judge whether the early growth of the Moscow principality owed more to geographical and other external factors or to the political acumen of its rulers, who followed, from generation to generation, a well-defined programme of expansion. Thus, the first two in the line, Daniel and Yury, by acquiring Kolomna and Mozhaïsk, secured complete control of the river Moskva and the outlets it afforded both to the Oka basin in the south and towards Smolensk and the upper Dnieper on the west. Yury entered into competition with the strong princes of Tver for the prestige title of Grand Prince, which he held for some time.

Little is known, at this stage of its development, about Moscow itself, though it is clear that the prince had his residence within the fortified area, while outside, particularly towards the east, there arose the *posad* or settlement of traders and artisans. In 1237 the town suffered the first of a long series of disasters. Standing in the track of the great Tatar sweep across Russia, it was burned to the ground. A similar visitation in 1293 is recorded, and in the first years of the 14th century the Kremlin twice withstood siege by the Prince of Tver.

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Ivan Kalita (1328-1340), brother of Yury, first of the great "collectors of the Russian land," gave a sharp impetus to the growth of both principality and town. He not only secured from the Tatar Khan, in whose gift it lay, the title of grand prince, but was appointed to gather the tribute paid annually to the Khan by all the princes of the north and to punish defaulters. He persuaded the Metropolitan of All Russia to transfer his seat and the headquarters of church administration from Vladimir to Moscow. By purchase and other means he added to his possessions a number of small principalities scattered over the area between the Oka and the Volga. Many boyars entered his service from that of other princes.

In 1339 Ivan replaced the earlier wooden walls of the Kremlin by walls of oak. He built the first stone Cathedral of the Assumption, replacing one probably of wood, and erected other churches in stone. Various categories of the prince's servants were removed from the Kremlin and settled in localities outside which later bore their names. The commercial quarter of the town developed. Moscow merchants traded through Surozh, in the Crimea, with the

Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and through Novgorod with the Baltic and northern Europe. As the inhabited area grew, the frequency of fires increased. Between 1330 and 1453 there are records of no fewer than seventeen major conflagrations. In the mid-14th century Moscow was visited by the Black Death, which claimed amongst its victims Grand Prince Simeon, two of his sons and a brother, and the Metropolitan. The population died so fast that the priests had not time to give them the last sacraments.

Under Dimitry Donskoy (1359-1389) the appearance of a new and dangerous enemy from the west, Lithuania, led to the replacement of the oak defences of the Kremlin by walls of stone, with battlements, towers, and iron gates. Firearms also were introduced.

Within the Kremlin and in the town several new churches and monasteries arose. Greek painters and Italian bell-founders were brought in.

But Dimitry's greatest service was to make the first counter-attack on the Tatars. The battle of Kulikovo (1380), though not decisive, proved that they could be beaten and greatly enhanced the prestige of the Moscow prince as national leader of all the Russians of the north. In 1382 the Tatars, taking revenge, besieged Moscow. The stone defences of the Kremlin held against a series of assaults, but the enemy gained admission by a ruse, slaughtered the defenders and the townsfolk "until their arms wearied and their swords became blunt," sacked and set fire to the town, and drove off large numbers of prisoners. When they had left, 24,000 bodies were buried.

In the reign of Dimitry's son, Vasily I, Moscow was threatened with an attack by Tamerlane, who advanced from the south to within 150 miles of the city, but then turned aside. In 1408 another siege by the Tatars was beaten off by the new firearms. In 1404 Moscow saw its first striking clock, erected by a Serb from Mount Athos. Arts and crafts flourished. Much fine work was done in precious metals, and Russian icon-painting reached its highest point in the work of Andrei Rublyov and his school. In the first half of his reign Vasily II had to meet a serious challenge for the grand principality from his uncle, Prince Yury Dimitrievich, and Moscow changed hands several times. With the strong support of the Church and the people the principle of direct succession was finally established.

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With the accession of Ivan III in 1462 the second stage in the making of the Moscow principality and its capital began. Ivan's

predecessors had steadily increased their possessions, by purchase, marriage, inheritance, and force of arms, until they covered, almost unbrokenly, the whole of central Russia. Ivan more than trebled them by disposing of Tver, Moscow's most serious rival, seizing the vast territories of Novgorod in the north, and winning back from Lithuania a large area of the "western lands" on the upper and middle Dnieper. He finally threw off the Tatar yoke, greatly widened the scope of Muscovy's external relations, and invited foreign experts to search for ores and set up metal industries.

Under the influence of his wife, Sophia Paleologue, niece of the last Eastern Emperor, Ivan began to regard himself as the head of the whole Orthodox Church. The idea of "Moscow—the Third Rome," fully developed only in the next century, now appeared. Ivan called himself "Lord of all Rus," "Autocrat," and, in correspondence with foreign rulers, "Tsar"; adopted the Byzantine double-headed eagle as his emblem; and established a code of court etiquette and ceremonial intended to widen the gap between himself and his subjects.

On Sophia's advice the old Kremlin was pulled to pieces and Italian architects were appointed to reconstruct it,—though with orders to follow Byzantine and Russian styles. Ivan had the Kremlin walls enlarged and strengthened, the three principal Cathedrals—of the Assumption, the Archangel, and the Annunciation—rebuilt on a grander scale, and a new stone palace for the reception of ambassadors and other ceremonies begun. Outside the Kremlin boyars and rich merchants built their houses of stone, but all other construction was still in wood, and the long tale of destructive fires continued.

Vasily III (1505-1533) completed the "collection" of the central lands and, following his father's policy in the west, regained Smolensk from the Lithuanians. Steeped in the Byzantine ideas brought to Moscow by his mother, he ruled autocratically and foreigners marvelled at his power. In his reign Moscow was rapidly changing from the seat of a grand prince to the capital of a Tsardom. Its population rose to 100,000. New settlements arose beyond the previous limits and extended to the south bank of the river. A foreign visitor wrote that the city was vast, but not so vast as it seemed, since the houses were spread out and surrounded by gardens. The streets in the centre were narrow and muddy, and it was unwise to traverse them after dark without a guard, for fear of being beaten and robbed. In the Kremlin, building proceeded actively and the new cathedrals were decorated by Russian artists. Vasily took up

his residence in the new stone palace. Nevertheless, Moscow was not left to develop without setbacks. Two fires did considerable damage in different quarters: while in 1521 a great host of Tatars approached and pillaged the neighbouring villages, but retired without fighting, taking with them the usual throng of prisoners.

Ivan IV was three years of age when he succeeded to the throne. The struggle for power between the leading boyar families during his minority, and the treatment he personally received from them, inspired him with a fear and hatred of the whole class which were to lead to a disastrous break later in his reign. In 1547 Ivan had himself crowned with the full ritual of the Byzantine emperors and assumed the title of Tsar.

The coronation year was marked in the history of Moscow by two great fires and a popular rising. In April a large part of Kitai Gorod, as the trading quarter was now called, burned out. Two months later the greatest conflagration the city had yet known ravaged Kitai Gorod again, spread north and east, and then, carried by a high wind to the Kremlin, destroyed palaces, churches, and monasteries. The Cathedral of the Assumption remained standing but lost its roof. About 2,000 people perished. Enemies of the Tsar's relatives, the Glinskys, spread the rumour that they had been responsible for the fire. A mob of townsfolk rushed the Kremlin and killed the Tsar's uncle, Prince Yury Glinsky. Their leaders were seized and executed.

Later in Ivan's reign Moscow suffered further great calamities. In 1565, with many other towns, it was swept by plague. In 1571 Devlet-Girei, Khan of the Crimea, approached the city and set fire to its outskirts. Many thousands of people perished in the flames and smoke, or were trodden under foot in the mad rush to escape. Piles of corpses blocked the river.

The middle years of the reign had been happier. In 1552 Moscow had given an enthusiastic welcome to the Tsar on his return from the conquest of Kazan, a success which, with the subjugation of Astrakhan, made the Volga for the first time an entirely Russian river, added to Muscovy vast areas of new land, and opened the way to Siberia. In 1558 a war, successful at first, was begun against Livonia, with the object of securing an outlet to the Baltic. Muscovy was seeking to escape from its medieval isolation. In 1553 the Tsar received with great favour Richard Chancellor, whose accidental landing near the mouth of the Dvina opened a route to the west—all the more welcome when the Baltic venture eventually failed.

The increasing power and prestige of Muscovy was reflected in the growth of its capital, in spite of all setbacks. Early in Ivan's reign the fortified area was increased by the erection of stone walls round Kitai Gorod, but the population continued to expand. In the 'eighties a great new ring of stone defences was built, enclosing the Bely Gorod; and an outer wall of wood, 24 miles long, took in a large additional area known as Zemlyanoy Gorod. Giles Fletcher, who was in Moscow as Queen Elizabeth's ambassador in 1588, wrote that it was bigger than London. The general plan, which it retains to the present day, was fully established. After his victory over Kazan, Ivan built the Cathedral of Vasily the Blessed in the Red Square,—an object of curiosity to all visitors to Moscow.

In the second half of the 16th century Russian painting continued to flourish, and the decoration of Moscow's churches provided employment for many artists. The scholarly Metropolitan Macarius compiled his great *Chetyi-Minei*, or Book of the Saints; *Domostroy* ("The Ordering of the Household"), one of the most characteristic products of Muscovite literature, was written; and the Tsar, in correspondence with the fugitive Prince Kurbsky, displayed a wealth of religious and secular learning. In 1564 the first printing-press appeared. The copyists, seeing their livelihood threatened, roused a mob to destroy it, but the Tsar had it restored.

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The accession of Ivan's son Fyodor in 1584 was accompanied by disorders fomented by supporters of his younger half-brother Dimitry, which led to Dimitry and his relatives being banished to Uglich, on the upper Volga. Fyodor was crowned in the Cathedral of the Assumption with ritual even more imposing than that used at his father's coronation. In 1589 Moscow saw another brilliant ceremony, the installation of the Metropolitan Iona in the newly created Patriarchate—a signal development in the religious life of Russia, and in the years immediately to follow an event of great political importance. During Fyodor's reign Muscovy was governed by his brother in law, Boris Gudunov, who succeeded him as Tsar in 1598.

Two years later Kazy-Girei, Khan of the Crimea, led an army of 150,000 to Moscow in an attempt to liberate Kazan and Astrakhan. The city's defences held and, though the outer suburbs were burned, the assault, the last of the long series of Tatar attacks, was beaten off.

Godunov built in the Kremlin one of the finest monuments of Muscovite architecture, the Tower of Ivan Veliky, eighty-two metres

high, and, in its final form, hung with 34 bells, weighing 260 tons. Under Godunov contacts between Muscovy and the western world became closer. Many ambassadors arrived, and the number of foreign experts, including doctors and apothecaries, increased.

In the years 1601-1603 Muscovy was stricken by a great famine. According to a foreign observer, the price of grain in the capital went up from 15 kopecks to three roubles a measure. Godunov distributed food and money to the hungry, thus attracting into the city swarms of people from the surrounding countryside, who fought and killed each other for a piece of bread and were reduced in the end to eating carrion and human flesh. The number of deaths from starvation and disease exceeded 100,000.

This dreadful visitation heralded one of the most disturbed periods in the history of the city. Godunov died in 1605 and a few months later the first of a series of pretenders, claiming to be the Tsarevich Dimitry, whose death, in circumstances never cleared up, had been reported in 1591, entered the capital and was proclaimed Tsar. In the following year he was murdered in the Kremlin and his ashes were fired from a cannon in the direction of Poland, whence he had invaded Muscovy. The new Tsar, Vasily Shuisky, was unpopular. During his short reign disorders occurred in the capital. Many parts of the country were thrown into chaos by peasant revolts. A second pretender appeared, and the Poles besieged Smolensk.

In 1610 a section of the boyars chose Wladyslaw, son of King Sigismund III of Poland, as Tsar and admitted the Poles to Moscow. This move marked the lowest point in the fortunes of Muscovy and led to a healthy reaction. Patriotic forces mobilised and marched on the capital. The Poles were gradually driven back into the Kremlin and, after a bitter struggle, forced to surrender. A national assembly elected Michael Romanov, a member of one of the leading boyar families, to the throne.

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When the new Tsar reached Moscow he found three-quarters of the city burned out. The Kremlin palaces and other buildings were roofless, without windows, floors or doors, and at first there were neither materials nor workmen to repair them. Restoration of the Kremlin, reconstruction of Kitai Gorod and Bely Gorod, and the building of a reinforced earthen rampart round the outer ring of the Zemlyanoy Gorod, in place of the existing wooden wall, occupied a considerable part of the reign. One of the Kremlin towers was

rebuilt by an Englishman named Holloway, who erected a clock on it. Holloway also provided some of the Kremlin buildings with a regular supply of water pumped from the river.

The work of restoration was interrupted in 1618 by a further Polish invasion, in support of Prince Wladislaw's claim to the throne of Muscovy by virtue of his election in 1610. A Polish force reached the outskirts of Moscow, broke into the inner city, and advanced to within a mile of the Kremlin before it was turned back. Though this was the last time the city saw a foreign invader until 1812, other major disturbances of its normal life—fires, riots, epidemics—continued with little abatement, since the causes from which they arose could not, in the conditions of the period, be eradicated. Thus, for example, a fire-brigade had been organised in the early years of Michael's reign, but it was too small and too poorly equipped to deal with anything more than a local and isolated outbreak. In 1626 a great conflagration ravaged the Kremlin and Kitai Gorod, and three years later the northern quarters of the inner city were again swept by fire.

In 1648, shortly after the accession of Alexis, rioting broke out, in protest against the greed and arbitrary conduct of the Tsar's officials, two of whom were handed over to the mob and killed. The Moscow masses rose again in 1662, when the Government's attempt to mend its finances by a fantastic manipulation of the currency had led to a steep increase of prices and great distress amongst the poor. Military force had to be used to suppress the movement. Some of its leaders were executed on the spot and several thousands of the rioters were mutilated or exiled to Siberia. The same fate overtook many who were found to have used the situation as a cover for making false money.

External changes in Moscow under Alexis were not numerous, but new buildings in the Kremlin included a palace for the Patriarch Nikon. The chapel of the Iversk Mother of God, later one of Russia's most sacred shrines, was also erected in this period.

Foreign visitors to Moscow in the mid-17th century considered that it could compare with any European capital. One account, dating from 1669, states that the city contained 95,000 houses. Visitors expressed astonishment at the number of churches (a fairly reliable source gives a figure of 943, including 128 dedicated to St. Nicholas) and at the extensive development of trade. Adam Olearius, who was in Moscow towards the close of Michael's reign, described the prosperous state of Kitai Gorod and the throng of merchants and buyers who crowded its streets from morning to

night. Each branch of trade had its shops and booths in one locality. Beyond Kitai Gorod lay an open space where barbers cut the Muscovites' hair, which lay on the ground like a thick cushion. "No one in this country," wrote a foreigner in 1653, "thinks of anything else but trade and profits"; while another visitor said that Moscow contained as many shops as Amsterdam. Crafts and industries also flourished. Foreigners prospected for iron, copper, and other ores, and set up in Moscow and elsewhere factories for the manufacture of cannon, cannon-balls, anchors, nails, sheet and strip metal, and other articles not hitherto produced in Muscovy. Alexis hired foreign officers to form the nucleus of a regular army.

The foreign colony in Moscow grew so large that in the middle of the 17th century a special quarter was assigned to it in the east of the city. Alexis and some of his boyars were greatly attracted by what they learned there of western life. Muscovites saw their Tsar riding in a German coach, with velvet cushions and glass windows. A mixed company of Germans and Russians presented plays at court, where the fashion of dining to the accompaniment of music was introduced. "The Foreign Quarter," wrote Solovyov, "was the first step from the Kremlin to St. Petersburg." Boyars and rich merchants furnished their houses with tapestries, pictures, and clocks.

The grave disquiet felt by many Muscovites at the spread of western influences was deepened by the revision of the Church books undertaken by Patriarch Nikon, with the help of scholars from Kiev. In 1654 Moscow saw the beginning of a Schism that split the religious life of the country.

In the same year the city experienced one of the worst epidemics in its troubled history. Prisoners escaped and began to rob and pillage; the Tsaritsa and her children took refuge outside Moscow; corpses lay piled in the streets and had to be buried in pits, as there were not enough coffins. Letters to the Tsar, who was leading the first campaign of a war against Poland for the Ukraine, stated that 400,000 people died in the course of the summer. This figure may have referred to the whole country, but some hint of the effect of the epidemic in the capital is given by the fact that only 16 out of 198 monks in the Chudov Monastery escaped, and only one priest remained alive at the Cathedral of the Assumption. In 1671 the Moscow crowd witnessed the execution of Stenka Razin, whose head was exposed on a stake in the Red Square for many years.

In the last quarter of the 17th century "European" costumes and the uniforms of the new army were seen more and more

frequently in the streets. The number of carriages increased. A few daring Muscovites shaved off their beards; and the smoking of tobacco, though forbidden by law and denounced by the Church (in one sermon it was coupled with Lutheran, Calvinistic, and other heresies), could not be stamped out. The Regent Sophia re-established the court theatre and is believed by some authorities to have written a play. The art of engraving became firmly established, and the cheap popular wood-cut (*Lubochnaya Kartina*) began to establish that place in the homes of the masses which it retained until the later 19th century.

In 1689 Moscow acquired its first stone bridge. Planned as far back as the reign of Michael by a Swedish engineer, it was actually constructed by a Russian monk. Like old London Bridge and many others in western Europe, it was lined on both sides by shops.

The peace of the city had been broken in 1682 by the mutiny of the *Streltsy* or palace guards, intimately linked with a rising of the schismatic Old Believers and with the struggle for power after the death of Fyodor II, which ended in the proclamation of Fyodor's brother Ivan and his half-brother Peter as joint Tsars, with their sister Sophia as Regent.

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Though Peter the Great in youth spent little time in Moscow, except for the Foreign Quarter, and passed most of his later life in travel, at war, or in St. Petersburg, his reign left a deep mark on the old capital. He introduced into it, in elementary form, some of the amenities and institutions enjoyed by cities in western Europe. His chief contribution to its architecture was the Sukharev Tower—sometimes called the cradle of the Russian fleet, because there, before the conquest of the Baltic outlet, the first Admiralty Office and the first School of Navigation were set up. In 1704 Peter decreed that all buildings in Kitai Gorod and the Kremlin should be of stone and should be aligned to the streets. Cobble paving and stone side-walks were also prescribed. (Later in the reign supplies of stone, and the labour of stonemasons, were reserved for the new capital.)

Peter improved the administration of Moscow, reorganised the primitive fire-brigade and police force, introduced some sanitary precautions, and founded almshouses to take beggars off the streets and foundling homes for unwanted children. He set up the first military hospital and medical school and laid out a botanical or

apothecary garden. His care for the economic development of Russia was reflected in Moscow by the establishment of factories producing woollen cloth for the army, sail-cloth for the fleet, linen, silk, sugar, paper, and other commodities.

When he returned from western Europe Peter decided to reform the social life of his people and turn Russian boyars and gentry and their wives into European gentlemen and ladies. The shaving of beards and the wearing of "European" costume, which had appeared in the 17th century, were now made compulsory. Shops were opened for the sale of the prescribed garments, also of tobacco, soon to become a valuable source of revenue. Peter had books on etiquette translated. The "assemblies" he compelled his subjects to attend gave them opportunities for exercising their new manners, and brought Russian women from the seclusion of the *terem* into the salon and the ballroom. Muscovites learned to count time from the birth of Christ, not from the beginning of the world, and the year from January 1, instead of September 1. They were instructed to wish each other "A Happy New Year" and to put up decorations. Moscow hailed the 18th century with a salute of 200 guns.

The first Russian newspaper appeared in 1703, with a circulation of 1,000 copies. Much of it was written by the Tsar, who also corrected the proofs. Peter set up in the Red Square the first theatre to which the public had access.

With the lapsing of the Patriarchate in 1700 and the departure of the Court to the new capital, the people of Moscow were robbed of many of the imposing religious and court ceremonies they had been accustomed to witness through the centuries; but they saw triumphal processions after the capture of Azov in 1696 and the battle of Poltava in 1709. On the latter occasion the Tsar entered the city at the head of his guards and army, with five thousand Swedish prisoners, including a Field-marshal and a Minister. Seven triumphal arches, adorned with emblems and allegorical pictures, were erected; bands played and choirs sang, and the celebrations lasted a fortnight. Similar festivities took place in 1722, on the conclusion of the Northern War, and two years later, when Peter had his wife Catherine crowned Empress. The normal life of Moscow was disturbed also by sterner events. In 1698 the Tsar had a thousand mutinous *Streltsy* publicly executed in the Red Square and beheaded 200 of them himself. There were two serious fires in his reign. In 1708 Charles XII of Sweden gave the city a bad scare by advancing straight towards it at a time when there was little in the way to stop him. But he suddenly turned south with the

intention of wintering in the Ukraine, and Moscow breathed again.

When Peter's strong hand was removed, opposition to his work and the changes it had involved in Russian life at last had a chance to express itself, and the question of transferring the capital back to Moscow was raised. There was little danger of this happening under Catherine I, his widow, and the rule of Menshikov, but if the young Emperor Peter II (1727-1730) had survived it would probably have come about, for he hated the sea and spent most of his short reign hunting in the neighbourhood of Moscow. The Empress Anne went from Kurland straight to the old capital and there tore up the conditions imposed on her in return for election to the throne. Anne lived in Moscow for two years and later several times expressed the intention of returning to it. An improvement in Moscow life introduced in her reign was the lighting of the principal streets. In 1737 the city was swept by the "farthing candle" fire, which destroyed 102 churches, eleven monasteries, four palaces, and 2,527 dwelling-houses.

Elizabeth, who was born in Moscow and spent most of her life there up to her accession, felt greatly attached to the city and visited it for long periods. She had the dilapidated palaces and churches in the Kremlin restored and commissioned Rastrelli to erect another large palace; but she held her court at a small residence in the suburb of Lefortovo, where an opera house and conservatories were built. Amid the distractions of balls, dinners, and masquerades Elizabeth found time occasionally to attend to more serious matters, and on the recommendation of Ivan Shuvalov, gave her approval to a plan drawn up by Lomonosov for founding a university.

Moscow University, the first in Russia, was formally opened on 12 (24) January, 1755, the day of St. Tatyana, who became the patron saint of its students. Located at first near the Iversk Gates, it was removed in 1759 to the Mokhovaya, where later Catherine II provided it with an additional building (the "New University"). Two schools preparing pupils for the University were opened. The University was allowed to maintain a printing-press and publish a news-sheet, the *Moscow Gazette*, of which only 600 copies were sold until it was taken over, with the press, by Novikov, who raised it to a circulation of 4,000—very large for that time. Novikov also issued Masonic literature and, in connection with his educational schemes, large quantities of cheap reading matter.

Outside the Kremlin only one important architectural feature of Moscow, the "Red Gates" (*Krasniye Vorota*, now destroyed),

dates from Elizabeth's reign ; but much restoration and reconstruction work was done—all in the Baroque style, which left a distinct mark on the city during its brief rule.

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Changes in the external aspect of Moscow under Catherine II were more sweeping than in any other similar period of its history, though her most ambitious scheme failed, fortunately for Moscow and for Russia. Soon after her accession she instructed Bazhenov, a Russian pupil of Rastrelli, to design a building covering the whole of the Kremlin and accommodating all government offices and educational establishments in the city. Lack of funds and the distractions of affairs elsewhere thrust the plan into the archives. The most important measure of reconstruction actually carried out was the razing of the walls around Bely Gorod and Zemlyanoy Gorod, which, anticipating Haussmann, Catherine had replaced by boulevards. Householders on the outer ring were ordered to lay out gardens—hence its name of *Sadovaya*. A second improvement on a similar scale was the provision of a water-supply, which brought to the city pure spring water from the village of Mytishchy, now one of its northern suburbs. The Mytishchy system sufficed for the whole of Moscow until the last quarter of the 19th century. Under Catherine canals were constructed to regulate the flow of the river Moskva, and its tributary, the Neglinnaya, which flows along the north-western wall of the Kremlin, was enclosed in pipes and made into a main drain.

Catherine, who introduced vaccination to her subjects, built two hospitals in Moscow and, on plans put before her by her educational adviser, Betsky, established an enormous Foundling Home. In 1754 she set up the Gentry School (*Blagorodny Pansion*), where Zhukovsky, Griboyedov, Prince Odoevsky, Alexander Turgenev, Baratynsky, and other prominent writers of the early 19th century received their education.

Many of Catherine's "grandeess" built fine houses in Moscow, surrounded by large parks and gardens, and maintained by swarms of domestic serfs. The gentry, too, replaced their modest wooden or stone homes by more pretentious and expensive residences. The famous *Podmoskovniye*, the suburban ring of magnificently planned and luxuriously furnished palaces belonging to the wealthier aristocracy—Ostankino, Kuskovo, Kuzminki, Arkhangelskoye, Bratsevo, Znamenskoye—also belong mainly to the last quarter of the 18th century, the "Grand Age" of the Classical style in architecture and internal decoration.

For the majority of the people of Moscow living conditions were little better than they had been for centuries past. Crowded together in small, squalid, insanitary huts and hovels, they were a ready prey for disease. In the great plague that struck the city in 1771 the inhabitants of one house in every four died. In a letter to Grimm, Catherine gave the total number of victims as 100,000. During the epidemic an excited and ignorant mob murdered Archbishop Ambrose for forbidding the kissing of ikons, and would have killed all the doctors if the authorities had not taken the drastic step of using cannon to quell the rioting.

In the last quarter of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century Moscow was pre-eminently the "gentry capital" (*Karamzin*), with an atmosphere of its own, distinct from that of the official capital in the north, where society revolved round the Court and the higher bureaucracy. Freed from compulsory service, the landowning class flocked to Moscow and there built up a social life—portrayed, from the recollections of contemporaries, by Tolstoy in *War and Peace*—the principal elements of which were balls, parties, and theatre-going, dinners, gambling, and political discussions at the "Anglisky Klub," promenading on the Kuznetsky Most and the new boulevards.

The first decade of the 19th century enriched Moscow with more fine buildings in the Classical tradition, mainly educational and charitable in purpose. Count and Countess Sheremetev opened a large hospital in their magnificent palace near the Sukharev Tower. The University, which had not made great headway under Catherine, owing to lack of funds and of Russian professors (teaching was for a long time by foreigners, and in Latin), received a new charter and large private benefactions.

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Moscow was not greatly perturbed at first by the news of Napoleon's invasion of Russia in June 1812. Count Rostopchin, commander-in-chief and Governor-General of the city, mobilised 15,000 carts and began to evacuate valuable state and church property, but at the same time issued optimistic and flamboyantly patriotic manifestoes minimising the danger to the city. When the Emperor visited Moscow in July the gentry half-ruined themselves by subscribing three million roubles towards the cost of the war and the merchants contributed ten millions. Thousands of volunteers enrolled in the militia (*opolchenie*). Long columns of troops, including Kalmyk and Kirgiz horsemen, were enthusiastically

cheered as they passed through the city. Society ladies prepared bandages for the wounded, who soon began to arrive in large convoys.

In August came the fall of Smolensk, always regarded as the gate to Moscow. Kutuzov's appointment as commander-in-chief did not check the retreat. Many families began to leave the city, but the majority of the people still trusted Rostopchin, who declared up to the last that Napoleon would be stopped in a great battle. There was no battle. In order to save his army Kutuzov abandoned Moscow, and evacuation became general. The French entered on September 14 to find the city almost empty and aflame, set on fire, the official histories say, by its patriotic inhabitants. Napoleon's depression on seeing the fire is described by Ségur, and writing at St Helena he himself referred to the scene as "the most grandiose, amazing, and dreadful it was ever my lot to see." The French troops began pillaging private houses and churches and lost all semblance of discipline. Napoleon made peace overtures, without success. The retreat began on the night 6/7 October and on 10 October the last French forces left. A few hours later great explosions blew five gaps in the Kremlin walls and destroyed or damaged many important buildings. Mines placed in the three Cathedrals failed to act. When the inhabitants began to trickle back into the city they found three-quarters of the houses and nearly half the churches burned out. Twelve thousand bodies and more than that number of dead horses lay about in the streets.

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The ashes of Moscow were hardly cool before stonemasons, carpenters, plasterers, and other building workers set to the task of restoration. In December the *Moscow Gazette* wrote that trade and industry were reviving and that the markets were full of buyers and sellers. The Emperor took the Kremlin under his own care. When King Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia visited Moscow in 1818 he expressed astonishment at its phoenix-like revival. The work in hand was not all restoration. Important buildings of the post-1812 period which did not replace others destroyed by the fire included the Manège, erected, as an exercise-place for troops in bad weather, in the form of a Greek temple, 550 feet long and 150 feet wide, with a single unsupported roof-span. The Bolshoy Theatre, as well known to modern visitors to Moscow as the Manège, was built in 1824, though it had to be reconstructed later after a fire.

In 1817 the foundations were laid, on the Sparrow Hills, overlooking Moscow, of a grandiose cathedral of Classical design,

dedicated to Christ the Saviour, as a memorial to those who had fallen in the war of 1812-1814 and a thank-offering for victory. The project was later abandoned, after four million roubles had been spent on it, owing to the unsuitability of the terrain. Nicholas I took it up again, and built the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour which occupied a dominating site on the river Moskva, west of the Kremlin, until it was destroyed after the Revolution. This cathedral was Russo-Byzantine in style, and marked the beginning of a trend towards nationalism, expressed also in another imposing structure of Nicholas's reign, the Great Kremlin Palace.

Moscow society of the 1820's and 1830's, like that of the first decade of the century, has its brilliant literary reflection, Gribov's play, *Gore ot uma* ("The Mischief of Being Clever"). The Moscow of Famusov was threatened not only by the Chatskys, representatives of a younger generation, with a broader education, a more progressive outlook, and a greater sense of responsibility to their country. It was beginning to see the rise of an industrial and commercial bourgeoisie. During the reign of Nicholas I (1825-1855) manufactures, particularly cotton, took a sharp upward swing. A new moneyed class appeared, with new tastes and standards, and growingly antagonistic to serfdom, the very foundation of gentry society. In 1851 Moscow was joined to St. Petersburg by a railway, the first in Russia, with the exception of a short line from the capital to Tsarskoe Selo.

The reign of Nicholas I, dark as the political atmosphere became in its later years, was a notable period in the history of Russian culture, in which Moscow maintained the lead. The University, recovered from the physical damage it suffered in 1812, had Pogodin and Shevryyov, Solovyov, Granovsky, and Buslaev amongst its professors. From the famous "Stankevich circle" of the 1830's came the leaders of the most varied trends of political thought in the middle years of the century, Constantine Aksakov, Belinsky, Katkov, Herzen, and Bakunin. The literary world of Moscow in the second quarter of the century included, at various times, Pushkin, Batyushkov, and Prince Vyazemsky, Chaadayev, Sergei Aksakov, Gogol, and Turgenev. Moscow theatregoers saw a great generation of Russian actors, Mochalov and Karatygin, Shchepkin, Sadovsky, and Shumsky.

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Soon after his accession in 1855 Alexander I publicly stated in Moscow that the time had come to liberate the serfs. The emancipa-

tion law, issued in 1861, set in motion forces which were to change the whole social and economic structure of Russia, and with it, that of Moscow. Industry began to develop more rapidly. New railways struck out in all directions. Many thousands of freed peasants streamed into the city seeking employment. The population had risen slowly in the preceding reign, reaching 360,000 by 1861. Ten years later it stood at 602,000, and by 1882 at 753,000. The city could not grow quickly enough. Housing conditions for the majority were wretched. In 1882 10% of the inhabitants lived in cellars. There were over 10,000 apartments with more than four persons per room, and infant mortality reached an appalling height. The municipal administration set up in 1870 was faced by a vast complex of problems.

At the other end of the social scale the change in balance which had begun in the preceding reign proceeded rapidly. Moscow ceased to be the "gentry capital." Many landowners went off to the country to run their estates on an economic basis with free hired labour. Others sold the land left to them after the emancipation and entered government service, the newly created local councils (*zemstvos*), the growing professional classes, or trade and industry. The place of the gentry as the leading social element in the city was taken by the "new-rich."

To meet the changing needs of the city's life many new educational institutions, including a technical school and the Petrovskoye Agricultural Academy, were opened in the third quarter of the century. The "real" or modern secondary school appeared. In 1861 the Rumyantsev Museum and library, and later the Polytechnic and Historical Museums were founded.

The trend towards nationalism, noticeable already in the reign of Nicholas I, made rapid progress in that of Alexander II, widening the gap between Moscow and the more cosmopolitan St. Petersburg. Moscow reacted indignantly to the Polish rebellion of 1863 and the attempt of the western powers to intervene on behalf of the Poles. In the 1870's it espoused the cause of the Slav subjects of the Sultan. Large sums of money were subscribed in aid of the Serbs and Montenegrins and many volunteers went to join them in their revolt against the Turks. The Russian declaration of war on Turkey in 1877 roused wild enthusiasm. Nationalism spread to architecture, and many of the new buildings of the period embodied a Neo-Russian style, which attempted, with no marked success, to reproduce in brick, and on a large scale, forms and ornament developed for the relatively small wooden structures of the medieval period.

Nationalism reached its peak in the reign of Alexander III (1881-1894). An exhibition of Russian arts and industries was held in Moscow in 1882. Russian opera and the plays of Ostrovsky ousted Italian opera and translated foreign drama from the Bolshoy and Maly theatres. In 1892 the brothers Tretyakov handed over to the city their magnificent collections of Russian art, and the Russian element in other galleries was strengthened. The Neo-Russian style of architecture was applied to a further group of important new buildings, including the City Council offices and the Commercial Rows on the Red Square. It reached its lowest point in the monument to Alexander II erected in the Kremlin.

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By the end of the 19th century Moscow had become the greatest industrial centre of the Russian Empire, with a total annual production of 200 million roubles. Ten radial railways transported to or from the city 14 million tons of goods and six million passengers a year. Moscow manufactured half the textiles produced in Russia and a large proportion of the vodka, sugar, tobacco, chemicals, leather, and articles of wood. The population, 1,174,000 in 1902, increased by 1913 to 1,700,000. Only one-quarter of the 1902 population were natives of the city, three-quarters were within the working ages of 15 to 60, and there were 100 males to every 75 females, figures stressing the fact that the influx was one of male workers for industry.

In the inner ring Moscow was beginning to assume the aspect of a great European city. Here and there, in the first years of the present century, large office buildings appeared. Many old houses in the residential quarters gave way to blocks of flats. For the rest, Moscow remained to a large extent the "big village" it had been throughout its history. Twelve thousand out of a total of 19,000 inhabited buildings were of wood. On the outskirts, where most of the factories were built, a large proportion of the industrial workers died in factory barracks or small squalid houses.

The City Council, restricted in its resources by a Government jealous of public initiative, spent in 1904 little more than £1 per head of the population. In the centre the main streets were paved, but elsewhere most of them were cobbled, or, on the outer fringes, merely muddy tracks. A proper drainage system and an improved water-supply had been completed for the inner quarters of the city in the last years of the 19th century, but farther from the centre conditions deteriorated rapidly. A few areas were lighted by electricity, the greater part of the city by oil-lamps. Electric

tramways appeared, however, little later than they did in western Europe. The City Council maintained 800 primary schools, most of which provided only a four-year course.

Other educational facilities, not dependent on the municipal budget, were provided on a higher scale. Secondary schools, numbering 85, had 31,000 pupils. The University, with nearly 6,000 students, enjoyed a high reputation in Europe as a seat of learning. There were six other higher educational institutions. Moscow had 47 learned societies.

The evolution in the social and economic life of the city strongly affected its political complexion. It became a strong centre of opposition to the Tsarist-bureaucratic regime. The professional and middle classes furnished the leaders of constitutional movements, and the majority of the city members in each of the four Imperial Dumas were liberals. The existence of a large industrial proletariat, poorly paid, working long hours, and prevented from organising legally in defence of its interests, favoured the spread of revolutionary ideas. Some of the earliest "underground" labour organisations in Russia arose in Moscow. Strikes, though prohibited, occurred with increasing frequency in the later 1890's, and had become almost endemic by 1905. At the end of that year the city was the scene of a great armed rising.

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Such was Moscow in the early years of the 20th century. Its more recent history is within living memory, and is in any case too inseparably entangled with the vast changes that have overtaken Russia to be dealt with on the same scale as the preceding centuries.

Moscow emerged from six years of war, revolution, and civil strife only a shadow of its former self. Though physically it suffered comparatively little (there had been sharp fighting, but of a local character, before the red flag was unfurled over the Kremlin in November 1917) its life and machinery had run down. Population declined to 800,000, industrial production and transport almost ceased, there was little fuel or food, and schools had to close. Although Moscow became the capital again in March 1918, recovery was slow at first, for similar conditions ruled throughout the country, and about a decade passed before levels comparable with those of 1913 were reached again. After the introduction of the Five-year Plans in the late 1920's economic, social, and cultural life developed with ever-increasing speed.

Total production rose in value by 1939 to over twenty times that of 1913. Though the old branches of industry, textiles, leather,

food, and clothing, far exceeded their best previous figures, Moscow became pre-eminently an engineering centre, with heavy machines of all kinds, electrical equipment, motor vehicles, and instruments as its main products. Railway and water communications handled ten times as much traffic as before the Revolution, and had been extended by the construction of the Volga-Moscow canal.

Equally revolutionary changes took place in the aspect of the city and its municipal economy. The vital problem of housing, aggravated by the increase of the population to over four millions and by the great demand on accommodation from government institutions, was not solved, but much progress had been made in building new residential areas. In the centre of the city new blocks of offices appeared. Streets were widened and paved, old bridges reconstructed and new ones built, and the banks of the river Moskva faced in granite. The transport problem was dealt with by extensions of the tramway system, the introduction of trolley-bus and omnibus services, and the construction of an underground railway. Education and health services of all kinds received rapidly increasing assignments in the city budget.

Moscow was the scientific and cultural centre of the whole U.S.S.R., with a vast network of teaching and research institutions, and much of its activity in these fields was becoming well known abroad. The outside world thought of it, however, primarily as the political centre, the seat of the Soviet Government, of the Communist Party and the Comintern.

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The progress of Moscow was thrown back several years by the outbreak of war in 1941. But war also called forth a mighty spirit of effort and resistance. The city plunged into the struggle, camouflaged itself, adopted a black-out, organised A.R.P., worked day and night in factories and works turned over to the production of war equipment. In the crucial days of the German "March on Moscow" and the great battle fought almost on its outskirts, when the fate not only of the capital but of the whole U.S.S.R. lay in the balance, the Moscow population mobilised itself for trench-digging and other services in the immediate rear of the defending troops.

Many difficulties arose in the later course of the war, shortages of food, fuel, clothing, and other necessities, but Moscow won through to victory and peace. Now it has set itself the great task of recovering the lost ground and pressing forward towards even greater achievements. On the way it will pause for a moment to glance back at the chequered eight centuries of its past.

G. A. BIRKETT.

THE ANCIENT HOME OF THE SLAVS ¹

THE grim experiences of recent years have put before us the necessity for a revision of our relation as a people to the Slav world. The fact of our belonging to it has for a long time played no rôle either in our political or our cultural life. From Russia we were separated by an abyss that was dug by the short-sighted policy of the St. Petersburg government, which up to the days of Alexander III continued under the overpowering influence of Berlin, and regarded itself as the legitimate heir of the Byzantine empire. One must admit that we ourselves by our Insurrections helped in a marked degree to direct Russia into this channel. Up to 1830-1831 Nicholas I thought of himself as King of Poland, and even may have thought at first of reconstructing Poland. In any case he regarded Prussia as an antagonist and weighed the possibility of a trial of arms, desiring to be a superior factor in settling German affairs.

From the Slavs of Austria we were separated by the clever policy of the Vienna government—the successor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation; and in the Balkans we bore the consequences of peculiar imponderables stemming from our traditional friendship with Turkey—something that was doubtless not as costly (as it was less sentimental) as that with Hungary. For the latter seriously burdened our relations with the Slavs. One remembers how Karol Libelt, on his way to the First Congress of the Slavs in Prague in that revolutionary “spring-time” of 1848, stopped over in Budapest to appease the Hungarians, who were at that moment fiercely hurt by this demonstration of Slavonic togetherness, so greatly affecting their own position.

Only the provinces ruled by Prussia, absorbed by their struggle with the Germans, were never in the position which forced other Poles to any rivalry with their Slav cousins. Their life had, however, a too specialist character to be a deciding force in the shaping of our general relations with our neighbours. For them, apart from anxiety for preserving the national heritage, the main concern was the saving of Silesia and of the Masurian Poles of East Prussia; which meant the winning of those still politically unconscious populations for the Polish state-idea as being an indispensable element in the humdrum life of the wage-earner.

In consequence of this condition of affairs, we lost from our

¹ Polish original in *Problemy* (Sept., 1946)

cultural existence the feeling of union with the Slav world ; and the hopeless reality of our life under the Partitions was governed by the grotesque phrase that we were nothing more or less than " the Frenchmen of the north." It was often repeated in our homes, and people mostly did not realise that it was an act of subordination which did us little credit. What was worse, it brought in its train certain humiliations. The French, dreaming of revenge, and disturbed by the growing power of Germany, prostrated themselves before Russia and did not show at all an excess of sentiment towards a sort of poor relation. The fact is that, with the utilitarian rationalism of the Third Republic, which replaced old-time courtesy by realism, the French authorities looked on us as Russians, Germans or Austrians. In this, for that matter, there was no illwill. I have myself been a witness of how a French journalist, and therefore an educated man in his way, at a dinner given by Paderewski during the Peace Conference in Paris, declared to a Pole who was explaining things to him, "*Maintenant je comprend tout. Les Polonais russes parlent russe, les Polonais allemands—parlent allemand, mais quelle langue parlent les Polonais autrichiens ?*"

Overcome and depressed as we are by the gigantic dimensions of the cataclysm we have just lived through, we should not however forget the old and tried truth that the present is the sequel to the past. Reckoning with it by no means demands of us that we should not rightly esteem acts of creative initiative ; but this on the other hand dare not blind us in assessing experienced realities. Realising that the present represents the resultant of these two chief factors, we must be aware that, for the finding of our way amid the very tangled problems of the present, it is not enough to say lamely that as a result of the war just ended we find ourselves once more in a situation very like the one we were in at the end of the 19th century. We were forced at that time to wage the bitterest wars with the Germans, who threatened the foundations of our existence ; and then, as now, disposed of enormous material resources. Nor should one forget a fact often too little understood, that we were linked with the Scandinavian peoples by the closest of ties—peoples which are today also deeply concerned for our survival. It was only much later that we got into a conflict with them (of a dynastic character), which led to the complete exhaustion of both parties and handed down only one heritage to posterity—the brilliant pages of battles fought at Kirckholm, Częstochowa and Warsaw, clouded later by Narwa and Poltava.

Properly to treat of Polish relations with the Slav world, we

have to go back even further into the past than the crowning of the first Polish King with Papal sanction and with the approval of the Emperor. This significant date in history was a culminating point in the growth of our statehood, which unfolded from the mists of pre-historic times as a creation capable of withstanding successfully the most powerful force in Europe—that of the Holy Roman Empire. An achievement of these dimensions must have been the crowning act of a long period of serious creative work, and of stern conflicts—both within and without the land. In all probability these went on during the times of the differentiation of Slavonic stocks, which originally had constituted a single closely-knit racial unity, as we can see from its older culture, mirrored in the various Slavonic tongues of today.

In the days of Bolesław the Brave the Slavs occupied extensive areas of the continent, possessing at the same time the consciousness that in much of this area they were relatively recent arrivals. Some of them even remembered whence they had come. For example, the Serbs could point quite tangibly to the northern slopes of the Carpathians as the mother-land of "White Serbia"; while of the Radywicze and the Viatycze it was known that they "are of Lechish stock"—as the Kiev annuals reveal. This rather ambiguous mention has been explained by researches into place-names as meaning that they came from Podlasie.

On the other hand no proper account was taken of the nature of the early relations existing between the various component parts of the whole Slav family of peoples. None of them laid claim to primacy because it held sway over an age-old motherland of the Slavonic world. It would seem as though this matter belonged already to history, which had been blotted from memory by the mighty changes of later times. We know, for that matter, that the invasion of the Huns brought about important shiftings of the areas inhabited by the Slavs, and they could not take place without serious internal strife. One may then conjecture that a second coming-together of the eastern with the western Slavs followed, and that the forcing of some of the latter across the Elbe came as a result of the Hun's onslaught. At that time, also, the ancestors of the south Slavs withdrew from the shelter of the Carpathians, passing in part beyond their ranges, and soon beginning their wanderings in the direction of the Balkans. As is known, these movements have been interpreted by German specialists as an invasion of Slavs who had only recently arrived from Asia.

It is doubtless true that present-day claims to priority of

indigeneity which are not justified by living tradition are less relevant than such claims could be in the days of the first Piasts ; nevertheless an objective statement as to what land was the original home of the Slavs and which of the modern nations is the legitimate holder of the mother-country cannot be dismissed as a purely theoretical manœuvre, wholly innocent of significance for appraising the realities of the present. Is it not the case that in the last fifty years great play has been made of the consciousness that the ancient home of the Germanic peoples was Scandinavia, while the cradle of the Anglo-Saxons has been England ? Does such a consciousness not decide the re-dividing into separate nationalities (or states) of the whole body of immigrants admitted to the promised land of the U.S.A. ? Do not the Jews make capital in this way of their national credit based on the Scriptures ? Do not the Italians of today, far as they are from the spirit of ancient and eternal Rome, reap substantial material and moral advantages for the fact that while once they destroyed her monuments now they have become the protectors of the same ?

It will obviously not do to undervalue the fact that over the body of history hangs geography. One may take a very critical view of the outmoded and extremely nationalist opinions of Buckle and of the anthropological theses of Ratzel ; yet it cannot be denied that only the continuity of the geographical factor in history can explain why we can affirm a striking regularity of forces when we observe any larger land area in the longer perspective of time. The perspective of the last 1,000 years is enough to justify the view that political frontiers in Europe show changes which upset our contemporaries only because the latter do not realise that they are looking at a fluctuation of things which in reality have a shape which has been determined for a very long time. On the other hand, when we visualise the fact that graver dislocations of racial frontiers are bound up with the incursions from Asia of nomad peoples, flooding the boundless plainlands of south-eastern Europe, we are driven to an even deeper perspective, taking us into the dawn of history. Finally, if we realise that the centre which sent out the great mass of European peoples, moving for the most part in an eastern direction, lay on the diluvial lowland of central Europe, and that these masses, after entering on agricultural habits skirted the great plain (*taiga*) which covered the north-east of our continent, we are driven back on the pre-history that has been made known by the archæologists. Only in that breadth and depth of perspective do we discern that three great events in the history of Europe had

a similar course, and with each time a lesser swing of the pendulum—a fact that witnesses an advancing stabilisation of conditions. These have been :—

1. The expansion of the Indo-European peoples, dating from the turn of the third millenium B.C. ;
2. the great expansion of the Slavs, attaining a mighty dynamic at the middle of the first millenium of our era ;
3. the expansion of the Polish state, which broke down in the middle of the 17th century.

The striking similarity in their course of these three historical processes (of very different dimensions) reveals beyond doubt the overriding influence of the geographical environment on the surrounding landscape. Being something permanent, it must provide the basis of our own efforts to foretell the future.

It is true that the formulating of expectations in the realm of sociological phenomena has been up to now a thankless task, and it is hard to suppose that it will be otherwise in the future : nevertheless people of an age of planning cannot get on without it. Such speculation brings into their rather colourless life a certain ideological content, making possible an unusually lush unloading of energy. Bearing this in mind one can hardly suppose that the Slav world can remain indifferent to these questions : Where was the centre that sent out the first waves of this expansion, covering at the present time one-seventh of the inhabited globe ? Where do we meet the shallow ripples of the periphery, perhaps by their barren substratum condemned to a life of passivity ? Not less stirring must be the answer to the questions : Did that original centre preserve its biological fitness, and in what relation does its vitality stand to those new focus points which arose on foreign ground, in the field of its expansion ? In what degree and direction can all this affect the further course of this fantastic process, which shakes today the foundations of the world ?

THE VITALITY OF EUROPE'S POLITICAL FRONTIERS

To get an idea of the permanent character of the frontiers of European states, which bears witness to their vitality and the long-since attained stabilisation of their fundamental framework, it suffices to take a look at the map. This will make clear to us above all what interests us most, that our present day Third Republic presents a territorial restoration of Poland under Bolesław the Brave in the year A.D. 1000. The gains of the centuries in between are limited to the Masurian Lake district, a strip of Podlasie, the lands

between the Wieprz and the Bug, Posnia [*sic*], the area between the Bobr and the western Neisse and the south-western border of Silesia, disputed by the Czechs. In comparison with the gigantic outreach of our neighbour on the east, these are obviously trivial. We can comfort ourselves only with the thought that lands, which are so long stabilised, are not threatened by such frequent and great catastrophes, of the sort that must shake more fluid and expanding colonial empires, which are less adapted to natural conditions.

The most outstanding example of the elasticity of European frontiers is undoubtedly seen in the way the German undertaking, under the leadership of a demènted demagogue, to try the adventure of conquering the Slav world by fire and sword, as though it was a new Mexico or Peru, has ended with the loss of all the gains won from the Slavs since the days of Charlemagne. That mighty monarch of western Europe made on the Slavs so unheard-of an impression that his name became the term for a ruler. It can be found in Slavonic languages as *Krół*, *Korol* or *Kral*, and reveals their division into three parts. Only the Bulgarians, who remained within the range of direct and intensive Byzantine influences, held faithfully to tradition and handed on the title tsar (= Cæsar) to Moscow. The rest of the Slavs shaped their lives in the reflection of Charlemagne's fame, and right here can be seen their relationship with the west.

Only in this long perspective do we see the true measure of the defeat sustained by the Germans. It may sound like a paradox, yet it is a fact that this catastrophe has to a large degree been caused by the German failure to recognise one truth: all their seemingly lasting gains were owed to a consistent peace-time policy, whose last stage (before the Partitions) was the holding in fief of Leborg and Bytow,² which provided so many officers for the army of Frederic the Great. In the course of long centuries our western border was not less peaceful than the southern, which suffered only from bandit raids of the Highlanders. After the successes won by the Piast Kings in the west there reigned a long-time peace. Fighting prevailed only in the north—with the Teutonic Knights; and these wars, in which the German Empire would not be involved, ended with their complete humiliation. The whole stake was lost to us later on during generations of peace!

An even higher degree of stabilisation in regard to frontier can be seen in the case of Bohemia. This is explained by the nature of

² The formerly German towns of Lauenburg and Butow, near the 1919-1939 German-Polish frontier in Pomerania.

the landscape, which forced on the country inflexible frontiers ; with the obvious exceptions of the Moravian Gate which lay on the great transit route and became the scene of age-long border conflicts between Poles and Czechs. Similarly disputed fringes are to be seen today in the areas adjoining the Sudeten passes lying farther to the north.

The historical frontiers of Slovakia, threatened for more than a thousand years by the Hungarians, became in good part stabilised, thanks to the temporary overlordship of that country by Bolesław the Brave. It was he who worked out the frontier between Slovaks and Magyars, driving in iron posts, the memory of which lived until recent times in the village taverns around Budapest. We used to hear of all this from our own Highlanders who would cross the border into Hungary before 1914 looking for work. The territorial gains of the Slovaks during a millenium are limited to a small area lying between their earlier eastern borders and the western frontier of Carpathian Ruthenia, as established by the Peace Conference in 1919. The original population there may have been Poles, coming from the northern slopes of the mountain range. The Ruthenian (Ukrainian) elements, which were numerous there until recently, represent a later infiltration, linked up by kinship with the wave of Wallachian settlement which had come originally from the borders of Albania, reached along the Carpathians as far as the river Morawa, and gave so much live colour to our own Highland counties.

The influence exercised on the South Slavs by the conquest of Charlemagne, to which they owed their deliverance from the particularly cruel yoke of the Turkish (or perhaps Mongolian) Avars, can best be visualised in the relations that obtain even today in Yugoslavia. Those who did not come under the Frankish monarchy remained Serbs, while those of Serb origin who did were transformed into Croats—inimical to the Serbs and used by the Hungarians and Germans against their fellow-nationals. They spoke the same tongue, but were distinguished from the Serbs by their faith, and formed in time a separate nation with a name that links them to their faraway cradle-home in the Carpathians—known in Polish as Chrobacja. Having just escaped the Turkish onmarch, substantial numbers of Serbs crossed the ancient fringe of the Empire of Charlemagne and settled in western Bosnia, or even (in lesser numbers) in Dalmatia. There there arose scattered regions with a mixed population ; and their severe differences facilitated the overlordship both of the Turks and of their later successors and heirs.

In wholly other circumstances the Croatians crossed this great historical frontier to the north of the Danube obviously in an eastern direction. Settled by the Austrians on this "military borderland," they kept guard over the Turkish fringes of the Habsburg possessions. These "Frontiersmen" became a formation analogous to Poland's registered Cossacks, but were held in the iron discipline of the Austrian regular army. Fortunately for present-day Yugoslavia, they did not absorb so much Turkish blood as the Cossacks absorbed Tartar; and they repaid in full their debt to the Habsburg, conscientiously forgiving Vienna the ingratitude of its "springtime moods" in 1848.

In the South Slav world the Serbs distinguished themselves by the maximum of resiliency. To them fell the task of organising Greater Serbia, which was called Yugoslavia, on political grounds. This new state, uniting Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, is linked up none-the-less by tradition with the Kingdom of Stephen Dušan the Strong, in view of its great territorial claims in the Balkans. It is still wrestling with internal difficulties—the consequences of the vitality of the frontiers set by the Frankish Emperor. The political wisdom of the Slovenes has not yet availed to compose these differences. The latter have been severely tested by a thousand years of conflict with the Germans, as well as by Italian pressure, which, under the rule of a Fascist Mussolini, attained a doubly barbaric tension. It suffices to recall the letter of this epigone of the Great and Eternal Rome, written in 1930 to four young Italians. It honoured them as heroes, their merit being that they offered themselves as hangmen in order to carry out a death-sentence on some Slovenes from Istria, condemned for nationalist activity. The Slovenes are the South Slav "opposite-number" of the Western Slavs of Lusatia.

The age-long rivals of the Serbs in the Balkans, the Bulgarians—at one time the most cultured Slavonic people—were organised politically by a Turkish tribe, to whom they owe their name. They are the kinsmen of the Chuvash people from the Volga, and have not closed the last thousand years of their history too happily. Thanks to very direct relation with Byzantium, the Bulgarians played a great part in this history of written Slavonic and have counted for much in the history of the Russian literary language. Their political history has been splendid, but much less happy. Above all, the nation was so exhausted by its wars with Byzantium and so terribly destroyed by centuries of Turkish rule that in spite of great moral fibre (all efforts to "levantise" them failed!), they

did not regain their ancient domain of a thousand years ago, and in recent decades have lost extensive areas to the Serbs, Roumanians and Greeks. Having defeated the Turks in the Balkan War (with the Serbs and Greeks to help them) they were then beaten by a coalition of their two allies. In consequence of this they had to give up Macedonia—the cradle of Bulgarian literature. The greater part went to the Serbs, who long ago had become possessors of the fringes of Timok and Pirot, but they had to give up the Dobruja to the Roumanians. The lands lying north of the Danube, at one time populated by the Bulgars, which reach even to Buda-Pesth (as the name of the capital shows) were lost for ever to the Roumanians and Hungarians. After the first World War, the Bulgarians suffered the consequences of their alliance with the Central Powers, based on a hatred of the Serbs and the desire for revenge, and even lost to the Greeks their outlet to the Aegean. At the present time, actuated by the same motives, they have made the same mistake, and they are waiting for Divine mercy. Up to a point they are saved from further territorial losses by the nature of the landscape. But they have not resurrected the ancient Bulgaria of Tsar Simeon, which in any case was but a passing creation.

Of eastern Europe, generally regarded as a highly fluid *terrain*, and thought of as still far from the state of ripe crystallisation which marks the Europe based on Latin foundations, we can thus affirm a heterogeniety that is already significantly established. In its eastern areas we must reckon with the fact that analogous organising work was done by the Polish-Lithuanian state, which in the time of its greatest outreach represented precisely a sphere of colonial expansion for the older Poland of Bolesław the Brave. In this direction that leader undertook his first expeditions, when he went to Kiev. For just this reason the nearer east of Central Europe must be viewed in the perspective of the height of power wielded by the Polish-Lithuanian organism at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries.

When we make this chronological shift, we see one thing standing out: this remotest outreach of the Byzantine Empire in Europe reveals the highest level of territorial stability in the area most disturbed by incursions of nomadic herdsmen from Asia—the Ukraine. This can probably be explained by the fact that it lay nearest to its spiritual cradle. Doubtless, as a result, cultural life developed here earliest and most richly. When we have this in mind, we realise why the frontiers of the Ruthenian lands belonging

to the Polish Crown, to be found along the Bug and the San, agree almost exactly with the present frontier between Poland and the U.S.S.R. The northern boundary of the Ukraine establishes the condition of things attained by the Union of Lublin (1569); while the eastern only slightly extends beyond our boundary of 1619 and the southern reaches to the sea. It therefore only corrects the negligence of our forebears, who made light of the question of outreach to the Black Sea, closed by the Turks; and who (what was worse) were not able to deal with the Crimean Tartars, destroyers by their forays of our south-eastern border-lands.

In respect of the provinces of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the one-time territories of the Teutonic Knights (Courland and Inflanty) which were held in joint control by the Duchy and the Polish Crownland, the situation was quite different. Here there followed a turnover—the consequence of the nationality principle, which was set up for the Ukrainians by the Lublin Union (1569) and completed in our own day. The former lands of the Knights, a bone of contention at one time between Poland and Sweden, got their national status sealed by the Paris Conference in 1919. On the other hand, the defining of a White Russian republic meant the marking off of the remotest area of Byzantine outreach from a regional with a decided leaning towards Latin civilisation in Lithuania. In this connection it is noteworthy that from the language point of view Bělorussia represented originally part of the Great-Russian area, which in time under the influence of Polish culture was separated off to such an extent that we witness the creation of a distinct White Russian nationality, with its own political identity. The evolution of Bělorussia thus follows the same road taken longer ago by the Dutch. The closer unity of the Bělorussians with the Great Russians is mirrored, moreover, in the fact that the frontier of the Soviet Bělorussia has been withdrawn in the east very far by comparison with that of the Grand Duchy in 1619. In this respect Bělorussia differs greatly from the Ukraine, which has even gone beyond the 1619 frontier; and precisely in the east—a fact bearing witness both to the greater dynamic of the Ukrainians and to their more crystallised national consciousness.

The consideration that only an ethnographic frontier is today regarded as a just one permits the assertion that again, as at Westphalia three centuries ago, we have found ourselves in the process of arranging a peace that closes what is this time more than thirty years of war. This peace is again to realise the principle *cujus regio ejus religio*. The Balkan War put an end to the Turkish

domination in Slav and Greek lands, as well as in the wild mountains of Albania. Then came the first World War, which cleared up the matter of the Southern Tyrol and the ruler of the Habsburgs over their many-tongued Monarchy (a relict of the Holy Roman Empire of German nation), but did not complete the task of cleaning-up that Empire's overgrown Prussian offspring. These two wars were cataclysmic stages of the great historic process we are discussing.

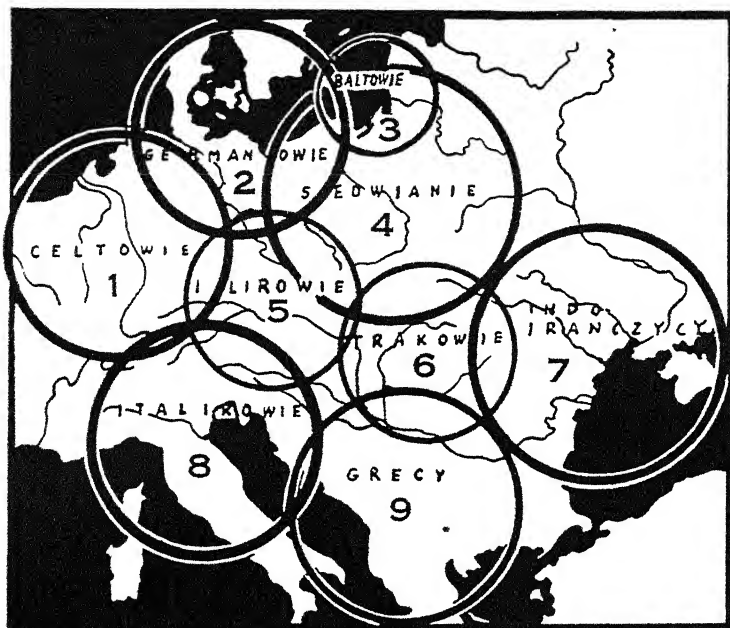
The whole difference between the almost mediæval remoteness of the Peace of Westphalia and the very modern reality of today is found in the fact that the place of religious faith, said to represent submission to "mouldy prejudices," has been taken today by nationality, closely affiliated with confession and much harder to define objectively. What has happened is the result of replacing the clergy, preaching their sermons, by "the enlightened journalists," conditioning their flock—who are self-conscious and free citizens, with the help of the printed word. In the name of this new reality, there are taking place again, as of old, movements of people who will not conform—but this time on grounds of nationality instead of their faith. The present-day movements are carried out more humanely than in the days when the Turks expelled the Armenians; for we have at our disposal railways and motor-cars, which could have made the carrying out of the decisions of the Treaty of Westphalia still more humane. The other side of this having improved transport is that people began to migrate almost with the outbreak of war, without in the least taking thought for its outcome; with the consequence that countless millions have travelled "there and back again," marking the course of their wanderings with a thick line of graves and crosses. All this signifies not so much an act of sabotage as a biological protest against this newest realisation of the rights of man—that solemnly proclaimed and most splendid conquest of the French Revolution, which is the universally honoured Mother of the rationalist and (we must confess) not too humane reality of the presens.

THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE SLAVS

The above-mentioned facts suffice to show that the Western Slav world lies in the zone of frontiers on our continent that have been settled first in order. This permits us to reckon with the possibility that the cradle of the race was there, and that from it flowed the first waves of expansion. This is a far more likely thing than any effort to place that cradle in areas which only began to enter into a phase of stabilisation in the last centuries of our historical

consciousness. True, as science stands today, we do not have to base the matter of the original home of the Slavs on purely academic deductions. The researches of the last decades have provided us with a large body of concrete facts, not to be questioned, and they have made the problem of that home a field of relatively exact inductions. We shall set them forth briefly.

Above all, one must note the fact that the territorial relations of the Indo-European peoples in the early historical period correspond



The Scheme of J. Schmidt and H. Hirt, relative to the kinship of the Indo-European languages, superimposed on the map of Europe by Tadeusz Sulimirski (Cracow)

KEY 1 the Celts; 2 the Germans; 3 the Balts; 4. The Slavs; 5. the Illyrians, 6 the Traks; 7 the Indo-Iranians. 8 the Italians, 9 the Greeks

to their linguistic kinships. This immensely far-reaching fact, to which I drew attention long ago, has been brought out by Tadeusz Sulimirski, who laid over the map of Europe the old diagram of Johannes Schmidt, accepted unreservedly by Hermann Hirt and the distinguished German linguists. It concerns itself with the kinships of the Indo-European languages.

This agreement, so graphically brought to the eye by Sulimirski, of the dispersal of people in the early historical period with their linguistic kinship, bears eloquent witness to the fact that the

differentiation of Indo-European tongues (at least of their European branch) must have taken place *in* Europe. The picture of the early historical dispersal of Indo-European peoples is given in the map attached. It is the older concept of Hirt, but modified above all in regard to the placing of the ancient home of the Slavs, which is here given on the basis of work done by our prehistorians. This has led to the agreement mentioned above. What is more, the outreach of the Traks was extended to the Dnieper, as demanded by the newest Slavonic discoveries.

In view of the above-mentioned proofs that the differentiation of the European branch of the Indo-European family of languages must have happened in Europe, one must conclude that the common vocabulary, recalling a primitive shepherd life on the open steppes (lying perhaps in Asia), must come from an older period preceding both the arrival of the Indo-Europeans in the area inhabited in early historical times *and* the date of differentiation. It is beyond doubt that only now did they go over to a settled economy, for their common agricultural terminology is limited to the European branch.

We have further evidence of very great weight on this point. Grammatical peculiarities of the Indo-European languages point to the fact that the Germanic, Slavonic and Baltic tongues belong to the quite distinct northern group, and that originally a closer link existed between the two former. Only later did there arise the closer connection between the German and the Baltic tongues, which can be seen from the dictionary. Obviously the Slavonic and Baltic languages form a closely united group. As for the Illyrian language, it would be well on the other hand to reckon with the possibility that it belonged originally to the western group, and only later transferred to the northern.

Slavonic botanical terms point to the region of the Vistula, together with the part of the Oder basin adjacent to it as the hypothetical original home of the Slavs. If we could confirm the names of the plants common to the Slavs—plants that formerly were known only in the east, we should have a sort of linguistic trace of a very early and enduring march of the Slavs westward. This would be an all-Slav analogy to the early historical movements of the Eastern Slavs, withdrawing before the incursions of Asiatic peoples from the Black Sea steppes.

The ancient home of the Slavs occupies the larger part of the area of prehistoric Lusatian civilisation—a point already noted by our first authorities in this field, Józef Kostrzewski and Leon Kośłowski. In view of the fact that on the plain of Central Europe

we have only two cultural units, the Germanic and the Lusatian, reaching as far back as the bronze age, and since we are unable to tie the Slavs to the German unit because of the close and age-old kingship of the Slavs with the Germans, we are compelled to link up our Slav forefathers to a people whose cremated remains have been preserved in our cemeteries of the Lusatian type, and whose fortress-homes were destroyed by the onmarch of the Scythians. Biskupin is the one happy exception, permitting us to get a clear idea of the high level of material being of this people.

The Slav expansion of the early historical period, about which we know both from mediæval writers and (still more) from the cemeteries left by it, was anthropologically speaking one of the people possessing the traits of the well-grown, fair-haired, blue-eyed Nordics. It did not differ in this respect from the two former waves of expansion—German and primitive Celtic. It must therefore have started from the diluvial plain of Central Europe, or from lands immediately adjacent to it. It could not have come either from Scandinavia or the Black Sea steppes, for the primitive Slavs had too little admixture of the Mediterranean race in their veins. We thus see that the unquestionable consequences of researches in speech, botany, pre-history and anthropology, taken together, agree that one can place the early home of the Slavs in the area that is relatively identical with that of the Poland of the Piasts.

In harmony with this we have the notable fact that precisely here is to be found the one truly fairly dense centre of population in the diluvial plain. It included a larger area, and was surrounded by the empty fringes of Zabuż, the Masurian Lakes, Pomerania, Lubusland (at the junction of the Oder and the Warta—*tr. note*) and the ranges of the Sudeten and Carpathian mountains. This same centre is the area of the greatest natural increase (of population) on the continent. To its dynamic force we owe thanks for the fact that today, after the Anglo-Saxons, Irish and Germans, the Poles represent the most numerous nationality element in the U.S.A. Only so can we explain why, by contrast with almost all the other nations visited by this war of extermination, we emerge from it virtually without a diminution of the number of Poles living in their homeland. In 1939 there were just under 23,000,000 Poles in Poland. There will be at least as many today when repatriation from the east is completed.¹ The Poles who formerly in their western

¹ Tr. Note.—The figure given for 1939 is obviously meant not to include any Polish citizens of Jewish blood. The figures for the present are a good deal below the official estimates, which reach 24,000,000.

borderlands were condemned to denationalisation are matched today by those abroad, who are not returning home. It is clear that this human volcano, which threw up waves of expansion in the early historical period, is still active today, providing a mass of seasonal workers and emigrants engaged in the west. Its power presents us with one of our greatest demographic enigmas.

These facts from the field of demography favour the ancient home of the Slavs we suggest. True, they have not the same force of proof as those mentioned earlier, yet it is much more probable that the more densely populated areas with their greater dynamic can be accepted, rather than the empty fringes like Polesie as German authorities desire, wishing to push the Slavs out of central Europe, even at the cost of commonsense. As for Polesie, thanks to Sulimirski's work we know that, though inhabited in the remoter past, it later became a complete desert, only again to begin to be inhabited at the end of the Roman period—which means at the time of full Slavonic expansion. This assertion explains to us the Slavonic nature of Polesian geographical terms, used (by the Germans—*tr. note*) to make that area the ancient home. We may pass over the changing conditions of Polesie mentioned already, due no doubt to the fluctuations of its marshiness (itself dependent on the climatic changes which can be seen from examining the peat); but we must affirm that in the adjacent regions of Central Europe stable conditions have prevailed for a very long time. For example, the investigations of K. Moszynski have proved that the ethnographic fringe, which marks the delimitation of various kinds of tools and utensils used by the common people, runs east of the Vistula, and is identical with the border-line of Lusatian civilisation. Stanisław Lencewicz has shown, moreover, that this is the limit of the desert that once covered north-eastern Europe. There is no doubt that we have to do here with a living trace of the frontier that marked the eastern border of the ancient home of the Slavs.

ANALOGIES AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES

In the light of the facts given above, we cannot escape the observation that Slavonic expansion was an analogous phenomenon to the Anglo-Saxon expansion of the past four hundred years, on which we are well informed. The essential difference between the two lies above all in this, that the former began fifteen centuries earlier, and that its course is to a high degree veiled by the mists of pre-history. A second, no doubt less relevant, difference lies in the fact that Anglo-Saxon expansion was effected by sea (like all

the outreaches of the Germanic peoples), while that of the Slavs is the classic example of the land expansion of an agricultural population. In emphasising this outreach by sea we draw the conclusion that the Germans are not typically Germanic in this respect, but the continental illegitimate children of that race—the exact opposite of the Dutch. True, one could say that the creation of the Hansa towns was the offspring of the proper Germanic urge in them.

Present-day Slav reality, which provides us with the results of a process fifteen hundred years older than Anglo-Saxon expansion, must obviously represent a later phase, in its way projected much farther. This is seen above all in the already notable differentiation of the Slavonic languages. In the case of the Anglo-Saxons this kind of thing is scarcely noticeable, and it is checked today by a common literary language. The Slav people, though not so isolated from one another in space, are more clearly defined ethnical individualities than are the various Anglo-Saxon units.

We must ascribe it to time, as the factor that shapes reality, in a past when writing was unknown—that same time which used to play a more far-reaching part than it does in an age of civilisation, that we are not quite conscious of the following comparison. Poland, generically, occupies in regard to the Slavonic world an analogous position to that occupied by England among Anglo-Saxons. Obviously the chronological factor is not the only reason why the thesis seems a paradox, that the Pole is to the Russian what the Englishman is to the American. Beyond doubt a serious complication has been introduced into this rather simple relation by the fact that British culture has expanded on the virgin areas of the American continent, swallowing up a considerable population akin to it from central and northern Europe; while Russian has spread out its forces over the endless plains of Eurasia, assimilating far less of foreign elements, but subject to greater changes and assuming an ever-growing predominance over the rest of the Slavs. The relations of Poles and Russians have, moreover, become more complicated by the fact that the two peoples, though territorial neighbours, matured their traditions as adjuncts respectively of the two parts of the Roman Empire—the Latin and the Byzantine.

None-the-less, what seems to us a paradox is a very real fact: and the recent war which with unusual violence has broken the shells of moulded convictions and age-long prejudices, has uncovered the very marrow of that seeming paradox. In this same great catastrophe, in which, for the price of bases that in reality though

not explicitly have rendered Britain helpless, the U.S.A. have stood on her side and saved her from a second Hastings, Russia has on her part made possible for us the recovery of our real western frontiers, lost in the 12th century, and has stood on guard by them, staking all her prestige as a great power.

With these facts, even if they reach in part into a wholly forgotten past, we must reckon as we proceed to a revision of the problem of our relation as Poles to the Slav world. What is more, we dare not forget that for the west, in spite of Vienna (1683), the defence of London, Tobruk and the capture of Monte Cassino, being Slavs we Poles are a second-class nation, or even a third.

JAN CZEKANOWSKI.

THE PLACE OF THE CZECH REFORM MOVEMENT IN THE HISTORY OF EUROPE

BETWEEN 1350 and 1450 there took place in Bohemia a profound and violent revolution in its moral, religious and political life. It has long been recognised, especially by the Czechoslovaks, that in the history of their own country this movement was decisive in shaping its character and destiny, and they have devoted much patient and scholarly labour to its elucidation. From the time of Palacký the orthodox school of Czech historians has seen in the Czech reform movement the flowering of that sense of morality and nationality which it regards as the essence of Czech history. Others, especially Pekař and Sedláček, while recognising its importance, have been less enthusiastic, and more ready to see the harm done by self-isolation and schism, or more inclined to regard the reform movement as an aberration.¹ Some German scholars also have studied it: Lechler with much sympathy and understanding; Hofler and Loserth with a scholarship marred by animosity against all things Slav in general and Czech in particular.² English historians, better acquainted with the German than with the Czech language, have until recently been too ready to accept the German assessment and therefore to think of the movement as beginning with Hus, and of Hus as but an echo of Wyclif. But hitherto Czechs and Germans alike have been mainly interested in the movement as a chapter in Czech history, as leading to the establishment of a national Church under a national king.

Yet the movement is clearly more than that; it is an integral part of the history of Europe. The Czech reform movement cannot be rightly appreciated unless it is looked at as a part of a social, moral and political revolution affecting the whole continent, nor can the history of Europe be rightly understood without an under-

¹ The more important general treatments in Czech of the Czech reform movement are: Palacký, F., *Dějiny národa českého*, Prague, 1848-1875, 1908; Novotný, V., *Náboženské hnutí české ve 14 a 15 stol.*, Prague, 1915; Bartoš, F. M., *Husitství a cizina*, Prague, 1931; Novotný, V., and Kybal, V., *Mistr Jan Hus, život a učení*, Prague, 1919-1931; Sedláček, J., *Mistr Jan Hus*, Prague, 1915. Cf. Pekař, J., *Smysl českých dějin*, Prague, 1936.

² Lechler, G. V., *Johannes Huss*, Halle, 1890; Hofler, C., *Geschichtsschreiber der hussitischen Bewegung in Böhmen* (Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, Abt. 1, II, vi, vii), Vienna, 1856-1866; Loserth, J., *Huss und Wiclif*, 2nd ed., Munich, 1925. For a corrective see Špínka, M., *John Huss and Czech Reform*, Chicago, 1941.

standing of the particular manifestation in Bohemia of the general revolution.

We are to-day beginning to understand how fundamental and influential was that transference of economic and political power from the owners of land to the owners of personal property, which made the commercial revolution of the 14th and 15th centuries no less historically decisive than the industrial revolution of the 19th. Government was passing out of the hands of landed proprietors into those of the Bardi, Medici, Ursini, de la Poles, Philpots, and the merchants of Venice, Ghent, Cologne, Lübeck, Novgorod and Prague ; the chanceries of popes, emperors and kings were becoming powerful bureaucracies of middle-class commercially minded men ; the possession of goods and money was becoming more decisive than the ownership of forests and castles ; ships and harbours, roads and bridges, letters of credit and bills of exchange, loans and banks and bankers, were becoming the decisive factors in the new society. It is true of course that land and the landowner were not yet completely deposed from their former hegemony, especially in Spain, Poland and Hungary, and that for centuries the majority of the people in even the most progressive states would continue to earn their livelihood from the land. But the power of capital was such that a handful of bankers and merchants could direct the destinies of whole communities. The centres of political power were now determined by considerations of communications and the siting of mineral wealth. That is why Prague in the 14th century became suddenly the "imperial metropolis," as Matěj z Janova described it.³

What attracted Charles IV, Luxemburger and Francophile as he was, to make Bohemia the centre and mainstay of his Empire was his conscious realisation that this inheritance from his Czech mother alone of all his dominions could provide him with the wealth and men to make his rule effective ; not to mention his unconscious appreciation of the value of the silver and gold, the salt, glass and leather of the country, of the industry and skill of its mixed, energetic and enterprising population, as well as of the central position of Prague, towards which and from which led the highways of the Elbe, the Oder and the Danube, and where the route from the Adriatic to the Baltic crossed that from the Bosphorus to the English Channel. The rapid development of the commerce and industry of Prague was both the cause and the consequence of the fact that from 1346 to 1410 here was the Imperial capital, where

³ Matěj z Janova, *Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, ed. Kybal, V., III, 357.

German-speaking merchants in the Old Town were challenged and stimulated by the rapid growth of the New Town, which Charles founded and filled with artisans and craftsmen of Czech speech. And towns have ever been the forcing grounds of social progress and political revolution. Members of this new and growing class figure in almost every incident of the reform movement. It was the German burghers of Prague who so filled the Týn church to hear Konrád Waldhauser's denunciation of the greed and idleness of the monks and the worldliness and avarice of the friars that he had to preach in the great square outside; it was the Czech artisans and shopkeepers who flocked to hear Milíč preach in their own language at St. Giles's in the Malá Strana, and their sons whom he instructed in Latin in the art and duties of a preacher at St. Nicholas's in the Old Town. When Milíč preached that the wars and pestilences of his own day, the division of nation against nation, the avarice and self-indulgence of clergy and laity alike, were all signs that the abomination of desolation was already set in the holy place, that Antichrist was at hand, and that the year of the prophet Daniel was already come, he was merely stating in the terms of apocalyptic the historical fact that he was living in an age of revolution, and that an ecclesiastical and moral order designed for an agricultural, feudal, unnational society was breaking down in the new commercial and nationalist society in which he and his hearers were living.⁴ When Tomáš ze Štítného wrote his books on morality and religious education in Czech rather than Latin, it was because he was unconsciously impelled to appeal to an audience of literate but unscholastic townsfolk and county gentry that was typical of the new age. As the reform movement grows and develops, more and more do we find that the middle classes play a part. For example among those who strove to preserve Milíč's refuge for repentant prostitutes, known as "Jerusalem," for its original purpose after his death, besides the lord of Rožemberk, Matěj z Janova and various priests, we find Angelo the apothecary,⁵ Machuta "the cloth cutter," and Kříž "the shop-keeper."⁶ The same Kříž "kramář" was the moving force in the founding of the chapel of Bethlehem in 1391 as a centre for preaching, and from its pulpit John Protiva, Stephen

⁴ See Jan Milíč z Kroměříže, *Libellus de Antichristo*, in Matěj z Janova, *Regulae*, III, 368-81.

⁵ This Florentine, who had settled in Prague, and who had introduced Cola de Rienzi to Charles IV there, is an interesting example of the fruitful intercourse between the great commercial centres of Europe at this time.

⁶ These are the people addressed in the letter of Vojtěch Raňkův, written just before his death, asking them to resist the efforts of the Cistercians to take over "Jerusalem." See Novotný, *Náboženské hnutí*, pp 140-41.

of Kolín, and finally Hus himself were to stir the Praguers to a practical and enduring zeal for reform. In the stormy years after archbishop Zbyněk took active steps against the "Wyclifites" of Prague in 1408, the Praguers, supported by king Wenceslas IV and egged on by the fiery eloquence of Jerome of Prague, broke out into a series of anticlerical riots which well illustrate the incompatibility of the vested interests of the church and the dissatisfaction of a bourgeoisie becoming conscious of its strength. This may be illustrated from Peter of Mladoňovice's account of the examination of Hus at Constance on 7 June, 1415 :

It was also charged against him that his scandalous and erroneous sermons caused a great sedition in the city of Prague, and by reason of the guile and guilt of John Hus many notable and catholic god-fearing men were forced to go and hide outside the city, there ensued slaughter, robberies, sacrilege and other horrible and execrable acts, of which John Hus was the cause and in which he participated. He replied that the riots were not due to him, but to the interdict imposed for two miles round Prague by archbishop Zbyněk when the king and the university declared their neutrality [as between the rival popes Gregory XII and Benedict XIII], for Zbyněk having despoiled the tomb of St Wenceslas fled to Roudnice, whither the prelates and clergy followed him; for they refused to obey the king and carry on divine service, but fled, and so others took over their affairs [the king confiscated their revenues], "but," Hus said, "not by my order or under my leadership."

And Náz said: "No, reverend fathers, it was not out of disobedience to the king's wishes, but because of the robberies the clergy had suffered that they asked the archbishop to impose the interdict, and that was why they were despoiled."

And the cardinal of Cambrai [Pierre d'Ailli], commissioner and judge at this hearing, said: "I must testify at this point. When I was riding from Rome, certain prelates from Bohemia met me, and when I asked them what the news was there, they replied: 'O, most reverend father! It is bad: all the clergy have been robbed of their prebends and have been ill treated.'"

From the long list of charges made against Jerome of Prague in May, 1416, it is possible to supplement this picture. When the papal indulgence was preached in Prague in 1412 there were organised demonstrations in the parish and monastic churches; the preachers were interrupted and the protesters made public denials of the right of the Pope to use such means to raise money for his war against Ladislas of Naples. Three of the interrupters were arrested by the

² Petri de Mladenowic, *Relatio, apud* Palacký; *Documenta magistri Johannis Hus vitam . . . concernantia*, pp. 282-83.

magistrates of the Old Town (probably German "patricians") and, despite a deputation from the University which pleaded that they should be leniently treated, they were speedily and secretly beheaded, not in the usual places under the pillory, but clandestinely and surrounded by a strong guard—"for fear of the people," as the contemporary chronicler records. When the corpses were discovered, a huge mob of weeping and angry citizens and students escorted them to the Bethlehem chapel, where they were honoured with the rites customarily paid to martyrs.⁸ The same articles charged against Jerome tell also of another organised demonstration in Prague, when a student standing in a cart and dressed like a prostitute, and with the hated bull of indulgence suspended round his neck, was escorted by a tumultuous crowd, to whom he leeringly offered his wares, all round the city to the market place of the Old Town, where the dummy bull was publicly burnt.⁹ During the same year, 1412, and again in 1414, this campaign of organised demonstrations against what had come to be regarded as the worst instruments of clerical extortion and superstition was directed against crucifixes, which were plastered with human dung, and relics, which were snatched out of their coffers and trampled underfoot under the eyes of the friars who had them on show in order to attract the offerings of the devout.¹⁰

These scenes of protest and disorder in Prague are closely parallel to what was happening at much the same time in other centres of the adolescent bourgeoisie, to the murder of Archbishop Sudbury by Wat Tyler's mob in 1381, to the violent attack on the privileged and established order of things by the Cabochiens in Paris in the years 1411 to 1413, to the rising of the "Ciompi" against the patrician oligarchy of Florence in 1378, or to the revolt of Ghent against the Count of Flanders in 1382.

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To some extent we are confirmed in the view that the Bohemian reform movement was part of the general European middle-class revolution when we examine the social provenance of the leading reformers. Jan Milíč was a Moravian who retained his provincial accent even after he had been a civil servant for four years, and the fact that between 1358 and 1362 he was successively registrar, corrector and notary in Charles IV's chancery is symptomatic of

⁸ *Articuli dati in causa fidei contra Hieronymum de Praga, apud Van der Hardt, Magnum Concilium Oecumenicum Constantiense*, IV, col. 676.

⁹ Hardt, *loc cit.*, col. 672.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, cols. 672-74.

the close connexion between the new bureaucracy, the bourgeoisie, and the reformers. Tomáš ze Štítného and Matěj z Janova were sons of country gentlemen who came to the city; Peter Chelčický was of even humbler rural origin, and as he embodies a later stage of the reform movement, he may to some extent be held to voice the sentiments of the peasantry, which had not shared in the victory of the middle classes embodied in the Utraquist and Taborite parties. Hus was born in a village, but, coming as he did to the University of Prague while still an adolescent, he became and remained a typical Prager. The embodiment of the bourgeois character of the reform movement is Hus's dear friend, admirer, and fellow-martyr Jerome, whose only other name was "de Praga," "Pragensis"; he is "Jeronym Pražský," almost the incarnation of the volatile, restless, zealous, reckless and inconstant city. Though he wandered, led by his *ardor discendi*, to Oxford, Paris, Heidelberg, Cologne, Jerusalem, Buda, Vienna, Cracow, Vitebsk, and Pskov, he ever returned to the country and city he loved so well. Though it is difficult to tell how true are the uncontrollable charges made against him by his accusers at Constance that he was the ringleader in all the excesses of the anti-clerical riots, the burning of the indulgence, the honouring as martyrs of the three youths who were executed, the organising of the insults to friars, crucifixes and relics, yet enough is clear from his own admissions to make it obvious that he was that sort of natural popular leader whom times of urban revolution breed, a more noble-minded Wat Tyler or Caboche, a more spiritually minded Étienne Marcel or Philip van Artevelde. He admits that he slapped the mouth of the Dominican Beneš of Innem who insulted him. (His accusers said that "he slapped Beneš's face in the public streets in the presence of a crowd of people, and Jerome drew his knife and would have struck him therewith, and probably have killed him or mortally wounded him, had he not been prevented by master Zdislas of Zvířetice.")¹¹ Another incident in Jerome's career as an agitator is instructive both as to the goings-on in Prague and the views of his accusers as to what was good evidence:

Similarly it is charged against Jerome that in the year 1412 in the month of September on St. Wenceslas' day in the Carmelite monastery he did command, procure and instruct certain laymen to throw on the ground certain relics which were placed there by a friar who was begging alms for the fabric, . . . and Jerome entered the monastery violently and took prisoner the friar Nicholas who was saying that Wyclif was a heretic who had been reproved by the Church, and led him away

¹¹ Hardt, *loc. cit.*, IV, 641-42.

captive with two other friars of the same monastery. These two he handed over to the magistrates of the city who put them in the prison of the New Town¹² among the thieves and robbers. But the friar Nicholas he kept in his own custody in prison for several days, and tortured him in devious ways. And not content with that, Jerome took him out in a boat on the river Moldau which flows strong and wide near to Prague, tied him to the end of a rope and threw him overboard, saying to the said friar some such words as these: "Now tell me, monk, was Master John Wyclif a holy and evangelical doctor or not?" wishing to force him to revoke those words he had spoken in the pulpit against Wyclif. And Jerome would certainly have drowned the friar had not help come from one of his followers and members of his household, who freed him from his great peril.

To this charge Jerome replied: "When I entered the monastery I found the two monks quarrelling with two citizens whose servant they had imprisoned. While I was talking calmly with them, many armed men rushed on me with swords. As I had then no weapon with me I snatched a sword from a layman who was standing by and defended myself as best I could against them. Afterwards I handed over two monks to the magistrate, and one I kept for myself."¹³

Though the Czech reform movement was fundamentally a social phenomenon, it was of course not consciously so. The realisation that the world was upside down, which manifested itself in Milíč's apocalyptic and in Matěj of Janov's plea for a return to the apostolic age, was largely subconscious. Nevertheless here and there we do observe a conscious social sense even in the early stages of the movement. Konrád Waldhauser, the Austrian preacher, whom Charles IV brought to Prague in 1363 and who was the master and inspiration of Milíč, made a bitter attack on the levying of burial dues and the traffic in the privilege of being buried in monasteries or friaries.¹⁴ This is a part of the programme which nearly all of his successors embraced; and it neatly anticipates that attack on mortuary dues, which was the first gesture of the English Reformation Parliament of 1529. The protests against the sale of indulgences, against the exploitation of popular superstition to extract money in return for the benefits conferred by relics and thaumaturgic statues and pictures, and against the charging of fees for the ministration of the Sacraments, are in part a protest against the materialisation of religion and the cult of *adinvenções hominum*, and in part

¹² The magistrates of Nové Město were probably Czechs, not Germans as were those of the Staré Město.

¹³ I have conflated the articles of accusation in Hardt, IV, 641, with the additional articles, *ibid.*, 666-67.

¹⁴ Novotný, *Náboženské hnutí*, p. 60.

the revolt of the townsmen against exploitation by a clerical caste whose functions were becoming stereotyped and of a value that was decreasingly apparent. The same can be said of the protests which we find uttered by Hus and others against the feudal legal system, which gave the lord the right to inherit the property of a tenant who died without direct heirs.¹⁵ But it would be surprising if we could find evidence that the early reformers had a detailed social programme for the emancipation of the serf and the labourer. In the first place, serfdom did not become legally complete in Central Europe before the end of the 15th century, and in the second the early stages of the reform movement were so predominantly urban that the social condition of the peasantry did not impinge on its conscience. Indeed except for Chelčický and the Unity of Brethren, all the Hussite parties so identified themselves with the townsmen and the gentry that they viewed the increasing subjection of the peasantry with indifference at the best. Hus's social philosophy was completely orthodox: it is the duty of the *laboriosi* to work to support the clergy and the *majorates*, and it is the duty of the clergy and lords to obey God's commandments.¹⁶ Such is the theme of Hus's preaching in Bethlehem. Of course all the reformers wax indignant at the way God's poor are robbed by priests who curse for tithes, and who use alms originally intended for the poor to adorn their churches and themselves; but this is pure moral indignation, not due to any feeling that there ought not to be any poor.

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In considering the social aspects of the reform movement we must bear in mind that the merchants and craftsmen were not the only beneficiaries of the commercial revolution. The advent of an economy of production for sale and profit also favoured the professional farmer, the man who owned freehold hereditary land, which he farmed with serf labour, and the produce of which he sold to the towns. These country gentry, the Pastons of England, the *vladyky* of Bohemia and Moravia, the *szlachta* of Poland, the innumerable "nobles" of Hungary—were the economic counterpart of the towns: the landlords fed the towns and the towns supplied the landlords with their clothes, tools, weapons, ornaments and luxuries. These country gentry were pushing themselves into the English House of Commons, the Spanish Cortes, the Bohemian Diet; they monopolised the government of the Hungarian counties and the

¹⁵ Novotný, *Náboženské hnutí*, pp. 138, 139, 255.

¹⁶ Kybal, *M. Jan Hus, Učení*, II, 2, p. 361.

Polish provincial Diets, whence they were sent as delegates to the national parliaments.

As the reform movement in Bohemia develops and begins to spread outside the city and university of Prague, so do the gentry become increasingly involved in it. When Hus in 1412 went into voluntary exile from Prague in order to save it from the interdict his excommunicated presence would have incurred, he spent two years in the towns and the manor houses of the Bohemian countryside, the effect of which can be seen in the loyal support he received from the Bohemian gentry at Constance. There his comfort and safety were the constant care of John of Chlum, Henry of Lacenbok and Wenceslas of Duba, which was but an earnest of the letters of indignation and protest which, after Hus's death, were signed by scores of nobles and gentry of Bohemia and Moravia.¹⁷ The measure of support which Hus had from this class was clearly expressed during the Council, much to the alarm of the Emperor Sigismund, who was heir-presumptive to the kingdom of Bohemia. The political significance of the passage has long been recognised, but it is worth repeating here as evidence that the reformers had to support not so much of a nation as of a social class.

The cardinal of Cambrai said to Hus: "Master John! when you were brought to the bishop's palace we asked you how you had come and you said you had come here freely; and that had you not wanted to come neither the king of Bohemia nor the lord king of the Romans could have compelled you to come." And the master replied: "Indeed I said that I came here freely, and had I not been willing to come, there are so many great lords in the kingdom of Bohemia who love me, in whose castles I might have lain hidden, that neither that king nor this could have forced me to come here." The cardinal nodded his head and his countenance somewhat changed and he said: "See this hardihood!" And lord John [of Chlum], when some of those standing by murmured, said to them: "He is speaking the truth; I am but a poor knight in our kingdom, and yet I would have been quite willing to entertain him for a year, let who will like it or not, so that they could not have got him. And there are many and great lords who love him, who have strong castles where they could have harboured him for as long as they liked, even against both their kings."¹⁸

¹⁷ The letter of 2 September, 1415 (Hardt, IV, 495-97; Palacký, *Documenta*, pp. 580 ff.), was signed by 61 persons "in pleno concilio magnatum, baronum, procerum, et nobilium regni Bohemie et marchionatus Moravie" They pledged themselves "legem domini nostri Jesu Christi, ipsiusque devotos, humiles et constantes predicatorum, usque ad effusionem sanguinis . . . defendere."

The letter of 30 December, 1415, was signed by 432 nobles and gentlemen.

¹⁸ Petri de Mladenovic, *Relatio*, apud Palacký, *Documenta*, p. 283

Sigismund was to realise the truth of John of Chlum's assertion when he and his Hungarian forces tried to seize Bohemia in 1420, when these "many and strong" nobles roundly defeated him at Sudomeř and Vitkov.

It is also worthy of remark that it was not only the Czech gentry who stood by Hus at Constance. The Polish delegates also befriended him. In a letter which Hus wrote describing the first day of his trial, 5 June 1415, he said: "Some cried out: 'Let him be burned!', and especially Michael de Causis, whom I heard. I felt that I had not one friend in this whole crowd of clergy, except 'Pater' and one Polish doctor, whom I knew."¹⁹ And earlier, on 14 May, when Peter of Mladoňovice had organised a complaint to the Council about the barbarous treatment of Hus in prison, in addition to the names of the Czech signatories there are those of Zawisza Czarny of Garbów, the most famous Polish knight of that time, Janusz of Tulisków, castellan of Kalisz, and the Polish lords Boruta, Donin, Balicki and others.²⁰ That Czech reformist ideas spread early to Poland is well known; and it is probable that Jerome's activities in Cracow in 1413, when he engaged in a great public disputation in the University,²¹ and when he accompanied Prince Witold of Lithuania on a great progress to Vitebsk, Pskov and Wilno, had much to do with winning the sympathy of the Polish gentry. Jerome may have performed much the same function in Hungary and Austria, where his activities were thus described by the official of the archbishop of Passau:

What rumour had already reported was recently plainly announced to us on behalf of the University, namely that a certain master of arts, called Jerome of Prague, implicated in certain Wyclifite errors condemned by the apostolic See, careless of his soul's safety, was bold to disseminate these errors in Heidelberg, in Prague and in Hungary, where he was many times ignominiously confuted by the faithful of Christ and supporters of orthodox belief. And now he has made his way to the glorious university of Vienna, our beloved mother in whom is no wrinkle of duplicity . . . in order to infect with his perverse doctrine the hearts of the weak . . . and to propagate even wider his erroneous sect.²²

More precisely the articles charged against Jerome at Constance said:

The same Jerome in Hungary, in Buda, in the presence of the most serene prince and lord Sigismund, king of the Romans and of Hungary,

¹⁹ Palacký, *Documenta*, p. 105.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 258, 556; Hardt, IV, 188.

²¹ Described in a letter of Albert, bishop of Cracow, of 2 April, 1413: Palacký, *Documenta*, p. 506.

²² *Processus habitus Viennae*, ed. Klicman, L., Prague, 1898, p. 37.

in the royal chapel of the castle of Buda, in the year 1410, on the Thursday before Easter,—he, being a layman, dressed in lay habit and wearing a long beard, in the presence of the lord king and of many reverend fathers, bishops and other prelates and of others of diverse estates, publicly preached many things scandalous and erroneous in the faith, and also heresies about the sacrament of the altar, and other things contrary to church order and offensive to pious ears, whence might follow sedition and popular commotions made by temporal lords against the clergy.²³

It is interesting to speculate why the seeds thus promisingly sown in Poland and Hungary failed to take permanent root. Bishop Albert of Cracow ironically said after Jerome's departure from Poland: "Our land seems to be too arid to receive the seed that he sows and to bear fruit, because the simple people are not able to understand his dogmas; much less can the lands of the Lithuanians and Russians do so."²⁴ The bishop was right in so far as Poland was less affected by the commercial revolution than was Bohemia. When the *szlachta* later succeeded in excluding the Polish towns from foreign trade and from the Diet, they so enfeebled what would have been the best forcing ground of reform that the movement, which had shown much early promise, was easily nipped in the bud by archbishop Oleśnicki, after the death of those early patrons of the reformers, queen Jadwiga and prince Witold.

In Hungary, though apparently Hussite ideas did for a time get some hold in the German-Slovak mining towns, they were almost obliterated when the feeble civic life of Hungary was emasculated by the triumph of the Hungarian nobility and the choking up of the Danubian trade routes by the advance of the uncommercial Turk.

* * *

The moral disease that afflicted Europe in the later middle ages was the inevitable concomitant of the social crisis. The moral code that had been effective for the preservation of a purely agricultural society was proving inadequate to solve the new moral problems presented by an economy of buying and selling. Gregory the Great's *Magna Moralia* had nothing to say about the ethics of capital, banking, market prices, rates of interest, partnership and company promoting. The moral code which had justly condemned the money-lender in the interests of the peasant farmer was now hampering the development of commercial and industrial credit, and was therefore being evaded with the help of all sorts of sophistries and

²³ Hardt, IV, 673.

²⁴ Palacký, *Documenta*, p. 506.

fictions. The attempt to apply the moral code of one type of society to another basically different inevitably resulted in widespread disobedience to ancient precepts. In such circumstances morality could not but become convention rather than conviction. It was an atmosphere in which precept ceased to coincide with practice even in the preceptor. Salvation from the prevalent sense of sin was sought in conformity to outworn rules, in external acts, in works rather than faith. How universal the moral disease was can be seen in nearly all contemporary writers: in Chaucer's "Miller's Tale" and "Clerk's Tale," in the second part of the *Roman de la Rose*, in Boccaccio's *Decameron*; how desperate was the search for a remedy appears in Langland's *Piers Plowman*, in the visions and prophecies of St. Brigit of Sweden and St. Catherine of Siena. The immense volume of polemical literature produced by the murder of Louis of Orleans in 1407 and the problem of the right or wrong of tyrannicide illustrates the acuteness of the moral crisis and the failure of the conscience of Christendom assembled at Constance to give any lead at all.

The Czech reform movement was an integral part of this general European phenomenon. The disease was as bad in Bohemia as it was in Tuscany or England; the protests of Waldhauser, Milíč, Matěj z Janova and Hus were as eloquent and trenchant as those of Wyclif, Fitzralph, Petrarch or Gerson. One passage from the *Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamenti* of Matěj z Janova must serve to illustrate the Czech share in this European concert of moral indignation.

This outward appearance and splendour of earthly things which is contrived for the pleasure of the flesh, the delight of the eyes and the pride of life by Christians who are lovers of this world . . . is the figure of the Beast with horns [Revelation xvii]. . . .

Look for example at those noble esquires who make their honour and their boast in their fathers after the flesh, but not at all in Christ Jesus, and who take more emulous pride in their noble birth than in the fact that they are of the generation of Jesus Christ. So hot do they get about it that they perpetrate deeds that can without qualification be described as Beastly. For the honour of their birth and breeding they wound each other mortally, fight duels, and that with edged weapons, and often naked or half naked, quite deliberately when there was plenty of time for taking counsel, knowing full well that one or the other of them must be killed and go to hell. Sometimes they fight each other for glory, sometimes for the love of their mistresses. Any one who has his eyes open cannot help seeing that such creatures are not men, and certainly not Christians, but ferocious and irrational beasts.

As I began to say the whole outward appearance of the dress and body of such men is the exact representation of the Beast with horns. . . .

Women too, by a wonderful dispensation, also strive to be horned in their outward appearance, so that they also publicly display themselves as perfect beasts, for with great art and much labour they build up their headdress into at least three sharp horns, one on their foreheads and one on either side. And then they make two other horns on their bosoms by making their breasts stick out, even if they are naturally flat-chested, by the fashion in which their gowns are cut. . . . Finally these women bear two horns on their feet in the shape of the long pointed shoes they wear, as anyone can see.²⁵

From that Matěj goes on to a circumstantial account of the immodesty of the contemporary dress of both men and women that can be paralleled in a hundred sermons being preached at the same period all the way from Paul's Cross to the Týn church of Prague. And so it is with the remedies that the Czech reformers have to prescribe: at the same time when Matěj was pleading in pulpit and tractate with the people of Prague for a turning from the vanity and hypocrisy of the *adinvenciones hominum* to *Jhesus crucifixus*, to the Bible, and to the sacramental grace of frequent communion in the saving body of Christ, the Lollards were taking the vernacular Bible and the apostolic evangel to the people of England. Not till Jerome brought Wyclif's *Dialogus* and *Trialogus* from Oxford to Prague at the turn of the century did Czech reformers realise that they were not fighting a lone battle. But the discovery that the *doctor evangelicus* had fought the same battles as those in which they were engaged made the Czech reformers welcome him, even to the extent of making his very words their own.

The remedy for moral disorder in the 14th and 15th centuries was inevitably sought in terms of religion, as an answer to the age-old question: "How shall a man be saved?" The revolutionaries everywhere were answering: "Not by works alone; not by absolution and penance, not by indulgences or miracle-working relics and images; not by vain repetitions and outward acts, *but* by a change of heart, penitence and not penance, by the indwelling of the Spirit." It was this religious sentiment that underlay the whole of the great controversy of the philosophers in the Schools during the 14th century, the battle between Nominalism and Realism. Led by the great Franciscan schoolmen, from Roger Bacon, through Duns Scotus, and Occam, philosophy had adjusted itself to the changing order of things, by concentrating its attention on the sensible world,

²⁵ Matěj z Janova, *Regulae*, ed. Kybal, IV, 222-24.

dismissing ideas and abstractions as mere *flatus vocis*, setting apart the world of faith from that of reason, as something which man must accept as revelation, but beyond rationalisation. This Nominalism had become the current philosophy, especially at the acknowledged centre of European thought, the University of Paris, where its leading exponents at the beginning of the 15th century were John Gerson, chancellor of the University, and Peter d'Ailli, later cardinal of Cambrai. But while this new Nominalism, with its interest in the perceptible and the measurable and its adumbrations of the scientific method and spirit, was itself the response to the needs of a developing commercial society, it singularly failed to give an answer to the specifically moral and religious question of the day. It is true that the rationalism of the Nominalists made them zealous enemies of superstition and expositors of thaumaturgy ; but that was purely destructive work ; they had little positive contribution to make to the solution of psychological or spiritual problems. Therefore, though Nominalism was firmly entrenched in Paris and in the new German universities then being established at Heidelberg, Cologne, Leipzig and Vienna, it never succeeded in getting such mastery in the universities of either Oxford or Prague. In Oxford there was a rival philosophical development. It too stemmed from Duns Scotus, but followed him on that side of his teaching which had exalted Will above Reason, and the intense ethical interests of a series of seculars in the University of Oxford, Richard Fitzralph, Bradwardine, Holkot and Wyclif, pursued this line towards a neo-Augustinian theology and psychology, which led Bradwardine into uncompromising predestinarianism, and Wyclif very near to it. In the realm of metaphysics this alternative development became a new Realism, insistent on the reality of universals, of which Wyclif was the most able and eminent exponent in Europe.

At the same time a similar philosophical divergence was manifesting itself at Prague, where metaphysical debate was exacerbated by national animosity. Modelled as it was on the universities of Paris and Bologna, looking as it did to Paris as a place to which its own able scholars should go for further study, it was inevitable that from its foundation in 1348 the University of Prague should be inclined towards Parisian Nominalism. Indeed its first two generations of eminent scholars were Nominalists—Henry Totting, Konrad von Soltau, John Marienwerder, John Isner, Matthias of Liegnitz, Nicholas of Javor, Henry of Bitterfeld, and Albert Engelschalk. They were all enemies of superstition and zealous moralists ; but their writings are marked by the negative aridity of Nominalism,

and they were all Germans or Germanised Silesians. But towards the end of the 14th century we begin to see the beginnings in Prague of an Augustinian, ethical and Realist reaction. What its origins were and whether it goes back beyond the arrival of Wyclif's philosophical works about 1391 are matters on which more research is necessary. What is clear is that the philosophical schism was from the beginning tied up with the opposition of the Czech "nation" in the university to the dominant Bavarian, Saxon and Polish (Silesian) nations. The champions of Wyclif's Realism—Stanislav of Znojmo, Marek of Hradec, Stephen Pálec, Hus, and Jerome—were all Czechs. Why there should have been this parallel philosophical and national dichotomy, I cannot say; there is a temptation to ascribe it unscientifically to some inherent quality in the Slavs which found the idealism of the Realists more congenial than the rationalism of the Nominalists: but I am inclined to believe that the Czech scholars were ready to pick any bone with their German colleagues, and that they found in Realism and Wyclif a potent force with which to attack the specific moral and political problems of their own day and their own country. How closely philosophical and national considerations were interlocked can be seen in the battle royal of the scholastic war which was fought out in the great university debate of 1409. In the presence of the ambassadors of the duke of Brabant, the consuls of the Old Town, and a vast concourse of doctors, masters and students, Matthias Knín opened his *quodlibet* on the theme "Whether it is necessary to posit universals apart from things if the harmony of the world is to be sensible." Knín had but recently been charged with Wyclifite errors before archbishop Zbyněk, and such was his unpopularity with the German Nominalist masters that they had to be ordered to attend by King Wenceslas himself. The three days of debate culminated in the famous speech made by Jerome, the so-called *Recommendatio liberalium artium*, which established his reputation for eloquence, though it is less a formal exposition of Realism than an attack on the German masters, a defence of the orthodoxy of the Czechs, and a plea for the right of students to study Wyclif, even though some of what he wrote had been officially condemned.²⁶ With a characteristic sense of the dramatic Jerome concluded his oration by producing and reading the notorious Oxford letter of 1406, which

²⁶ For an account of Knín's *quodlibet* see Novotný, *M. Jan Hus*, I, 301-13. Jerome's speeches at the *quodlibet* and at its continuation in his debate with Blažej Vlk a few weeks later are all that we have of Jerome's continuous composition. These speeches are published in Höfler, *Geschichtschreiber*, p. 126 (there wrongly ascribed to Hus), and Sedláč, J., *Studie a Texty*, II.

purported to give the official support of that university to Wyclif's orthodoxy.

Knín's *quodlibet* was the last act of the undivided university of Prague, for a fortnight later, 18 January, 1409, King Wenceslas issued the decree of Kutná Hora which transferred the majority of votes from the Germans to the Czechs, and led to the departure of the German masters to Leipzig and Erfurt. Henceforward the Czechs, and therefore Wyclifite Realism, were supreme at Prague, and the philosophical controversy was not renewed until Hus and Jerome went to Constance, there to defend their views.

It is clear that to many of the Fathers of the Council the most serious charge against Hus and Jerome was their Realism. With some justice they felt that it was the Realist refusal to believe that accidents could subsist without continuity of substance which had led Wyclif into the heresy that the material bread and wine remain after the consecration of the elements in the Sacrament of the altar. Though Hus had steadfastly refused to pursue his philosophical Wyclifitism to that logical conclusion, and though the sentence of condemnation on Jerome expressly admitted his Eucharistic orthodoxy, nevertheless Gerson and his fellows were convinced that Realism was inherently likely to lead to the heresy of Remanence. This connexion between the philosophical and doctrinal aspects of the problem is well illustrated by the following passage from Mladoňovice's *Relacio* (proceedings of 7 June, 1415) :

Further it is alleged that John Hus in June 1410 and at other times in the chapel called Bethlehem and at other places in the city of Prague did preach to the people there assembled many errors and heresies both from the books of the late John Wyclif and out of his own obstinacy and guile, and that he did teach, maintain and defend them, and chiefly this, that after the consecration of the Host on the altar material bread remains. And they adduced witnesses on this point : doctors, prelates, parish priests, etc. And the master, calling God and his conscience to witness, replied that he had not said or maintained any such thing. . . . Then the cardinal of Cambrai, taking up a paper which he said had come into his hands late on the previous day, and holding it in his hand, asked master John whether he held that universals exist apart from things ; and he replied that he did, as St. Anselm and others had done. Then the cardinal argued : " It follows then that after consecration the substance of material bread remains ; for, once the consecration has been made, while the bread is changed and transubstantiated into the body of Christ, as you admit, either the general substance of material bread remains, or not. If it does, then my point is proved ; if not, it follows that on the ceasing to be of the individual piece of bread,

the universal also ceases to be." Hus replied that the universal does cease to be in this individual material bread, when it is thus changed or passes into the body of Christ or is transubstantiated, but nevertheless the universal remains the subject of other individuals. Then a certain Englishman got up and tried to prove that Hus's argument proved that material bread does remain. And the master said: "That is the sort of childish argument which boys learn in schools, and its falsity is self-evident. . . ." ²⁷

With this may be compared the charges made against Jerome, first at the Vienna trial of 1410 and then at Constance in 1416, though in Jerome's case the argument was that his Realism led to Trinitarian rather than to Eucharistic heresy. For example at Vienna John of Vohburg gave evidence that Jerome had written: "Universals must be predicated of the divine mind . . . quality is extrinsically present in virtue of the form of things; for every quality is determined by the substantial form which it follows, and is therefore the instrument of its action or the decoration of its subject, and so quality is essentially conserved by substantial form." To us the chief fault of such opinions may well seem the obscure jargon in which they were expressed, but the Church rightly sensed Wyclifism and the danger of heresy and schism. Had Wyclif not been led on by his philosophy to challenge not only sacramental dogma but also the authority of the Church? He had said that if the Church taught a doctrine of transubstantiation which was metaphysically impossible, the Church was wrong; if the Church misused indulgences, excommunication, reservations, tithes and tenths, then the Church must be opposed. Wyclif had asked a question which perplexed men were asking throughout Christendom—"Where is the Church? In the greedy, corrupt, sinful, ambitious Curia of Rome or Avignon, or in the whole body of Christ's elect?" The dual and the triple schism in the west, added to the ancient eastern schism, made this question topical and urgent. Since 1409 there were three persons, each claiming to be Christ's Vicar, each proclaiming the other two to be usurpers, schismatics and heretics, each maintaining a court as costly to one-third of Christendom as before 1378 the one Curia had been to the whole. In England Wyclif was driven to advocate that after the death of Urban VI the English should live without a pope "as the Greeks do." For a generation the rulers and universities of France, Germany, Spain and Italy agitated the question of how the Schism could be ended, and many were driven to accept the sovereignty of the General Council as the

²⁷ Palacký, *Documenta*, pp. 266-67.

only solution. In Bohemia Matěj z Janova was forced to exclaim .

This great city of the world of Christians is severed into three parts, that of the Romans in the south, the Greeks in the east, and the French in the west. The Romans say: "Here is the Church and here is Christ." The French say: "It is not so, for we are the Church and Christ is here." And the Greeks continually say: "Ye lie, both of you, for we are the Church and Christ is here." See how the Gospel is literally fulfilled which says "In those days they shall say to you, Lo, here is Christ, or there." Behold how the sun and moon are darkened so that even the city that is set on a hill is hid and covered in darkness that it cannot be seen, in such a way that of the infinite multitude of Christians it would not be easy to find one who is certain where the one true Church of God is. . . .

I myself believe that Christ is in the Roman obedience. But what I say I say in relation to the whole body of those who were formerly called Christians, and I speak relatively to the certainty in the primitive Church of the saints where it was well known where was the Church and where was Christ. But to-day there is no such certainty as to which part of Christendom Christ is in that anyone would be so bold as to be willing to die for it.²⁸

It is from such a fundamental and general perplexity that Hus's doctrine of the Church evolves. The fact that his *de Ecclesia* follows Wyclif almost verbatim through much of its course is not so much evidence of Hus's lack of originality, as Loserth would have it, as evidence that the disease from which Bohemia was suffering was general. The Hussite movement was in no sense an isolated manifestation of some idiosyncrasy of the Czech character, but the local form taken by revolt against the social, moral, philosophical, religious and ecclesiastical confusion of the general European revolution. That in Bohemia alone in the 15th century it resulted in a successful and enduring national schism was due in part to the advanced economic condition of the country, in part to the fact that its aspirations for religious autonomy came to be involved in the struggle against the political claims of the Emperor Sigismund to subordinate the interests of Bohemia to the needs of his disorderly and bankrupt Empire, and in part to the spiritual and military leadership of Hus and Žižka. Nevertheless even the Hussite wars and the national monarchy of George of Poděbrady are not an aberration from the highroad of historical development in Europe, as was to be seen when, a hundred years after the death of Hus, Luther, Henry VIII, Zwingli, and Calvin took half Europe along the path that the Czechs had already travelled. R. R. BETTS.

²⁸ Matěj z Janova, *Regulae*, I, 294-95

“GALLANTS TO BOHEMIA”

In fair Bohemia now is sprung,
a service which lookt for long :
Where souldiers may their value trie,
when cowards from the field will flie .
It never shall of us be said,
that English Captaines stood afraide :
Or such adventures would refraine,
Then let us to the warres againe.

This is just one stanza of the musical ballad, sung “to a pleasant warlike tune” in the spring months of 1620, when “noble Brittaines” were incited to join the regiment sent from England to Bohemia. Volunteers were mustered all over England and Scotland, not only “for true religion’s right,” “for God and his Gospel” but also for “gold prizes” and Lady Elizabeth, their royal princess, by that time wife of Frederick of the Palatinate and Queen of Bohemia.¹

The fate and adventures of these “Gallants to Bohemia” have been, so far as I know, neither followed nor studied since John Hill Burton in his *The Scot Abroad*,² compared them flatteringly to the famous Ten Thousand.

It was in the early months of 1620 when this first British Expeditionary Force ever sent to Central Europe came into being. By that time the long foreseen struggle between Catholic and Protestant Europe has been started, and the Crown of Bohemia had its “Winter King,” who tried to survive the fatal winter and the next months too. Therefore he sent his courtier Achatius de Dohna to England to ask for substantial help. Dohna was soon followed by King James’s own Ambassador, Viscount Doncaster, whose intermediary mission had failed completely, and who returned to London as a keen partisan of the new King of Bohemia. In February, 1620, the Union of German Protestant Princes sent its envoy to Britain as well. His task was hardly less important than that of Dohna ; he came to ask King James for aid in favour of the Union, an ally of England, with special regard to the Lower Palatinate, threatened by an invasion prepared in the Catholic Netherlands. The anti-Spanish faction at the Court was in high spirits, and the Venetian Lando assured the Doge, that public opinion was much in favour of the Bohemians. Francis Nethersole, who later became the English agent with King Frederick, was even more enthusiastic.

On 28 January, he wrote to the Ambassador at The Hague, Sir Dudley Carleton, that a great political change was expected, "the business which is like very shortly to shake all Christendom."³ Measured by the further development, all these expectations were exaggerated, and did not take into account the enigmatic character of King James, whose legitimist feeling and ardent wish to see the Spanish match realised were bluntly in opposition to the plans of his son-in-law Frederick and his friends in England.

Such was the situation at the end of February, 1620, when another visitor arrived in London from Bohemia. This time, it was a soldier, not a diplomat, and he was no foreigner. His name was Sir Andrew Gray, and he was in London by 28 February, when his coming was noted by the Dutch agent Noel de Caron.⁴ Francis Nethersole, who announced his arrival in his letter to the Hague on 2 March, described Gray as a Lieutenant-General of Artillery in the service of the Bohemian Estates, who came to raise a regiment of 2,000 men.⁵ Sir Andrew never became more than a colonel in the Bohemian service, and the title given to him by Nethersole was in fact that of Count Mansfeld.

We do not know much about this military commander. Even the Scottish sources give us only a hint where Gray's origin is concerned. He was probably a member of the family of Grays of Scheven from Aberdeenshire.⁶ According to Nethersole, he was recommended to Frederick by Viscount Doncaster, himself of Scottish origin. This seems to indicate that the two Scots met somewhere in Germany between summer 1619 and winter 1619-1620. Frederick, writing to James I from Prague on 26 January, mentioned the fact that "Sieur Jean Gray" (the letter is in French and the Christian name is wrong) was recommended by James himself, and that he was given a commission to levy a regiment of 2,000 men. Frederick asked for James's consent to the levy and free transport to Hamburg.⁷ Elizabeth referred to Gray vaguely in her letter to James, written the next day, wherein she asked her father urgently for aid.⁸ Frederick's chief councillor, Christian of Anhalt, reminded James again of letters of recommendation, brought by Gray, and repeated the request for consent to levy a regiment of infantry.⁹

The proceedings of Achatius Dohna were neither easy nor swift, especially after the arrival of the Spanish ambassador Count Gondomar, who landed in Dover on 15 March. Gondomar, whose personal influence on the vacillating King James was well known, nevertheless came too late to hinder the tentative promises of aid, approved in the meantime by James. Gondomar occupied his

Hatton Garden house on 20 March, but, as John Chamberlain put it in his letter, "to welcome him, the next day after his arrival here, drummes went about the streetes to geev notice to all voluntaries that wold serve the King, of Bohemia, to repayre to Westminster this next weeke where they shold finde goode entertainment."¹⁰ Gray got his permission to levy 1,000 men in England and 1,000 men in Scotland, but James was quite unwilling to help with the loan, needed for the expedition and required from the City. At last, an old friend of Frederick and Elizabeth, George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, intervened, and got at least the royal consent to a voluntary grant from among the clergy.¹¹

At the same time public opinion was influenced by clever propaganda in favour of Bohemia. Printed pamphlets brought "The Last Newes from Bohemia," and spoke about "The Late Good Successe and Victory, which it pleased God to give to some of the King of Bohemia's forces." Manuscript "newsletters" described in full the celebration of the baptism of Prince Rupert in Prague.¹² The anonymous ballad "Gallants to Bohemia" was another means of winning volunteers and rich well-wishers for the Bohemian cause. Some of its verses are strangely similar to those of another composition of this kind, called "An Englishman's Love to Bohemia," written by John Taylor, the Water Poet, and printed at about the same time at Dort [Dordrecht] in the Netherlands.¹³

"An Englishman's Love to Bohemia" was dedicated to "the honorable, well approved and accomplisht Souldier, Sir Andrew Gray, Knight, colonell of the forces of Great Britaine in this noble Bohemian Preparation." John Taylor wrote enthusiastically about Sir Andrew, not only because of "his hearty affection to the generality of the cause undertaken," but also because Sir Andrew had once defended the "angellical sex," viz. the London ladies, against a Frenchman, "who slenderously did sweare there was not one honest woman dwelling within the bounds of this populous city." Taylor's "Friendly Farewell to all the noble Souldiers that goe out of Great Britaine unto Bohemia" eloquently ends with the verses:

And you that for that purpose go from hence
To serve that mighty Princesse, and that Prince,
Ten thousand, thousand praiers shall every day
Implore th' Almighty to divert your way.
Goe on, goe on, brave souldiers, never cease,
Till noble warre, produce a noble peace.

Nevertheless, neither the levy nor the loan proceeded very well. At the beginning there was little enthusiasm among the individuals

who appeared in the great hall of Westminster. At least William Sterrell, the informer of Albert de la Faille, secretary at the Habsburg court in Brussels, had only words of contempt for the first volunteers.¹⁴ We must suppose, however, that the interest was greater later on. Another Scottish adventurer, Daniel Hepburn, a member of the family of Bothwell, offered his services to King James, wanting to levy 3,000 men in England and Scotland for the King of Bohemia. He was writing from the Continent and his offer was probably never answered.¹⁵

His happier countryman, Colonel Gray, concluded the contract with Dohna and the members of the pro-Bohemian nobility. The contract, dated 15 April in London, confirmed Gray's pledge to levy a regiment of infantry, 2,000 men in all, which should be presented and accepted into the service of the King of Bohemia somewhere on the confines of the Bohemian Crown in Lusatia. The guarantors for the travel-expenses were the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Pembroke, Viscount Doncaster and the Marquis of Hamilton.¹⁶ The provisions of this contract show clearly that by that time Dohna had not much money in his hands. At the end of April the loan had brought only 13,000 pounds instead of the expected 100,000. Gray got from Dohna an advance of 4,400 florins and was to get another 8,000 in Hamburg, the balance of 12,000 in Lusatia.

The exact number of volunteers who left London for Bohemia at the end of May is unknown. The equipment and transport of the regiment were handed over to Italian bankers in London, Burlamacchi and Calandrini. They had good connections with the Palatinate and their services were used by the English agents in Germany. Their invoices for the soldiers' tunics give the number of 2,000 men, but the transport was charged for 1,200 men only. The regiment was probably completed in Lusatia. Only five of the ten ships prepared were used for the crossing from Gravesend, from where Gray departed on 5 June.¹⁷ The French ambassador Tillières had a low opinion of the volunteers and estimated that more than half the total number were ordinary London pickpockets.¹⁸ The morale of all contemporary armies was low, however, and there is no reason to believe that the volunteers were worse or better than the mercenaries serving the Catholic Habsburgs. Later on, as we shall see, the troops levied by Gray in Scotland were highly appreciated.

The crossing to Hamburg took at least a week in those days. Ships usually followed the coast, as is shown by the diary of John Taylor, who went to Bohemia by the same route later in August

that year.¹⁹ The British volunteers were preceded by a stronger contingent sent from Holland in June, which was followed by Francis Nethersole, knighted already and travelling to Bohemia as an agent of James to the court of Frederick. Both Nethersole and Taylor proceeded from Hamburg through Hannover and Saxony. Gray and his regiment could not go that way, as John George, Elector of Saxony, was openly hostile to their future master. Nethersole informed the State Secretary, Naunton, that Gray chose the route through the Electorate of Brandenburg.²⁰

He was eagerly awaited at least from the beginning of July. John Carpenter, the Secretary of State's agent, who used to supply London with detailed news concerning Bohemia, had by that time left Nuremberg, his usual seat, and gone to Prague. In his dispatch of 1 July he mentioned the fact that Gray's regiment had not yet appeared.²¹ Carpenter was interested in the situation of the troops, commanded by Count Mansfeld and paid by Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy. It was Sir Isaac Wake, the British agent at Turin, who induced the Duke to place Mansfeld's army at the disposal of the Bohemians late in 1618. Naturally enough, the first English volunteers coming to Bohemia were in Mansfeld's service. A remarkable figure among them was Ralph Hopton (1598-1652), a young Cornish nobleman who left the halls of Oxford for the battlefields.²²

Only later on did Carpenter realise that he had left his Nuremberg observation post in vain. The fate of Bohemia and her Anglo-Scottish defenders was sealed on 3 July in the city of Ulm. There the German Princes of the Union abandoned their Bohemian allies and consented to a half-hearted neutralisation of the German territory, thus enabling the Catholic party to prepare the assault on the Palatinate and the invasion of Bohemia with the troops prepared from Spanish money in Belgium and Italy.

The pamphlet called “A Most true Relation of the late Proceedings in Bohemia,” printed at Dordrecht in July, brought to England the news of the Ulm treaty, together with the news of the happy arrival of Sir Andrew Gray in Lusatia.

He hath mustered two thousand foure hundred brave men ; they are mightily praysed for their modest behaviour in their passage. They are so well governed, and so good discipline amongst them, that they are praysed by all men above all other Nations that are there : for they are contented with that that the people gives them with good will, committing no Outrage nor Violence against any man. They are all armed, and the King's Majestie hath given them leave to rest themselves three

weekes, and it may be, will let them lye there still upon the Frontiers, for we must not yet trust too much.²³

The letter, on which this report was based, was dated 13 July, but the regiment must have arrived earlier. The Italian correspondent of the Secretary of State, Alfonso Antonini, counted Gray's Scots and English at a total of 12,000 soldiers in the service of King Frederick, when writing his letter in the Bohemian camp at Eggenburg in Austria on 15 July.²⁴ Gray remained in Lusatia really for about three weeks. He was reported there at the end of July,²⁵ and John Carpenter knew of the expected parade at Brandýs, and even of the proposal to send him under Mansfeld's command to Písek in Southern Bohemia on 2 August.²⁶ According to the Swiss, J. J. Waser, the parade took place at Brandýs on 6 August, in the presence of King Frederick, who often visited this royal summer resort on the Elbe near Prague. Waser estimated the regiment at 3,000 Scots and English, the Czech chronicler Skála even at 4,000 men, but these estimates were optimistic.²⁷ Not long afterwards Skála reported illness raging among the troops.

King Frederick thanked James I for the "*cueillette des contributions, la levée des gens de guerre, et la levée d'une notable somme au Royaume de Denemarc*" in his letter from Prague, dated 15 August.²⁸ The arrival of Gray's regiment was a considerable asset at a time when the estates of Upper Austria had succumbed to Duke Maxmilian of Bavaria, and when the Imperialists under Count Bucquoy were starting their campaign against Bohemia. However, there was no unanimity among Frederick's generals. Mansfeld advised the King to leave Gray's regiment near Prague "for guard," advocating his plan of the defence of the border region. This advice was only partly followed, so that the town of Tábor was defended by the Dutch under Colonel Frank, Plzeň by Mansfeld himself, and the small fortress of Třeboň by another British commander, Colonel John Seton (called also Seitoun, Syton by the chronicler Skála). Instead of coming to Písek, Gray's regiment joined the main army camp at Bechyně, near Tábor. The Bohemian army stayed there the whole month of August "and yet affected nothing."²⁹

By the time Sir Francis Nethersole, the new secretary of Queen Elizabeth and the permanent agent to the Elector Palatine, arrived in Prague (20 August), the English volunteers were in the South of Bohemia. In Prague John Carpenter met only a young Welshman, the son of Mr. John Salisburie of Wales, who supplied him with the information.³⁰ It is John Carpenter again, who informs us of

the first casualties. On 28 August, he describes a freebooting enterprise of some Hungarians, in which a number of English took part. "Some four English souldiers were killed," but otherwise Carpenter is full of praise of his countrymen.³¹ The skirmish took place near Budějovice, which was defended by the Spanish general Marradas and besieged by the Bohemians.

On 1 September Mansfeld moved his army group more to the south, probably because he had heard of the advance of the two Catholic armies, one led by Maximilian of Bavaria, the other by Count Bucquoy, who left the main Bohemian army at Eggenburg in Austria, which were to join a week later near the frontiers of Bohemia. Mansfeld's corps, lying at Veselí, consisted, according to another news-letter printed in English, of four infantry regiments (Mansfeld's, Colonel Gray's, Colonel Frank's, the Duke of Weimar's and Seton's), of six cornets of horse, of 1,000 Hungarians and of some country militia.³² According to Mansfeld's Apology,³³ he remained at Veselí from eight to ten days. Francis Nethersole knew on 15 September that Mansfeld stood with the Englishmen near Plzeň, opposing the troops of the Duke of Bavaria and of the Bishop of Wurzburg.³⁴ Francis Carew, another volunteer, who took part in the initial fights, was by that time returning to England, and took Nethersole's letters with him. Gray's regiment was slowly moving from Pisek to Klatovy and Domažlice, and was reported at Plzeň on 9 October, by John Carpenter again.³⁵

Not all the volunteers were, by any means, with the army. Some of them, especially those of noble origin, remained with the Queen in Prague, others came there on sick-leave. On 7 September John Taylor, the Water Poet, arrived in Prague on his "travel to Bohemia." In Prague he

met with many worthy gentlemen and souldiers which were there sicke, as the worthy Captaine Bushell, Lieutenant Grimes, Lieutenant Langworth, Ancient [Ensign] Galbreath, Ancient Vandenbrooke, Master Whitney, Master Blundell, and others . . . and they do affirme that now it hath pleased God to grant their souldiers recoverie, that they do hope every Britaine souldier doth retaine more good spirit, than three enemies of what nation together.³⁶

Taylor left Prague on 26 September, virtually before the decisive operations had started.

Gray's regiment, belonging to the Mansfeld corps, was for some time spared immediate contact with the advancing Imperial army. In it too there were English-speaking soldiers as well. A Captain Mac Sorley commanded an Irish company under Bucquoy, and one

of the murderers of Wallenstein, Colonel Edward Fitzgerald (Geraldine) was in the Bavarian service. Another Irishman, Father Henry Fitzsimon, was the confessor of Bucquoy and described the whole campaign in his Latin diary.³⁷ Towards the end of September, after having relieved Budějovice, the Imperialists quickly captured Vodňany, Prachatice and Písek, not without much bloodshed. Seton's Scottish garrison was surrounded at Třeboň, while the bulk of the Bohemian army followed the movements of the enemy, who arrived on the 8 October in the surroundings of Plzeň, which was defended by Mansfeld's troops.

It must have been during this march of the joint Catholic army that a part of the Anglo-Scottish regiment met its first disaster. Nethersole informed the State Secretary on 11 October, that one English company, about 100 of Gray's men, was sent to occupy the castle, Zelená Hora (Grunberg). They were surprised by the enemy's vanguard, and nearly all slain.³⁸ Bavarian sources state that Zelená Hora was taken on 4 October, so that was the probable date of the unhappy incident.

The Catholic army spent eleven days besieging, or at least blocking Plzeň, awaiting the result of discussions conducted by Mansfeld and Bucquoy. As Mansfeld failed to make up his mind and surrender, the Imperialists left the Plzeň area on 22 October. Gray's regiment was among the garrison, numbering about 3,000 men and divided from the main Bohemian army lying near Rokycany by the cordon of the enemy.³⁹ The regiment had already much diminished in number. Carpenter, writing from Nuremberg on 16 October, estimated the strength of the English half of it at about 500 men. He knew also of the presence of some "sick English" in Prague and complained of their behaviour. They were said to go begging for their livelihood, although their captains, who had taken their pay, were spending large sums buying various goods. Some of those who deserted the colours had already appeared in Nuremberg. The Scottish companies were in Carpenter's opinion in a much better state, because the officers shared the good and the bad with their soldiers.⁴⁰

Father Fitzsimon drew another unflattering picture of the English companies.

Among those of the enemy [at Plzeň] were many English, who were wretched creatures of beggarly appearance, clothed in rags and covered with vermin. Our men did not think it worth while to despatch them, and sent off gratis those whom they caught, not deigning to get their own men in exchange for such wretches. That renowned English con-

tingent consisted in a great measure of the offscourings of the British jails and highways, and lost two thirds of its force before it got to Bohemia.⁴¹

Fitzsimon was doubtless prejudiced, and his words are not to be taken literally. The regiment, as we have seen, arrived in Bohemia in good order, even if weakened by the long journey across Germany. Those of the "wretched creatures of beggarly appearance" who were of Irish origin, became by a stroke of the pen "real soldiers," "invincible"; and when they came as deserters, they were "heartily welcomed" by Father Fitzsimon, and Captain Mac Sorley swiftly enrolled them into his company. On 22 October the Catholic army started its march to the final goal, Prague. Bucquoy and Maxmilian wanted to turn the flank of the Bohemian army, standing in their way on the old roadway connecting Prague and Plzeň. In the evening of the first day of the march, Bucquoy's headquarters bivouacked in a village near Plzeň, "having cut down some Englishmen, who came in their way."⁴² The Bohemians soon became informed of the enemy's march, and consequently the Imperialists had to go by a roundabout way, through Bělá, Plasy, Královice to Rakovník, where they were stopped again by the Bohemians. Another week was spent there in skirmishes and reconnoitring. On 5 November the Imperialists escaped oncè more, and "with slow and steady step advanced on Prague." In the evening of 7 November the Catholic vanguard approached the White Mountain just outside Prague.

After the departure of the main Catholic army, Gray's regiment remained in Plzeň.⁴³ When Nethersole was making a last survey of the situation on 5 November there were few English and Scots among the 14,000 men of Frederick's army opposing the estimated 24,000 men of Maxmilian and Bucquoy.⁴⁴ This does not mean that there were no British volunteers fighting in the battle on the White Mountain on 8 November. It was known that Sydnam Poyntz's brother took part in it, and the playwright W. Rowley introduced, in his play *Match at Midnight*, a character of the "miles gloriosus" type, called Carvegut, who boasted to have served last at the battle of Prague.⁴⁵ Diplomatic dispatches sent to England after the battle tell us more about the part of the English in the battle.

The dispatch of Lord Conway⁴⁶ is especially interesting. Conway was one of the leaders of a special mission, sent by James to Prague in the early summer of 1620. The envoys came to Prague on 22 October and tried in vain to induce King Frederick to follow

the advice of the King of England and to abdicate. At the cost of Frederick's abdication as King of Bohemia, James was willing to guarantee his hereditary territory, the Palatinate, invaded by Spinola's Spanish army at the end of July. Frederick did not accept the mediation attempted by Conway in Prague and by Sir Henry Wotton in Vienna. He was too honest to abandon his Bohemian subjects, and probably too foolish to realise the danger. He dined with the English Ambassadors on the fatal Sunday, confident that the armies would not give battle. After the dinner, Frederick resolved to go on horseback to see the army; but before he could get out of the city-gate, the news came of the loss of the battle.

After the event Conway and his colleagues accompanied King Frederick and the Queen as far as Nymburk, and then returned to Prague to offer their mediation to the victorious Duke Maximilian. They tried to save their belongings in the subsequent looting, and intervened in favour of some prisoners taken in the battle. Conway was especially anxious about the fate of the captured Englishmen, but in another letter he announced, that some of them were released before his departure from Prague.⁴⁷

A group of English volunteers was present at the dinner, given by the Queen for the Ambassadors, the King and the courtiers. They joined the Ambassadors in a plea to the Queen to leave Prague at once. The above-mentioned Ralph Hopton is said to have been among them, and later he accompanied the Queen to the Bohemian border near Náchod.⁴⁸ But Conway informs us also about the proceedings of the main Anglo-Scottish contingent. According to his letter,⁴⁹ on the day of the battle Gray was marching towards Prague. On hearing news of the defeat he retired into a castle, where "he will finde good quarter." Nethersole clears the situation even more. According to his information Sir Andrew Gray was sent with his "Pilsen regiment" and some artillery to Prague and safely passed Beroun. After the battle he had to retire to the Karlštejn Castle, the old seat of the Bohemian Kings and for some time the treasure-house of the Holy Roman Empire. Nethersole predicted on 26 November that Gray would surrender the castle on capitulation.⁵⁰

If the Scots and English of Gray's regiment were near Karlštejn on 8 November, they were only a few hours too late to appear in the rear of the Imperialists. They must have started from Plzeň on 6 November at the latest. Their departure is a witness of their faithfulness to the King. Mansfeld was at that time still vague in

his plans, and he never boasted of sending them succour in their time of need.

Nethersole predicted well that Gray would not be able to hold the old castle, which was, considering the principles of the 17th century warfare, quite untenable. Father Fitzsimon relates, that

six hundred English and Scotch, the remnant of the corps of 2000 men sent from England, though they had plenty of provisions and an immense quantity of war material, surrendered on condition of being sent home. They had never done anything worth mentioning, and looked more like cowardly boors than soldiers.⁵¹

These, again, are the words of a professed enemy. Karlštejn Castle was a mediæval fortress, much too near Prague and far from any allies. Gray probably tried to get the best terms he could, and Fitzsimon, by that time busily compiling a Latin eulogy on the victors, soon would have found out that he was mistaken.⁵² While King Frederick was abandoning even Silesia and while the nobles of Bohemia and Moravia sought the Emperor's grace, Colonel Gray and his soldiers, mostly mere mercenaries, measured by today's standards, though abandoned by their supreme commander, and cut off from their country, did not lose their nerve but kept on fighting.

Gray must have left Karlštejn some time after 17 November, the day when Maximilian of Liechtenstein set out from Prague against the castle.⁵³ On 27 November Carpenter reported from Nuremberg, that Gray was said to be back in Plzeň. He was supposed to have about 500 men. Some of the original 2,000 were casualties, but most of them deserted after getting no soldier's pay from the time of their arrival to Bohemia. Carpenter complained of the terrible state of the Scots and the English, wandering across Bohemia, begging for alms and cursing their commanders and their colonel, always drinking and scolding.⁵⁴ Most probably Carpenter's report was exaggerated too, as he tried to induce the ministers at home to decisive help for Frederick. In the meantime even the king overcame his depression and promised Mansfeld to pay his troops for the following three months.⁵⁵

Waser, who had once seen the regiment at the parade in Brandýs met Colonel Gray and his soldiers once more on 3 December, when he was returning home to Zurich. On that day the Colonel and about 800 of his men were garrisoned at Kladruby, and he gave a guide to Waser to accompany him to the market town of Bor.⁵⁶

In January, 1621, Gray's forces advanced even farther westwards to the border of the Upper Palatinate. When Mansfeld left Plzeň

before 16 January, he was accompanied by Colonel Gray and a part of his "Scottish" regiment.⁵⁷ One part of the regiment came as far as the Palatinate, but afterwards returned to Bohemia.⁵⁸ Soon after this Mansfeld sent three infantry companies "which joyned with the English they had brought with them out of the Palatinate" and went to Slavkov (Schlackenwald) and Loket (Ellenbogen).⁵⁹ According to local sources of information, Colonel Gray and his 750 "Englishmen" retired on 5 February to Falknov (Falkenau). This was due to the pressure of the Imperialists on Slavkov and Loket. Towards the end of March Falknov was besieged by the Imperial troops, reinforced by the Saxon troops under General Vřesovec. Mansfeld said in his Apology that "our owne Colonell Gray, who was in [Falknov] with certain companies of his owne Nation and others," after "he had done the part of a brave souldier many dayes, was forced to treat [with the enemy] to depart with Bagge and Baggage."⁶⁰ The town of Falknov yielded on 9 April and its defenders retired to the Upper Palatinate. Although Mansfeld's new attack on Bohemia was expected several times, it was never realised and the rest of the "noble Scottish regiment," "the worthy Britons" and "gallants to Bohemia" departed in the autumn of 1621 to defend the Lower Palatinate.

But even then there were still some British soldiers defending the lost cause. The small town of Třeboň in southern Bohemia, besieged from 21 September, 1620, defended by the Scots under Seton, twice beat back the attempts of the Imperialists, and surrendered to Marradas on capitulation only on 2 March, 1622.⁶¹ And even the survivors from Třeboň did not stop hostilities. A well-informed news-book from 1622, "Three great Overthrowes,"⁶² reported from Kladsko (Glatz), where young Count Thurn was fighting against the Emperor, that he was reinforced by 150 soldiers from Třeboň. The number of the newcomers makes probable the assumption, that some of the volunteers from Britain spent some time in Silesia, and were responsible for the accurate information about the situation in Moravia in the years 1622 and 1623. In this way they prepared the way for their countrymen, who came to Moravia in 1626, again under Mansfeld's command, as members of the second expedition sent to Central Europe to help the Protestant Czechs against the Catholic Habsburgs.

Neither the fate of Mansfeld's Rhine army, nor that of the adventurous campaigns in Moravia belongs to the frame of this modest and by no means complete essay. Future research will certainly throw more light on the stormy age of wars and destruction

three centuries ago, when the British Isles had so much in common with the distant Czech lands of Bohemia and Moravia

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NOTES

¹ *Gallants to Bohemia*, in the *Pepysian Ballads*, I, 102, Magdalen College, Cambridge See C H Firth, "Ballad History of the Reign of James I," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1911, and G. Davies, *The Early Stuarts*, Oxford, 1937, p 54 Reprinted by H E Rollins, *A Pepysian Garland*, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 415-19

² John Hill Burton, *The Scot Abroad*, Vol. II, 1864

³ Nethersole to Sir Dudley Carleton, S.P. Domestic, CXIII, 20, from Jan 28. See Gardiner, *Letters and Documents*, II, 171-74

⁴ Noel de Caron to the States General, Jan 28, British Museum, Add MSS 17 677 K, f 16, Transcripts from The Hague

⁵ Nethersole to Sir Dudley Carleton, March 2, S.P. Domestic, CXII, 95 See Gardiner, *Letters and Documents*, II, 176-80

⁶ *The Scots Peerage*, p 288, under Gray.

⁷ Frederick to James, from Prague, Jan 26, P.R.O., S.P. 81/17, f. 3

⁸ Elizabeth to James, Prague, Jan 27, P.R.O., S.P. 81/17, ff 4-5.

⁹ Anhalt to James, Prague, Jan 27, P.R.O., S.P. 81/17, ff 6-7

¹⁰ Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, March 21, *Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed by N E McClure, Philadelphia, 1939, p 294

¹¹ Postscript in Gondomar's letter to Philip III of March 28 (March 31), quoted by Gardiner, *History of England*, ed 1883, pp 339-40

¹² *The Last News from Bohemia*, s.l 36 pp., 4to in Bodley, Malone 622 *The Late Good Successes and Victory*, Middleburg, 1620, pr. by Abr Schilders, 16 pp., 4to, Sion College, London, Arch A 305 and Scu. 4 (10). Letter from Prague, March 1, in Latin, P.R.O., S.P. 81/17, f 23.

¹³ John Taylor, *An Englishman's Love to Bohemia*, at Dort, 1620, 12 pp., 4to. Bodley, Arch A e 14

¹⁴ See B. Chudoba, *Španělé na Bílé Hoře (The Spaniards on the White Mountain)*, Prague, 1945, p 252.

¹⁵ D Hepburn to James, April 3, P.R.O., S.P. 81/17, ff. 27-28

¹⁶ Draft dated London, April 15, P.R.O., S.P. 81/17, ff. 31-32.

¹⁷ The letter of Van Male, the Belgian agent, see B Chudoba, *op cit.*, p. 253.

¹⁸ Tillières to Puysieux, May 27, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français, 15988, f. 464b. See V. Tapié, *Francoúská politika a Bílá Hora (French Politics and the White Mountain)*, Prague, p 483.

¹⁹ John Taylor, *Travels to Prague* . . . in *All the Workes of John Taylor*, London, 1630, Part III, pp 90-98.

²⁰ Nethersole to Naunton, Aug. 21, P.R.O., S.P. 81/17, ff 225-3

²¹ Carpenter to Naunton, July 1, P.R.O., S.P. 81/17, f 201

²² Ralph Hopton's letter from Prague, July 6, P.R.O., S.P. 81/17, ff. 81-82

²³ *A Most true Relation of the late Proceedings in Bohemia*, Dort, 1620, pp. 21, 4to British Museum 9315bb 10, p 10

²⁴ Alfonso Antonini from Eggenburg, July 15, P.R.O., S.P. 81/17, f 119.

²⁵ Onate's report in A Gindely's *Dějiny českého povstání (The History of the Bohemian Rebellion)*, III, 224

²⁶ Carpenter to G Calvert, from Prague, P.R.O., S.P. 80/3, f. 221.

²⁷ J J Waser to J. J. Breitung, Prague, Aug 7, ed by F. Hrubý in *Český časopis historický (Czech Historical Review)*, 1931, p. 62

²⁸ Frederick to James, Prague, Aug 15, P.R.O., S.P. 81/17, f 192

²⁹ *The Appollogue of . . . Earle of Mansfield*, Transl. from the original French copy by S. W., printed at Heidelberg, 1622, pp 78, 4to Bodley, Vet. A 2 e 31.

³⁰ Carpenter to G. Calvert, Nuremberg, August 21, P.R.O., S.P. 80/3, f. 221

³¹ Carpenter's letter from Nuremberg, P.R.O., S.P. 81/17, ff 285-87.

³² *The present State of the Affaires* . . ., s.l., 1620, 40 pp., 4to Bodley, Ant. e E 1620/3, p 6.

- ³³ *Appollogie*, pp 38-40.
- ³⁴ Nethersole to Naunton, Prague, Sept. 15, P.R.O., S.P. 81/18, ff 27-41
- ³⁵ Carpenter from Nuremberg, P.R.O., S.P. 81/18, ff 74-180
- ³⁶ Taylor's *Travels*, pp 97b, 98
- ³⁷ Father Henry Fitzsimon, *Buquoy iter quadrimestre*, last edition by Z. Kalista, *Vojensko historický sborník (Military History Review)*, Prague, 1936, pp 76-106
- English quotations are from Hogan's edition, 1881
- ³⁸ Nethersole to Naunton, Prague, Oct. 11, P.R.O., S.P. 81/19, f 27.
- ³⁹ See De Plessen to Nethersole, from Rokycany, Oct. 15, P.R.O., S.P. 81/19, ff 32-4.
- ⁴⁰ Carpenter to the Secretary of State, Nuremberg, Oct 16, P.R.O., S.P. 80/3, f 240
- ⁴¹ Fitzsimon, p 90
- ⁴² Fitzsimon, p 91
- ⁴³ De Plessen to Nethersole, Nov. 19, P.R.O., S.P. 81/19, ff. 63-64.
- ⁴⁴ Nethersole to Naunton, Prague, Nov 3, P.R.O., S.P. 81/19, f. 129
- ⁴⁵ See the introduction to *The Relation of Sydnam Poyntz*, ed by A. T. S. Goodrich, Camden Society, 1908 Rowley's play was written in 1624
- ⁴⁶ Conway to Buckingham, s.d., P.R.O., S.P. 81/19, ff. 221-23.
- ⁴⁷ Conway to Carleton, s.d., P.R.O., S.P. 81/19, ff 219-20.
- ⁴⁸ Nethersole's letter from Dresden, Nov. 26, P.R.O., S.P. 80/3, ff. 255-60
- ⁴⁹ Conway to Buckingham, s.d., see note 46.
- ⁵⁰ See note 48
- ⁵¹ Fitzsimon, p 103.
- ⁵² Candidus Eblanus, author of the pamphlet *De proelio Pragensi Pragaeque deditione*, Prague, 1620, is identical with the author of *Buquoy iter quadrimestre*.
- ⁵³ *Buquoy iter quadrimestre*, ed. Kalista, p 98.
- ⁵⁴ Carpenter to the Secretary of State, Nuremberg, Nov 27, P.R.O., S.P. 80/3, f. 258
- ⁵⁵ Frederick to Mansfeld, contemporary English copy, Breslau, Nov 30, P.R.O., S.P. 81/19, ff. 209-12
- ⁵⁶ Waſer's *Reis*, ed F. Hrubý, *op. cit.*, p 78.
- ⁵⁷ *Appollogie*, p. 55
- ⁵⁸ *Corrants out of Italy, Germany, etc.*, s1, 1621, Jan. 21. See Van Stockum, Photost Copies, 1914
- ⁵⁹ *Appollogie*, pp 58-59.
- ⁶⁰ *Appollogie*, p 67
- ⁶¹ A. Sedláček, *Hraďy a zámky (Bohemian Castles)*, III, 142
- ⁶² *Three great Overthrowes*, s1., 1622, Bodley, G.P. 1526 (7), p 13.

ALEXANDER I AND CZARTORYSKI

The Polish Question from 1801 to 1813

I

ONE of the most significant and baffling of contemporary European problems has been the Polish question. Yet, it was no less significant and baffling in the era of Alexander I and Napoleon than it is today.

Upon his accession to the throne in 1801 Alexander announced that he would follow in the footsteps of Catherine the Great ; his Polish policy, however, proved to be in the opposite direction to that of his illustrious grandmother. It could not be otherwise, for the tutelage of the Swiss liberal, Frederick Laharpe, and the friendship of the Polish patriot, Prince Adam George Czartoryski, had a profound effect on the character and policies of the young, impressionable ruler.

Only on condition that Prince Adam Czartoryski (1770-1861), together with his younger brother Constantine, become political hostages and reside at her court in St. Petersburg, thus assuring the good behaviour of their father, did Catherine allow the Czartoryski family to retain its huge ancestral estates.¹ Prince Adam, who was appointed aide-de-camp to the Grand Duke Alexander, soon became the latter's most intimate friend and confidant.²

Within a year of Prince Adam's arrival in St. Petersburg, he and the Grand Duke had the first of their confidential conversations of which they were to have so many in the years to come. It took place in the Taurida Palace gardens towards the end of April (1796) when, as Czartoryski says in his *Memoirs*, St. Petersburg enjoys "a few days of fine weather, with a clear sun . . . and the quays are full of promeneurs."³ Here, in a conversation that lasted three hours, the young Grand Duke (he was only eighteen at the time) revealed his innermost thoughts and sentiments, for he could not bear to have the Polish princes judge him otherwise than he really was. He insisted

that he did not share at all the ideas and the doctrines of the cabinet and the court ; that he was far from approving the politics and the conduct of his grandmother ; that he condemned her principles ; that he had expressed wishes for Poland and for her glorious struggle ; that he had deplored her fall ; that in his eyes Kosciuszko was a great man because of his virtues and because of the cause he had defended, which

was the cause of humanity and of justice . . . that he detested despotism wherever it was found and in whatever manner it was exercised, that he loved liberty which was due equally to all men.

He spoke with veneration of his tutor, saying that it was to Laharpe that he owed any of the good qualities that he possessed, all that he knew, and especially "those principles of truth and justice which he was happy to carry in his heart."⁴

The expression of such ideas by the heir-apparent augured well for the cause of Poland. Czartoryski took advantage of every opportunity to encourage the Grand Duke's general feelings. However, his intimacy with Alexander and, even more, with the Grand Duchess Elizabeth, aroused the suspicion of Emperor Paul, who exiled Czartoryski (1799) to Italy by appointing him Russian minister to the dethroned King of Sardinia.⁵ There he remained until the murder of Paul and the accession of Alexander, who was not entirely innocent of the death of his father. In a short urgent letter written within a week of his coming to power, the new Emperor summoned Czartoryski to return immediately to St. Petersburg.⁶

The accession of Alexander and the return of Czartoryski had little immediate effect on the position of the Poles. Many of them now looked hopefully towards Russia, instead of to France which had practically forsaken their cause, only to experience new disappointments. In a treaty between France and Russia, for example, one of the articles stipulated that neither country would protect or support any political refugees.⁷ Czartoryski regarded this as the only significant article in the treaty and believed it was directed against his countrymen. When he complained to Alexander, the latter explained that the article had no real significance, that it was purely a matter of form, and that the destinies of Poland were as dear to him as ever.⁸ In the first years of his reign Alexander talked of Poland at "more and more prolonged intervals," returning to this subject only to console Czartoryski whenever he found the latter discouraged. Czartoryski, however, recognised the complexity of the Polish problem: "In his position what could he do? What could I reasonably demand?" he asked rhetorically.⁹

He could not demand the restoration of Poland, for this did not depend on Alexander alone. But the amelioration of the lot of the Poles was within the new Tsar's power, and it was to the accomplishment of this end that, under Czartoryski's guidance, he directed his efforts. He liberated the Poles in Siberia and permitted those who were abroad to return without difficulty to their homeland. Wherever possible, he restored their confiscated properties. He appointed

Poles to high administrative posts in the Polish provinces, previously occupied by Russians. He even intervened in behalf of Poles who were held prisoners by the other partitioning powers.¹⁰ "The days of persecutions, of trials, of political inquests, of sequestrations and confiscations, of suspicion and precaution," wrote Czartoryski, "are a thing of the past."¹¹

If Alexander could not restore the kingdom of Poland, he was instrumental in preserving and perpetuating the language and culture of the Poles. Few restrictions were placed on the use of their language. Poles were appointed as heads of the Universities of Kharkov and Wilno and the Krzemieniec Lyceum, which became the centres of Polish learning and literature. An effort was made to provide each parish, district, and province with a school of appropriate level. "The whole surface of Poland," relates Czartoryski, "was covered with schools in which Polish nationalism [sentiment polonais] had full liberty to develop."¹² The entire Polish educational program was under the direct supervision of Czartoryski, for the eight Russian Polish provinces were included in the Wilno Educational District of which he was Curator from 1803 to 1823.¹³

Thanks to his position Czartoryski contributed greatly to the preservation of Polish nationalism, but as Russian Foreign Minister he aspired to be of even greater service to his fatherland. His objective was the restoration of Poland. Already serving as assistant Foreign Minister since 1802, Czartoryski was appointed head of the Foreign Office early in 1804, following the retirement of Count Vorontsov, and he occupied this post until June, 1806.¹⁴ Since leading Russians, suspicious of a Pole as Foreign Minister, disapproved the appointment, Czartoryski hesitated to accept. He finally did consent, however, only because he hoped to inaugurate "a political system which, based on the principles of equity, would in time have had a fortunate influence on the destinies of Poland."

In the political system which Czartoryski endeavoured to develop, he wanted Alexander to become the "arbiter of peace for the civilised world," the "protector of the weak and oppressed," and the "guardian of justice among nations." Alexander's reign should begin a new era in which the politics of Europe would henceforth be based upon the "general good and the rights of the individual."¹⁵ Czartoryski never abandoned these ideas, but tried to give them practical application, and to have them accepted by the Tsar and his political leaders. But Alexander, according to Czartoryski, was the only man in the Russian Empire capable of understanding, up

to a certain point, the meaning of this system and even he "entered only superficially into this order of ideas." He was satisfied with general principles and the phrases by which they were expressed. He did not consider either the "responsibilities which this system imposed upon him or the difficulties which would accompany its realization."¹⁶ As for his colleagues, Czartoryski complained that they listened sympathetically to the exposition of his political ideas so long as it was a question of Russian supremacy and power; but when he spoke of "the obligations which this supremacy entailed, of the rights of others, of the principles of justice which should limit ambition," Czartoryski noticed that "approbation became rare, constrained, and cold."

Although his system, "by its fundamental principle of correcting all injustices," naturally led to the re-establishment of Poland, Czartoryski had to avoid even the use of the name. He did not wish to make a "frontal attack on the difficulties which a diplomacy so contrary to the accepted ideas would encounter." Instead, he cleverly spoke only of the "progressive emancipation of peoples unjustly deprived of their political existence." He mentioned the Greeks and the Slavs by name. The time was not yet ripe to speak of the Poles.¹⁷

Not until 1805 were conditions at all favourable for more or less open consideration of the Polish question. This was at the time when negotiations were under way for the Third Coalition. While England, Austria, and Russia were able to agree on joint military action against Napoleon, Prussia persisted in her neutrality. Without Prussia, the coalition would be much less powerful, for not only would Prussian troops be absent from among the allied armies, but Russian troops would be barred from passage through Prussian soil. Every effort was made, including the writing of personal letters by Alexander to Frederick William III and the offer of a three-million-pound-sterling British subsidy, to persuade the Prussian king of the folly of his neutrality, but the latter remained adamant.¹⁸

Czartoryski, who as Foreign Minister conducted the Russian negotiations, regarded Prussian obstinacy with a certain degree of satisfaction.

I must confess [he wrote in his *Memoirs*] that the improbability of seeing Prussia enter the concert of the powers was not at all what distressed me most. To be sure, I neglected no argument to persuade her, but I foresaw with satisfaction the necessity of disregarding her interests in case of her refusal.

What Czartoryski had in mind was the invasion of Prussia and the

proclamation of the kingdom of Poland under the sceptre of Alexander.

Czartoryski's plan, referred to by German historians as *Czartoryskis Mordplan wider Preussen*, had the approval of Russia's allies. Austria, for example, in the event of her losing Galicia, was to be compensated with Silesia and Bavaria.¹⁹ England, likewise, gave her consent to the restoration of Poland and even agreed to pay Russia the subsidy originally intended for Prussia.²⁰

With the diplomacy of the Third Coalition practically completed, Alexander set out for Puławy, the palatial residences of Czartoryski's parents, where final steps were to be taken for the invasion of Prussia and the regeneration of Poland and where, as Schilder points out, "the fate of Europe was to be decided."²¹ He reached Puławy at a rather awkward hour and under embarrassing circumstances. It was two o'clock in the morning when, bespattered with mud, he knocked at the door of his host.²² During his stay the Tsar received and conferred with various Polish notables. Of the outstanding Polish leaders, only Joseph Poniatowski, nephew of the last king of Poland, did not appear. This was because he was detained by the Prussians in Warsaw. Nevertheless, Poniatowski was kept constantly informed of developments, in all of which he concurred; and he even agreed to place himself at the head of the movement in order to give it a national character.²³ At Puławy, Alexander held final conferences with Austrian envoys who, to the very end, hoped to dissuade him from carrying out his plans against Prussia. But Alexander informed them that he could no longer draw back: "We shall raise Poland against the Prussians, and, if I can give you Silesia, you may count on me."²⁴ Writing at this time to the Russian ambassador in Vienna, Czartoryski revealed that "His Majesty is firmly determined to begin the war against Prussia." He anticipated that the Russians would be received "with open arms," because of the Polish hatred for Prussian domination.²⁵ Preparations were, in fact, made for banquets and balls to take place following Alexander's arrival in Warsaw and his proclamation as king of Poland.²⁶ In the Old Town square the market women talked openly of coming events. "Your administration will not last long," they are quoted as having said to the Prussian police officers: "the Russians will come and we shall drive you out."²⁷

Suddenly and entirely unexpectedly Alexander announced that he would not go to Warsaw, but to Berlin. Complete disillusionment pervaded the Poles: there would be no invasion of Prussia; there would be no restoration of the kingdom of Poland. Instead

of waging war on Prussia, Alexander soon vowed eternal friendship for Frederick William III at the tomb of Frederick the Great.

"What had happened?" asks the Grand Duke Nicholas in his biography of Alexander I. He explains that it was nothing extraordinary: that Prince Peter Dolgoruki, who had been sent on secret assignment to Berlin, had quickly fulfilled his mission. While on his way to Puławy, Alexander had dispatched his aide-de-camp, Prince Dolgoruki, to the Prussian monarch in a final attempt to persuade the latter to abandon the policy of neutrality. The envoy's task at that very moment was greatly facilitated by Napoleon's violation of Prussian neutrality in Anspach. Frederick William became indignant. He at once gave Russian troops permission to pass through his territories, invited Alexander to Berlin, and concluded (3 November, 1805) with Russia and Austria the treaty of alliance at Potsdam.²⁸

The explanation of the events which led to the abandonment of *Czartoryskis Mordplan wider Preussen* as given by the Grand Duke Nicholas is, of course, correct. But much more remains to be said. It should be pointed out, for example, that Prince Dolgoruki was an avowed enemy of Czartoryski and his whole political system, and was only too glad to undertake the secret mission to Berlin which he hoped would prove fatal to Czartoryski's plans.²⁹ In Berlin, he joined Maxim Maximovich Alopeus, the Russian ambassador, who had apparently been disregarding Czartoryski's instructions regularly and who kept Berlin informed of Russia's designs against Prussia.³⁰ Although willing to support Russia, in return for adequate compensation, Austria preferred to have Prussia in the allied camp rather than in that of Napoleon, and, therefore, urged the Tsar to avoid war "at all cost" with Frederick William.³¹ Alexander also realised that to strike a sufficiently strong blow against Napoleon, he needed to attach Prussia to the coalition rather than to make war upon her. In this instance, his Polish sentiments had less weight than his determination to stop the growing strength of Napoleon.³²

It is, in fact, the character of Alexander more than any other single factor that accounts for the failure of Czartoryski's plans in 1805. "As we approached the hour of decision," says Czartoryski, "I perceived that his (Alexander's) resolution grew weaker."³³ He tried to impress the Tsar with the need for immediate and decisive action, but the Tsar evaded resolute measures. He actually feared an armed conflict with the Prussian army and, therefore, allowed time to pass in futile conferences and conversations.³⁴ Yet, if

Czartoryski's plans had been executed without delay, the Russians would have found the Prussian armies on a peace-time footing and in no way prepared to resist. They would further have enjoyed the very important advantage of making war on Polish soil where the inhabitants were ready to rise *en masse* in their support. Some of the wealthier Poles offered to form a number of regiments completely armed, if only Alexander would declare himself king of Poland. Berlin itself later admitted that it would have abandoned all of the districts as far as the Vistula without firing a shot.³⁵ Several years afterwards, in 1810, Alexander regretted the opportunity he had missed: "I realise now that that was a unique moment; one could have done then what now can be done only with great difficulty."³⁶

II

The re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland was an *idée fixe* of Alexander. If in the period 1806 to 1810, however, he seemingly neglected this subject, it was because Napoleon had assumed the leadership in Polish affairs and the Tsar's main concern was the preservation of his own Polish provinces. There are, nevertheless, a few incidents falling within this period that are worth noting.

Despite the disillusionment of the majority of the Poles, the sentiments of many of the Russophiles remained unchanged. Czartoryski never lost faith in the sincerity of Alexander's Polish sympathies, and even after he left the Foreign Office he continued to advise him on Polish affairs. Towards the end of 1806, when the war of the Fourth Coalition was in full swing, the Prince believed there was still time, in fact, a real need, for the regeneration of Poland. Accordingly, he addressed to the Tsar a "Memoir on the necessity of re-establishing Poland to forestall Bonaparte."³⁷ In it he pointed out the importance of Poland in the struggle which would determine the fate of Russia and of Europe. He warned that Napoleon would use the resources of Poland against Russia.

In the present state of affairs, Poland thus decreases the total power and the physical and moral means of Russia in the same proportion that she augments those of France. If good politics calls for increasing one's own resources and destroying those of the enemy, it is surely desirable to reverse this state of affairs. . . . To achieve this [he continued] there is but one means—that is, to proclaim (the restoration of) Poland, of which the Emperor would declare himself king for himself and his successors forever.

Such action, according to Czartoryski, would have "incalculable advantages" for Russia: The Poles in their enthusiasm would rally around the throne; instead of the Prussian Poles being exposed to the seductions of Napoleon, they would rise against him; in a reunited Poland, Russia would have an advance post behind which she could remain intact with all her forces.

Anticipating objections to his proposal, the Prince answered them in advance: The creation of a kingdom of Poland would not mean its separation from the empire, for "the crown of Poland would be irrevocably attached to the throne of Russia." Such an act would not be hostile to Prussia, an ally, for Napoleon was "the master of the Prussian monarchy," and the Tsar could help Prussia only by forcing Napoleon to agree to an equitable peace. Instead of prolonging the war, the re-establishment of Poland would lead to its earlier conclusion. Finally, Czartoryski believed that Austria's objections, growing out of the possible loss of Galicia, would be overcome by "frank and loyal negotiations."

While the Tsar hesitated to accept this advice for fear of offending Austria and Prussia, Napoleon acted with vigour. He appealed to the Poles to rise against their Prussian administrators, and soon created (18 January, 1807) a Governing Commission to administer the Prussian Polish provinces.³⁸ The indecisive battle of Eylau and the victory at Friedland brought Napoleon to the Niemen, where he opened peace negotiations with Russia that resulted in the Treaty of Tilsit.

The question of Poland was, of course, very important in these negotiations. Since the Poles had everywhere driven out their Prussian administrators and Napoleon was eager to destroy the power of Prussia, there was no thought of returning the Polish provinces to her; some other provision would have to be made for them. Curiously enough, it appears that each Emperor desired the other to take over the Prussian Polish provinces. "Napoleon asked me to take the Polish crown," Alexander is quoted as having said, "but conditions prevented me from doing so."³⁹ Alexander could not despoil his friend and ally, Frederick William III. Instead Alexander suggested that a Polish state be created with Prince Jerome at its head. He hoped thereby to preserve for Frederick William the left bank of the Elbe, where Napoleon already contemplated erecting the kingdom of Westphalia for his youngest brother.⁴⁰ This proposal was rejected by Napoleon for, with Jerome on the Polish throne, he feared friction would develop whenever the slightest problem arose between the Polish state and Russia.⁴¹ It was finally

decided to establish a new state, to be called the Duchy of Warsaw under the sceptre of the King of Saxony, whose dynasty had ruled Poland in the 18th century.⁴² The new state was called a Duchy rather than a Kingdom out of deference to Austria and Russia.⁴³ Anxious not to leave the peace negotiations empty-handed, and to establish a "natural frontier" between his own empire and the new Polish state, Alexander demanded and received the district of Białystok, the north-easternmost portion of the Prussian Polish provinces.⁴⁴

Two years after Tilsit, war broke out again between France and Austria, and again Poland and Russia were involved: Poland, because of the insurrection in Galicia, and Russia, because of her alliance with France and her interest in the Polish problem. Despite the terms of the alliance, Russia took no active part in the war.⁴⁵ The Russian commander-in-chief refused to come to the relief of Sandomierz, besieged by Austria, although he and Poniatowski had agreed to act "simultaneously and with the best of harmony."⁴⁶ The French resident in Warsaw complained of the "very enigmatic" conduct of the Russians during the war.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, when the campaign was over, Russia insisted on a voice in the peace arrangements, especially those touching the final disposition of Galicia. Whereas Napoleon would attach Galicia to the Duchy of Warsaw, Alexander would have Galicia either remain with Austria or become a part of the Russian Empire.

The negotiations over Galicia were long and controversial. In every increase in the size of the Duchy of Warsaw, Russia saw a threat to her own empire. The Russian Foreign Minister, Count Rumiantsov, made this clear to the French ambassador, Caulaincourt: "I support our alliance, but I believe it my duty to say to the Tsar that we should renounce our foreign policy and sacrifice the last man rather than suffer the enlargement of this Polish domain, because this is an attack on our own existence."⁴⁸ To the Russians, every increase in the size of the Duchy meant a step in the direction of the revival of Poland and the possible loss by Russia of her Polish provinces. When Napoleon tried to reach a compromise by offering territorial compensation to Russia, Alexander replied that "on the Polish question there can be no compromise. The world is not large enough that we might be able to settle the affairs of Poland if it is a question of her restoration in any manner whatsoever."⁴⁹

Despite the protests of the Russians and their fear that the enlargement of the Duchy of Warsaw would soon lead to the rebirth

of Poland, Napoleon insisted that the only possible disposition of Galicia was its cession to the Duchy. "The honour of France would be compromised" if those Galicians who had served her were abandoned to the revenge of Austria. Further, justice would not permit the cession of Galicia to a Russia which had contributed nothing to its conquest. Only after Napoleon suggested that Russia might receive Lwów, "with something more," did Alexander finally accept the principle of ceding Galicia to the Duchy of Warsaw.⁵⁰ Actually, due to the solicitations of Austria, Lwów, in the Treaty of Vienna (14 October, 1809), remained in Austrian hands, but Russia was adequately compensated with the transfer to her of the district of Tarnopol containing some 400,000 inhabitants.⁵¹

Napoleon had secured the Tsar's consent to the extension of the Duchy of Warsaw not only by territorial compensation but also by a promise to guarantee to Russia the possession of her Polish provinces. Accordingly, immediately after the conclusion of the Treaty of Vienna, the Russian Foreign Office drafted a so-called "Treaty of Guarantee." This treaty would reassure the Russian Empire "once and for all," declared Rumiantsov, against the loss of its Polish territories through the re-establishment of a kingdom of Poland.⁵² Alexander remarked that there should be no difficulty over the ratification of the treaty, for only an official form of what Napoleon had already offered him was being demanded.⁵³ Caulaincourt gave his approval to the treaty, having earlier received instructions not to refuse any Russian proposal whose purpose was to eliminate the concept of the restoration of Poland; he had been informed that Russia must be tranquilised at all costs.⁵⁴

When the Treaty of Guarantee reached Paris, it created considerable commotion. A period of intense diplomatic negotiations followed; three distinct treaties were drafted; none was ever ratified.⁵⁵ Although there was disagreement on practically all of the articles, Napoleon protested most violently against the first. This article was short and to the point: it stated simply that "the kingdom of Poland will never be re-established." "I will never agree to that which Count Rumiantsov demands," protested Napoleon. "I should need to be God to decide that Poland should no longer exist."⁵⁶ Napoleon saw no cause for using the language of the divinity simply to reassure Russia that Poland would not be re-established. He refused to agree that the names Poland and Polish would never be used; such an engagement would be "ridiculous and absurd."⁵⁷ Not wishing to antagonise the Poles, Napoleon wanted the treaty to remain secret. The Tsar would not agree,

for that would remove the *raison d'être* of the treaty ; its purpose was to put an end to all the " fanciful hopes " of the Poles and this it could not do if they were unaware of its existence.⁵⁸

As the negotiations bore no fruit, they served to arouse the suspicions of Alexander and to strain the relations between France and Russia. The Tsar could not understand why, if Napoleon had no thought of restoring Poland, he made one think so by permitting the use of the words " Polish Army " and " Poland " and thereby " exciting the Poles " and " disturbing the peace of Europe." ⁵⁹ Napoleon, in turn, became angry with his eastern ally. " Does Russia want war ? " he inquired. " Why these continuous complaints ? Why these injurious suspicions ? Does Russia wish to prepare me for her defection ? I shall be at war with her the day she makes peace with England. . . ." ⁶⁰

Relations between France and Russia were further strained by Napoleon's annexation of the Duchy of Oldenburg. Being related to the Duke, the Tsar intervened in his behalf and suggested to Napoleon that he be compensated with part of the Duchy of Warsaw. Napoleon recognised the legitimacy of the claim for compensation, but refused absolutely to consider giving up a " single village " of the Duchy of Warsaw.⁶¹ He suspected that it was not really Oldenburg, but Poland, that Alexander was principally concerned about : " I am not fool enough to believe that it is Oldenburg which concerns you : I see clearly that it is a question of Poland ; I am beginning to believe that it is you who wants to take possession of it, thinking, perhaps, that there is no other way of guaranteeing your western frontier." ⁶² Napoleon's suspicions were well founded. Alexander had already returned to a consideration of his original plans for a kingdom of Poland within the Russian Empire.

III

If in the period 1806 to 1810 the Tsar appeared hostile to the Poles and to the idea of a kingdom of Poland, it was because he opposed an *independent* Poland. He was interested in a Polish state only as part of the Russian Empire and in the happiness of the Poles only as Russian subjects. A Polish state outside of the Russian frontiers was a definite threat to the integrity of the Empire. Already many Poles in the Russian Polish provinces looked hopefully across the frontier. Thousands of them had joined the Polish Legions in 1807 and other thousands entered the service of the Duchy of Warsaw in the campaign of 1809.⁶³ In the event of a Franco-Russian war, Alexander feared he might have to contend not

only with the Poles in the Ducal army, which was 60,000 strong, but also with the Poles in his own provinces, who might rise in revolt ⁶⁴

As the rupture between France and Russia became more and more probable, the Polish question grew in importance.⁶⁵ Within one week after announcing his withdrawal from the Continental System, Alexander wrote on 6 January, 1811, his well-known letter to Czartoryski in which he expressed the belief that the time had arrived to proclaim the re-establishment of Poland.⁶⁶ He would prove to the Poles that Russia was not their enemy but their true and natural friend ; that despite the fact that Russia was made to appear as the only existing opponent to the rebirth of Poland, it was not improbable that it would be she who would bring about that restoration. Poland, constituted as the Duchy of Warsaw, could lead only a precarious existence which depended on the person of Napoleon. But Napoleon was not eternal ; with his passing, the result could not but be disastrous for Poland. Therefore, her existence should be made more secure by tying her fortunes to those of Russia. Not only would Poland be re-established, but Europe would be delivered from the yoke of Napoleon. All of this would be accomplished not by counterbalancing the talents of Napoleon, but by Alexander's assembling forces superior in number to those of his rival.⁶⁷

Before the success of Alexander's plans could be assured, he would have to be certain of the unanimous support of the Poles in the Duchy. Consequently, he instructed Czartoryski to go to Warsaw, to confer, with the necessary precautions, with the leaders of the nation and the army, to impart the Russian plans to them, to study their reactions, and to receive their engagements if they were favourably disposed. "A moment like this," continued Alexander, "presents itself but once ; any other plan will only lead to a war to the death between Russia and France, in which the unfortunate theatre of operations will be your country."

Czartoryski, who earlier would have welcomed the creation of a Russian Poland with enthusiasm, now received Alexander's proposals with considerable reserve. He foresaw numerous difficulties. He doubted the sufficiency of military means that were to be used against Napoleon. He feared civil war in Poland, for it would not be easy to convince the Poles that Napoleon should be abandoned. They would have to be offered a state of affairs preferable to that which they enjoyed. This meant, according to Czartoryski, an offer of the Constitution of 3 May (1791), the reunion of all of the former Polish territories, and adequate outlets for trade. Even then, one

could not be entirely certain that the Poles would abandon Napoleon, as they were grateful to him for what he had already done ; they regarded the French as close friends and comrades in arms, and the Russians as natural enemies ; they would fear for the lives of the 20,000 Poles fighting in Spain and for their children in Paris ; and finally, they still had faith in the genius of Napoleon to achieve victory under all circumstances.⁶⁸

To give Czartoryski fuller details of his plans toward Poland and to dispel such doubts as he might entertain, Alexander wrote another, much longer letter to his former Minister.⁶⁹ In it he promised that the proclamation of Poland's re-establishment should precede all other events. The new kingdom would include all of the former Polish territories, with her frontier at the line of the Dvina, the Beresina, and the Dnieper. An attempt would be made to persuade Austria to give up Galicia in exchange for Moldavia and Wallachia.⁷⁰ Being unfamiliar with the 3 May Constitution, Alexander could not promise the Poles that particular charter, but he assured Czartoryski that it would be a liberal one. Commerce would be revived, misery abolished and taxes reduced. Again he cited numerous figures to prove that if the Poles supported him, his military forces would be more numerous than those of Napoleon and that he would be able to reach the Oder "without striking a blow." Thus the co-operation of the Poles was essential, and until Alexander was certain of their unanimous support he was determined not to open hostilities with France.

Following this exchange of letters, Czartoryski, in accordance with Alexander's request, went to Warsaw to sound out the leading Poles on their attitude toward Russia and toward the new plans for Poland. Among others, he talked with Poniatowski, at that time Minister of War and Commander-in-Chief of the Polish army. The Polish leader rejected the overtures, and even revealed Alexander's designs to Napoleon.⁷¹ Czartoryski had no more success with other influential Poles. In reporting to the Tsar on his mission to Warsaw, he stated that the re-establishment of Poland was a universal wish among the Poles, but that they were not convinced, especially those in the army, that this could be realised by abandoning France and attaching themselves to Russia. If Russia was to win sympathy among the Poles, continued Czartoryski, her conduct must be entirely different from that of the past. She must prove her goodwill not only to those Poles under her domination but also to those in the Duchy of Warsaw. Every occasion must be used to prove that Napoleon's real intentions were less generous and

beneficent than those of the Tsar. In concluding his report, the Prince recommended two alternatives : if Alexander did not intend to open hostilities, he should use the time to court the Poles both in Russia and in the Duchy of Warsaw; if he took the offensive or was compelled to defend himself, then he should proceed at once to execute his plan by proclaiming the restoration of Poland under the most favourable conditions.⁷²

During the year following Czartoryski's report on the situation in the Duchy of Warsaw, the correspondence between him and Alexander lapsed. When it was resumed in the spring of 1812, the latter explained the reasons for his silence : his plans for Poland had acquired too much publicity, a definite disadvantage to them ; he had received information that Czartoryski was being watched and did not wish to expose him to any danger ; finally, he had decided to await events, since the Prince's letter had given him little hope for the success of his scheme.⁷³

While, however, the Tsar's correspondence with Czartoryski temporarily ceased, it became quite extensive with Michael Kleofas Oginski, leader of the Poles of Lithuania. Oginski had been compelled to leave Poland because of his part in the Kosciuszko uprising, but was permitted to return in 1802 to his estates near Wilno. The Tsar had great respect for Oginski and appointed him (1810) a Senator of the Empire, for he recognised him as the spokesman of the Lithuanian Poles. Whenever Oginski presented grievances on behalf of these people, Alexander was quick to remedy them, for he was anxious to convince Oginski's compatriots of his interest in their well-being.⁷⁴

Early in April 1811, Oginski returned to St. Petersburg, after an extended stay in Paris. On the 23rd he dined at the Imperial Palace and conferred with the Tsar until 2.30 a.m.⁷⁵ The atmosphere seemed tense with uncertainty and expectation. War appeared inevitable—at least that was the impression Oginski had gained in Paris. In Warsaw the inhabitants expected an invasion by the Russians in support of a rebellion by the Russophile Poles. In St. Petersburg it was firmly believed by the Poles who were in the city, that Alexander was merely awaiting 3 May, the twentieth anniversary of the Polish Constitution, to proclaim the re-establishment of Poland.⁷⁶

These expectations were not realised ; nor did war break out until more than a year later. But Alexander became increasingly concerned about the Polish problem. He remained in constant communication with Oginski who, during this period, presented a series

of memoirs to the Tsar.⁷⁷ In them he stressed the advantages that would accrue to Russia if Alexander organised the eight Russian Polish provinces as an autonomous Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Should peace be preserved this would be considered purely a measure of internal administration ; but, in the event of war, the resources of the Polish provinces could then be more fully exploited. The administration of the Grand Duchy would serve as an excellent example to the inhabitants of the Duchy of Warsaw of what they might expect at the hands of the Tsar. The Grand Duchy might, in fact, become the nucleus of the future kingdom of Poland. As the war approached, Oginski urged the Tsar to go even further and proclaim himself king of Poland—a Poland composed of the Duchy of Warsaw and the Russian Polish provinces, before Napoleon completed his armament preparations. Oginski was convinced that Napoleon himself would appoint a King of Poland the moment hostilities broke out or even before.⁷⁸ Alexander indicated his agreement with these ideas, but believed he should “ await events,” for he still hoped to be able to avoid an open break with Napoleon. Nevertheless, he requested Oginski to submit to him a list of names of those whom he might charge with the task of preparing a plan for an autonomous Grand Duchy of Lithuania.⁷⁹

As mentioned above, the correspondence between Alexander and Czartoryski was resumed in April, 1812. The Tsar inquired what would be the most appropriate time to announce the rebirth of Poland—should this be done at the very moment hostilities broke out or after the Russian armies had gained some marked advantages ? He also sought Czartoryski's opinion concerning the creation of an autonomous Grand Duchy of Lithuania as a preliminary measure to the revival of Poland.⁸⁰

Not before the lapse of more than two months did Czartoryski finally reply to Alexander's queries. The reply was most critical and discouraging. In it the Prince asserted that the creation of a Grand Duchy of Lithuania would have been desirable a year earlier, but that now, when “ the cannons were about to roar,” it would be difficult or almost impossible to change the present state of affairs. He pointed out that, with the appearance of Napoleon again on Polish soil, he expected “ at every moment some remarkable development ” which would probably take place even before his letter reached Alexander. Therefore, any “ proclamations or operations ” on the Tsar's part would appear to be too late.⁸¹

Seemingly ignoring the advice of his former Minister, Alexander proceeded to Wilno, where he was entertained in grand style by the

aristocracy and where he made a favourable impression on the inhabitants of the region. It was rumoured that in the baggage of the Tsar was the crown of the last king of Poland. Whether or not this was true, it is a fact that a proclamation, which was to be read by Alexander at the outbreak of hostilities, had been drafted. After showering the Poles with praise for their heroism and patriotism, the message concluded with the following words :

I declare in the name of heaven and earth that I restore the Kingdom of Poland, to include the Duchy of Warsaw and all of the Polish provinces and territories which, following the partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1796, were annexed to Russia ; that in the name of God, I place upon my head the royal Polish crown, separated from the imperial Russian crown, but united in my person with Russia ; that I regard as the fundamental law of the Polish people the Third of May constitution, which is beloved and respected by all of you , and I propose to govern you in accordance with it.⁸²

Just when festivities were at their height, during a ball given by the Tsar in General Benningsen's palace, news reached Alexander that Napoleon had crossed the Niemen. Twenty-four hours later not a single nobleman's carriage was to be found in Wilno ; two days afterwards, Napoleon appeared in the Lithuanian capital. When Alexander issued his stirring war proclamation to the Russian troops, he called upon them to defend their " religion, country, and independence." ⁸³ Not one word was said of the Poles, for he knew the Russians would die for their fatherland but not for Poland.

IV

Pulawy and Wilno represent Alexander's nearest approach to the accomplishment of his plans for Poland ; no other occasion was to prove nearly as favourable. In both instances indecision was responsible for his failure to take the final step. After the outbreak of war new difficulties arose. When, for example, Napoleon's armies had just begun their retreat from Moscow and Oginski again suggested that Alexander proclaim himself king of Poland, the Tsar replied that the Poles might interpret this as a sign of weakness on his part ; on the other hand, such action might expose to Napoleon's persecution those Poles who expressed pro-Russian sentiments. Nevertheless, he emphasised that he had not abandoned his project for the re-establishment of Poland :

From the moment that I see him (Napoleon) at bay and in no position to harm the Poles, I shall restore Poland. I shall do so because it accords with my conviction, with the sentiments of my heart and with the

interests of my Empire. I know that I shall find many difficulties and obstacles in the way of executing my design ; but, providing I do not die, I shall realise it.⁸⁴

Likewise Czartoryski, now realising with the retreat of Napoleon that the Tsar was the only hope of his countrymen, urged Alexander to revert to his original scheme for Poland instead of taking vengeance.⁸⁵ He even prepared and transmitted to the Tsar a draft of a constitution for his country.⁸⁶ Further, he suggested that an independent Poland be created under the Tsar's youngest brother, the Grand Duke Michael Pavlovich.

In his reply, Alexander summarised his attitude toward the Polish question and the difficulties with which he had to contend.⁸⁷ He pointed out first of all that his success had in "no way altered either his sentiments or his intentions toward Poland." Her people need not fear vengeance, for this was a sentiment which was unknown to him and his greatest pleasure was "to repay evil with good." Already he had announced a general amnesty in order to prove to the Poles that "they will never find anywhere greater happiness and security than in uniting with powerful and generous Russia," and he had given the most strict orders to the Russian generals to treat the Poles as friends and brothers.⁸⁸ Alexander confessed that there were certain difficulties which he had to overcome despite the apparent "splendour of his position." Public opinion in Russia was one of them. The conduct of the Polish army in Russia—its sack of Smolensk, and of Moscow, and its devastation of the whole country—had revived old hatreds. The other was the attitude of Austria and Prussia. An attempt to carry out his plans toward Poland "would throw Austria and Prussia completely into the arms of France."

These were the two principal obstacles which were to stand in the way of the attainment of Alexander's Polish plans, and which explain their but partial fulfilment at the Congress of Vienna. Because of Russian opinion, Alexander could not accept Czartoryski's proposal for an independent Poland under the Grand Duke Michael.

Do not forget [Alexander wrote to Czartoryski] that Lithuania, Podolia, and Volhynia have till now regarded themselves as Russian provinces, and that no logic in the world will be able to persuade Russia to see them under the domination of any other sovereign than the one who rules Russia.⁸⁹

In a memoir presented to the Tsar, Count Charles de Nesselrode, who was soon to become one of the Tsar's chief advisers, opposed

the restoration of Poland. "It certainly has not entered the mind of any reasonable man and one sincerely devoted to the interests of Russia to counsel the re-establishment of Poland for the sole pleasure of satisfying the whims of this frivolous and restless nation." An inevitable result, according to Nesselrode, would be the eventual loss of several provinces. Such a measure, therefore, would be contrary to the interests of Russia and "eminently anti-national."⁹⁰ Remembering the fate of his father, Alexander could not, in the opinion of one historian, antagonise the Russians, especially the military and governing aristocracy.⁹¹

As long as the war continued and the final provisions of the peace settlement were not determined, the wishes of the other great powers had to be considered. During the summer of 1812, Austria and Prussia supported Napoleon. Alexander won them over to the allied side only after long negotiations and by avoiding any reference to his Polish plans. The treaties with Austria and Prussia provided indirectly for the return of Polish territories to them.⁹² Similarly, at the Congress of Vienna, Alexander finally had to be content with less than the whole of the Duchy of Warsaw if the recurrence of war, this time among the allies themselves, was to be averted.⁹³

That Alexander was sincere in his plans for Poland there can be no doubt. Czartoryski never questioned Alexander's sincerity and even later in life, despite his many disappointments, he always defended the Tsar.⁹⁴ The serious obstacles which confronted Alexander and his own weakness of character, however, prevented the full realisation of these plans. Nevertheless, as part of a general scheme of federal organisation for the Empire, to which he had given serious consideration, Alexander did succeed in creating a small Kingdom of Poland in "personal union" with the Russian Empire. Enjoying a liberal constitution, their own flag, army and language, the majority of the Poles in the "Congress Kingdom," as it came to be called, were grateful to the "restorer of their fatherland."⁹⁵ Only the perversion of Alexander's principles in the government of Poland by Russian officials and, later, the passing of the Tsar, made the position of the Poles intolerable.

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NOTES

¹ The father of the two hostages, Prince Adam Casimir Czartoryski (1731-1823) was governor-general of Podolia and proprietor of estates cultivated by more than 40,000 peasants. He was responsible for the building of the famous palace at Pulawy.

² An excellent biographical sketch of Czartoryski can be found in *Russkii biograficheskii slovar* (St. Petersburg, 1896-1913), XXII, 38-56.

³ Charles de Mazade, ed., *Mémoires du Prince Adam Czartoryski et correspondance avec l'empereur Alexandre Ier* (Paris, 1887), I, 94.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 95-97.

⁵ Michal Bobrzynski, *Dzieje Polski w zarysie* (Warsaw, 1931), III, 31; Maurice Paleologue, *Alexandre Ier, un tsar énigmatique* (Paris, 1937), pp 21-22; Varvara Nikolaevna Golovina, *Zapiski grafini Varvary Nikolaevny Golovinoi* (St Petersburg, 1900), pp 72-73 and 76. Although there is no doubt that the Grand Duchess Elizabeth was in love with Prince Adam, Paleologue appears to exaggerate the intimacy of their relationship. At least in one instance he makes a rather serious error in the translation of a quotation from the *Golovina Memoirs*. The sentence in Paleologue (p. 22) reads "God only knows what was in his [Czartoryski's] soul," making it appear that Czartoryski had the most evil intentions towards Elizabeth. The original in the *Golovina Memoirs* (p. 76), on the other hand, reads "God only knows what was in my [the Countess Golovina's] soul." The Countess was tormented by the dangers to which she believed the Grand Duchess was being exposed.

⁶ Alexander to Czartoryski, March 29, 1801, *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, II, 1-2.

⁷ See article III, treaty of Oct. 8, 1801, in F. Martens, *Recueil des traités et conventions conclus par la Russie avec les puissances étrangères* (St. Petersburg, 1874-1909), XIII, 263-65. The treaty negotiations were conducted for France by General Duroc, who brought to St. Petersburg a congratulatory message from Napoleon on the occasion of Alexander's accession to the throne.

⁸ *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, I, 286.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 279-80.

¹⁰ Austria, for example, was persuaded to free the most radical of the Polish revolutionaries, Hugo Kołłątaj, who then settled in Russian Poland.

¹¹ *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, I, 287-88; also Stefania Mendelsohn, *Die Polenfrage im Zeitalter Napoleons I und Alexander I* (Berlin, 1929), p. 31.

¹² *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, I, 326.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 324 ff.; see also Bobrzynski, III, 31; Mendelsohn, pp. 32 and 35.

¹⁴ Czartoryski claims that his appointment as Foreign Minister was the result of Alexander's whim. "C'était une de ces lubies comme il en avait souvent, Alexandre n'eut pas de repos qu'elle ne fut satisfaite." *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, I, 360.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 370; N. K. Schilder, *Imperator Aleksandr Pervyi* (St. Petersburg, 1897-1898), II, 122. Later in life Czartoryski developed his political ideas in greater detail in his *Essai sur la diplomatie* (Paris, 1864). According to Hildegard Schaefer in *Die dritte Koalition und die Heilige Allianz* (Berlin, 1934), p. 12 ff., Czartoryski's ideas stem from one of his early teachers, Scipione Piattoli.

¹⁶ *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, I, 372.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 372-73. In his "Article pour l'arrangement des affaires de l'Europe à la suite d'une guerre heureuse (1804)" (*Ibid.*, II, 62-66), Czartoryski does speak of the Poles and the rebirth of their kingdom under the Tsar. The date 1804, however, is incorrect. The "Article" must have been written in 1806. See Schaefer, p. 31, footnote 50. For an excellent analysis of Alexander's interest in the Southern Slavs, see G. Vernadsky, "Alexandre Ier et le problème slave pendant la première moitié de son règne" in *Revue des Etudes Slaves*, VII (1927), 94-111.

¹⁸ See a summary of these negotiations in Martens, VI, 350-67; *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, I, 397.

¹⁹ In a note to Count Razumovski, the Russian ambassador in Vienna, Czartoryski stated: "I do not anticipate that Austria will ever look with dissatisfaction at Russia's benefiting at the expense of Prussia" and later in the same note "in the event of a movement of considerable proportions (in Galicia) Austria would be able to compensate herself adequately, if she took Silesia and if she expanded in Germany by the annexation of Bavaria." Martens, II, 478; Schilder, II, 129-30.

²⁰ *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, I, 398-99. Fox wrote to Czartoryski: "If hostilities break out with Prussia, they must be conducted with vigour, without regard for other matters." Schilder, II, 283, footnote no. 210.

²¹ Schilder, II, 125.

²² It appears that Alexander's Austrian guides (Puławy was located in the Austrian partition) had lost their way in the dark and the imperial carriage broke down. A Jewish inhabitant of the region, while transporting a barrel of *vodka*, came upon His Imperial Highness and led him through forest paths to Puławy. All were asleep and Alexander, not wishing to disturb his host, requested the major-

domo to conduct him to the room prepared for him. There, without undressing, Alexander threw himself on the bed and slept till 7 a.m. Schilder, II, 125-26

²³ *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, I, 399

²⁴ Report of General Stutterheim, one of the Austrian envoys, dated Oct 4, 1805; quoted by K. Waliszewski, *Le règne d'Alexandre Ier* (Paris, 1923), I, 161

²⁵ Czartoryski to Count Razumowski, Oct 10, 1805, quoted in Schilder, II, 130 and 283, footnote no 211

²⁶ Waliszewski, I, 164

²⁷ Schilder, II, 129. References to the talk of market women are also made in A. A. Kornilov, *Russkaja politika v Pol'she so vremeni razdelov do nachala xx veka* (Petrograd, 1915), p. 17, and Waliszewski, I, 163

²⁸ Grand Duke Nicholas Mikhailovich, *Imperator Aleksandr I* (St Petersburg, 1912), I, 45; Martens, VI, 366-67. For text of the Treaty of Potsdam see Martens, II, 480-91.

²⁹ *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, I, 399. Schilder (II, 123-24) relates that on one occasion at the Tsar's table Prince Dolgoruki became engaged in a heated argument with Prince Czartoryski and said to him "You reason as a Polish prince and I reason as a Russian prince." Czartoryski, according to Schilder, became pale and remained silent.

³⁰ Szymon Askenazy, "Adam Jerzy K. Czartoryski" in Maryja Chełmonska, ed., *Album biograficzne zasłużonych Polaków i Polek wieku XIX* (Warsaw, 1901), I, 248-55. Waliszewski (I, 160) reveals that copies of the instructions to Alopeus were found in the Prussian State Archives and that they were believed to have been communicated to the Prussian government by the Tsar's envoy himself.

³¹ Martens, II, 479.

³² Kornilov, p. 17.

³³ *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, I, 398

³⁴ Schilder, II, 122 and 281-82, footnote no. 196. Schilder quotes Count Stroganov on Alexander's indecisiveness of character and explains that it was apparent in Alexander's internal as well as foreign policies. His reforms, Schilder points out, were only in his mind, their application frightened him and he would fall into irresolution. Theodor Schiemann in *Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nikolaus I* (Berlin, 1904-1919), I, 96, gives the following reasons for the failure of Czartoryski's plan: "The enterprise failed because of a mistake in Czartoryski's psychological calculations. He underestimated Alexander's fear of an armed clash with the Prussian army and the attraction that personal relations with the Prussian court had for him; finally, he did not reckon with the mistrust which in Alexander was as strong toward his Polish friend as toward everyone who came in contact with him."

³⁵ Waliszewski, I, 157-58; *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, II, 141-43, Marceli Handelsman, *Napoléon et la Pologne, 1806-1807* (Paris, 1909), p. 194

³⁶ Prince Ladislas Czartoryski, ed., *Correspondance et conversations d'Alexandre Ier et le Prince Czartoryski, 1801-1823* (Paris, 1865), p. 97.

³⁷ Memoir of Dec. 5, 1806. See *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, II, 148-58

³⁸ Marceli Handelsman, *Organizacja Administracyjna Komisji Rządzącej r. 1807* (Warsaw, 1917), p. 1

³⁹ Charles de Mazade, ed., *Correspondance de Maréchal Davout* (Paris 1885), II, 127. Oginski in his *Mémoires de Michel Oginski sur la Pologne et les polonais depuis 1788 jusqu'à la fin de 1815* (Paris, 1826), II, 344, likewise states that Napoleon proposed the union of Warsaw and Prussian Poland to the Russian Empire.

⁴⁰ Albert Vandal, *Napoléon et Alexandre Ier, l'alliance russe sous le premier empire* (Paris, 1891-1896), I, 91.

⁴¹ *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier* (published by order of Emperor Napoleon III, Paris, 1858-1870), XV, 383-84.

⁴² See article V of the Treaty of Tilsit in Karol Lutostanski, *Les partages de la Pologne et la lutte pour l'indépendance. Recueil des actes diplomatiques, traités et documents concernant la Pologne* (Lausanne, 1918), p. 257.

⁴³ When the Poles protested against the choice of name, Napoleon replied as follows: "Gentlemen, I have done more for you than you have a right to expect of me. It is out of deference to the neighbouring powers that I want you to take this name. It was the desire of the Tsar of Russia and I should not wish to fall out, over one word, with a sovereign whose friendship I seek." *Sbornik Imperatorskago russkago istoricheskago obshchestva* (St. Petersburg, 1867-1916), LXXXIX, 74.

⁴⁴ *Mémoires d'Oginski*, II, 344-45, Bobrzynski, III, 37-38, article IX of the Treaty of Tilsit, Lutostanski, p. 258

⁴⁵ Alexander informed Austria in advance that he would delay the entry of his troops into Galicia and that they would be instructed to avoid all collisions with the Austrian army. See the dispatch of the Austrian ambassador in St. Petersburg to the Austrian emperor, April 20, 1809, in Lutostanski, p. 273

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 276

⁴⁷ J. C. Serra to Count de Champagny, June 19, 1809, *Ibid.*, p. 277

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 280

⁵⁰ *Sbornik*, XXI, 326

⁵¹ See article III of the Treaty of Vienna in Alexandre de Clercq, *Recueil des traités de la France* (Paris, 1864-1907), II, 295

⁵² Note of Nov. 3, 1809, Lutostanski, p. 285

⁵³ Edouard Driault, *Le Grand Empire, 1809-1812* (Paris, 1924), p. 87

⁵⁴ Albert Sorel, *L'Europe et la révolution française* (Paris, 1885-1904), VII, 417

⁵⁵ For the text of these treaties see the footnotes in *Corres. de Napoléon*, XX, 148-54

⁵⁶ Prince Richard Metternich, ed., *Memoirs of Prince Metternich* (New York, 1880-1882), II, 430

⁵⁷ *Corres. de Napoléon*, XX, 149-52 and 153-58

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, XX, 152, Driault, p. 91

⁵⁹ Driault, p. 95

⁶⁰ *Corres. de Napoléon*, XX, 158-60

⁶¹ Count A. de Nesselrode, ed., *Lettres et papiers du chancelier Comte de Nesselrode, 1760-1850* (Paris, 1904-1912), III, 407

⁶² Vandal, III, 213

⁶³ Oginski (*Mémoires*, II, 343-44) states that 12,000 Volhynians and Lithuanians joined the Polish Legions in 1807. During the campaign of 1809 Alexander issued a ukase (Sept. 5) prescribing the penalty of forced labour for the peasants and confiscation of property for the nobles and bourgeoisie who enrolled under the flag of Poniatowski. See Lutostanski, p. 275

⁶⁴ Bobrzynski, III, 53

⁶⁵ Caulaincourt in his *Mémoires du Général de Caulaincourt* (edited by Jean Hanoteau, Paris, 1933), I, 285-89, expresses the view that it was the Polish question which was largely responsible for the break. He believed that if Russia were satisfied with regard to Poland, she would remain in the alliance and re-enter the Continental System

⁶⁶ See text of the letter in *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, II, 248-54.

⁶⁷ Alexander calculated that he would be able to throw into the field immediately 230,000 men as opposed to Napoleon's total of only 155,000. These would be the figures provided only that the 50,000 in the Duchy took the side of Alexander, if they remained with Napoleon, the latter's forces would be superior. Thus, according to these figures, the fate of Europe would seem to depend on the 50,000 troops in the Duchy of Warsaw.

⁶⁸ Czartoryski to Alexander, Jan. 30, 1811, *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, II, 255-70

⁶⁹ Alexander to Czartoryski, Feb. 11, 1811, *ibid.*, II, 271-78

⁷⁰ On Feb. 13, 1811, Alexander instructed his ambassador in Vienna to offer Emperor Francis the principalities in exchange for Galicia and armed co-operation against France. See Waliszewski, I, 326-27

⁷¹ Poniatowski claims actually to have read the correspondence between Czartoryski and Alexander. See Vandal, III, 140-41.

⁷² Report dated Puławy, March 12, 1811, found in Grand Duke Nicholas, I, 373-79

⁷³ Alexander to Czartoryski, April 1, 1812, *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, II, 279-84

⁷⁴ *Mémoires d'Oginski*, II, 367-74.

⁷⁵ Stanisław Smolka, *Politika Lubeckiego przed powstaniem listopadowym* (Cracow, 1907), I, 34.

⁷⁶ Mendelsohn, p. 93.

⁷⁷ These memoirs can be found in Le Comte d'Angeberg, *Recueil des traités, conventions, et actes diplomatiques concernant la Pologne, 1762-1862* (Paris, 1862), pp. 521 ff.

⁷⁸ *Mémoires d'Oginski*, II, 385-89; Angeberg, pp. 533-40

⁷⁹ Alexander to Oginski, Dec 15, 1811, in Angeberg, pp 540-41

⁸⁰ Alexander to Czartoryski, April 1, 1812, *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, II, 279-84.

⁸¹ Czartoryski to Alexander, June 4, 1812, and postscript of June 13, 1812
See Grand Duke Nicholas, I, 387-92.

⁸² Smolka, I, 38-89.

⁸³ For the text of the proclamation of June 25, 1812, see Angeberg, p 546

⁸⁴ Oginski to Alexander, Oct. 19, 1812, Angeberg, pp 574-77, Alexander's oral reply of Nov 1, 1812, *Ibid*, pp 577-79.

⁸⁵ Czartoryski to Alexander, Dec 27, 1812, in *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, II, 298-302

⁸⁶ *Lettres et papiers de Nesselrode*, IV, 287-311.

⁸⁷ Alexander to Czartoryski, Jan. 13, 1813, in *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, II, 302-07 and in Angeberg, pp. 585-88

⁸⁸ Amnesty of Dec 24, 1812, Angeberg, pp 584-85. One of the best examples of Alexander's spirit of forgiveness came somewhat later. While in Paris, he arranged in the Treaty of Fontainebleau for the safe return of the Polish troops to their homeland, bearing their "military honors, weapons, standards and canons" See General Józef Szymanowski, *Pamiętniki* (ed by St Schnur-Peplowski, Lwów, 1898), p 114; and article XIX of the Treaty of Fontainebleau in Clercq, II, 402-05

⁸⁹ Letter of Jan 13, 1813, *loc cit*

⁹⁰ *Lettres et papiers de Nesselrode*, IV, 313-20; *Sbornik*, XXXI, 301-03

⁹¹ Bobrzynski, III, 32

⁹² In the Treaty of Kalisz with Prussia (Feb 28, 1813, see Martens, VII, 62-81) Alexander promised not to lay down his arms until Prussia was reconstituted proportionally as of 1806. Further, Alexander guaranteed to Prussia her present possessions, including East Prussia, to which was to be joined sufficient territory to serve as a tie between East Prussia and Silesia. Such a link could be established only at the expense of the Duchy of Warsaw. In the Treaty of Reichenbach (June 27, 1813; see Martens, III, 91-105) it was agreed by Austria, Prussia, and Russia that the Duchy of Warsaw was to be dissolved and partitioned among the three powers according to arrangements made by them without the intervention of France.

⁹³ See the treaty of alliance between England, France, and Austria of Jan. 3, 1815, in Clercq, II, 447-50. Believing that the negotiations at the Congress of Vienna, including those concerning the Polish and Saxon questions, have been adequately treated by historians, the author deliberately excludes these negotiations from this article. For detailed discussions of this subject see the following: C. K. Webster, *The Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815* (London, 1918); C. K. Webster, "England and the Polish-Saxon Problem at the Congress of Vienna" in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Third Series, VII (March, 1913), 54-55; *The Cambridge History of Poland* (ed. by W. F. Reddaway, etc., London, 1941), Chap. XII; E. Wawrzkowicz, *Anglia a sprawa polska, 1813-1815* (Warsaw, 1919); Bobrzynski III, 62-67; Szymon Askenazy, "Polska a Europa, 1813-1815, podług dziennika Ad. Czartoryskiego" in *Biblioteka Warszawska*, CCLXXIV (1909), 1-30, 209-37, 417-45, and CCLXXV (1909), 42-75.

⁹⁴ *Mémoires de Czartoryski*, I, 105.

⁹⁵ The Tsar is constantly referred to by this title in the *Opis żałobnego obchodu po wiekopomney pamięci najzaszniejszym Aleksandrze I, cesarzu wszech Rosyi, królu polskiem* (Warsaw, 1829).

THE LANGUAGE PATTERN OF THE U.S.S.R.

The Master (Confucius) said : " It is most necessary to correct names. If names are incorrect, language will not accord with the truth of things."

Lun Yü, XIII, 3.

I

As a linguistic mosaic the U.S.S.R. superficially resembles India. In either case we have a profusion of individual languages, several distinct language-stocks (Rask's "classes," Marr's "systems") distributed in a broadly similar fashion, a residue of isolated types, and an Aryan (Indo-European, Marr's "Prometheid") *lingua franca*, whose lines of expansion run mainly eastwards and southwards. But apart from the ubiquitous Aryan, none of the other stocks occurs in both countries: Caucasian, for instance, is as typically Soviet, as Dravidian is typically Indian.¹

The U.S.S.R. has five language-stocks—Uralian, Altaic, Caucasian, Iverian (Kartvelian), and Aryan, each with a genetic basis, and a language group tentatively called Palæoasiatic, which includes related and probably unrelated languages placed together on the grounds of geographical proximity and of vague general resemblance in sound and structure. The linguistic pattern of the country may be represented as follows: a central wedge of Aryan (Russian) divides a northern—Uralian—zone from a southern—Altaic—zone and tapers towards an eastern—Palæoasiatic—rim, while the mountainous isolation of the Caucasus, in the south-west, harbours two peculiar and territorially compact stocks—Caucasian and Iverian—and, like the Pamirs farther east, preserves some ancient fragments of Aryan.

URALIAN

ARYAN (SLAVIC)

ALTAIC

PALÆOASIATIC

CAUCASIAN

IVERIAN

ARYAN (IRANIC)

II

The Palæoasiatic languages occupy the Ultima Thule of the U.S.S.R., which bisects over twenty degrees of high latitude from the intercontinental Bering Strait to Korea. They comprise a knot of three cognate languages—Chukcha (Luravetlan), Koryak (Nymylan), and Kamchadal (Itelmen), which are used from Chukotka to Kamchatka, and three isolated languages: Yûkagir (Odu), the mother tongue of fewer than a thousand speakers in Northern Yakutia; Gilyak (Nivkh), once thought to be related to Ainu, and spoken on the lower Amur and in North Sakhalin; and the distant, westerly language of the Yenisei-Ostyaks (Ket) ² in Central Siberia. Some of these languages are separated from one another by intruders of Altaic stock (Yakut and Tungus), and all of them have been variously modified by contact with Russian. The Soviet administration has, incidentally, subdivided the north-easterly (Anadyrian) thrust of the Khabarovsk Region (*kraj*), where they are spoken, into a Chukotian (northern) and a Koryakian (southern) national area (*okrug*), which reach from inner Kamchatka northwards to the Arctic Ocean and represent a partial recognition of ethnic idiosyncrasy.

Whether interrelated genealogically or geographically, the Palæoasiatic languages have common traits, some of which they share with Korean and Japanese. This has led authorities such as the Latvian sinologist Pēteris Šmits (Schmidt) to include the last two in the Palæoasiatic group. Like the Amerindian languages of North America, but not to the same extent, the Palæoasiatic languages show a tendency towards incorporation, i.e. to compress the verb and its associates into a holophrase or polysynthetic mass. Other peculiarities are: the rudiments of vowel harmony, implying a classification of vowels into a "hard" (posterior) and a "soft" (anterior) series, the scarcity of words with an initial voiced consonant, the "cerebralisation" of "t" into "r" finally (in Yenisei-Ostyak, Gilyak, Ainu, and Korean), and a system of numeration based on finger and hand.³

Leopold von Schrenck's ⁴ purely territorial use of the term Palæoasiatic in the middle of the 19th century involved no serious attempt to discriminate among the constituent languages. Today we know much more about them, but so far have not reached the stage of comparative study, except in the case of the three related languages of the Chukoto-Kamchatkan stock, as Soviet investigators still call it, following the outmoded fashion of "marginal" hyphenations or compound epithets. This designation too is purely geographical. Chukcha appears to be a corruption of *čauču-* (possessing

reindeer) and is a one-sided term. The natives call themselves and their language Luoravetlan, and this name covers both the "reindeer" (inland) Chukchas and their "fishing" (maritime) fellow-tribesmen. Koryak is known as Nymylan (= inhabitants), Kamchadal as Itelmen (= men). These languages combine a mainly verbal predicate with its subject and attributes, use prefixes, recognise unequal developments in certain grammatical or phonetic categories, and have a considerable vocabulary. Chukcha distinguishes noun cases in the singular, contrasting them with the invariable plural form; Koryak has a dual number; Kamchadal is remarkable phonetically for its consonantal complexes and has been largely russianised, so that it survives today in only two dialects, Sedanka and Khar'yuz. Of the isolated Palæoasiatic languages, Yukagir (Oduł), according to Teki Odułok (N. Spiridonov), is not characteristically incorporative, though it tends to form sentence-complexes with prefixes and verbal forms, a peculiarity which its earliest investigator, V. I. Jochelson,⁵ has compared with Amerindian and Arctic (Eskimo) speech-habits. The Yukagir noun has eleven cases, its verb two tenses (perfect and imperfect), and there is no formal distinction between these categories. The language is spoken in two dialects—the tundra (with Lamut loans) and the Upper Kolyma (with Lamut and Yakut loans). Yukagir characters resembling those of Chukcha, Eskimo, and North Amerindian have been found cut on birch-bark: they are partly pure picture-writing, partly stylised. Gilyak (Nivkh), according to L. Sternberg,⁶ who studied it in its present habitat, shows similarities to Amerindian. It has aspirated and palatalised consonants, abnormally long vowels, and, apparently, vowel tone. There is no gender, and Gilyak distinguishes cases like an agglutinative language (e.g. *mu*, boat, *mu-roch* (allative), *mu-ach* (acc.), *mu-ch* (abl.)), uses verbal infixes (e.g. *ni vind*, I go; *ni viind*, I shall go), and, like Amerindian, forms compounds by the fragmentation of components (e.g. *čakr*, three, and *rak*, time, *fois*, become *črak*, three times). The "agglutinative" character of the language recalls that of the most isolated member of the Palæoasiatic group—Yenisei-Ostyak, which, along with the now extinct Kot, is represented by M. A. Castrén in his *Versuch einer jenessei-ostjakischen und kottischen Sprachlehre* (St Petersburg, 1858) as reminiscent of Uralian. Yenisei-Ostyak or Ket (which means "man") has a phonetic system like the more primitive Uralian types, *-ng* as the predominantly plural suffix (e.g. *iti*, tooth; *itang*, teeth), the stress mostly on the first syllable, no gender, and a set of eight cases, including

a prosecutive, a comitative, and a caritive in both numbers; the numerals show subtractive forms for eight and nine (viz. 10 - 2 and 10 - 1 respectively); the present tense includes the future; and very few Ket verbs have personal indices. Kot, as Castrén describes it, has similar features, but is distinctly more archaic.

Besides the six languages which have just been characterised, two others, viz Eskimo and Aleutian, as spoken on Soviet territory, are sometimes included in the Palæoasiatic group. These cognate languages, whose area of characterisation lies outside Asia, are held by specialists to constitute an Arctic language-stock, which C. C. Uhlenbeck (*vide Ontwerp van eene vergelijkende vormleer der Eskimotalen*, Amsterdam, 1907) and others have attempted to correlate with Uralian and Altaic. Asiatic Eskimo (Yuit) is spoken, as an archaic š-type of its class, in three dialects by about 1,300 persons in the Chukcha-Eskimo littoral district (*rajon*) of Chukotia, on Diomedé Island in Bering Strait, and on Wrangel Island in the Arctic, and Aleutian (Unganan) is an intruder on the Pacific Komandor Islands, where its speakers numbered some 350 in 1931. The Chukchas call the Eskimos Ankalen (coastal people), the Koryaks call them Namolo (inhabitants; cf. the Koryak self-designation Nymylan). Both Eskimo and Aleutian are typically polysynthetic languages, and, as such, emphasise suffixation and freely convert phrase and sentence into word-complexes. Examples of this process are familiar from expositions of the Greenland dialect-group (*vide* F. Müller, *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, II, Vienna, 1882). A special variety of Eskimo is the cryptic speech of the shamans, which, incidentally, is fairly uniform all over the vast Eskimo area from Siberia eastwards to Greenland. In the U.S.S.R., as in Greenland, Eskimo (Yuit) has become a minor literary language, with elementary and translated books of its own, and Eskimo specialists have been given training in Leningrad and Khabarovsk.

It is not improbable that in earlier, unrecorded times speakers of Palæoasiatic languages occupied the greater part of Eastern Siberia, and that their habitat extended far enough south to include Manchuria and the north-east of China, for Šmits detects Palæoasiatic influence in Manchurian and North Chinese (Mandarin) phonetics.⁷ Whether the ancient Palæoasiatic peoples however possessed a higher culture than that of the hunting, fishing, and reindeer-keeping tribes today is not known. But one thing seems clear: the common word for "mother," found even in Korean and Japanese, and the absence of a common word for "father" in Palæoasiatic point to an original matriarchal filiation. Gilyak is

particularly instructive here : the aboriginal *ōmok* means " mother," but " father " (*otik*) appears to be a later loan-word (cf. Khalkha Mong. *ecege*).

III

Against the Palæoasiatic zone, which follows the Pacific littoral, two genetic language-stocks abut in broad, horizontal bands, viz. the Uralian, stretching across tundra and taiga from the Baltic Sea to Yakutia, and the Altaic, stretching across steppe and sand from the Crimea to the relatively new Tungusic (Lamut) lands of the Maritime Province. Since Castrén accepted the Uralo-Altaic hypothesis on the grounds of shared vowel-harmony, and since the later and rather more generalised views of Heinrich Winkler,⁸ who expanded the linguistic limits of the combined stocks by incorporating Japanese and Korean, attempts have not been lacking, e.g. the recent one by André Sauvageot,⁹ to establish a Uralo-Altaic unity, in spite of Otto Donner's sobering insistence on the need for a preliminary detailed investigation of the component individual languages as well as of their affiliations inside each of the two stocks.¹⁰ Unfortunately the want of an adequate comparative grammar of Altaic (J. Grunzel's *Entwurf einer vergleichenden Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1894, is only a sketch) makes it impossible to go beyond superficial speculations, and the existing dichotomy of Uralian and Altaic must be allowed to remain. Centuries of geographical proximity have no doubt contributed something to the undeniable, if rather vague, family likeness between them. Vowel-harmony exists in both stocks, the phonetic systems exhibit similarities in detail, the morphological features include agglutination in various phases of development, and some investigators have even adduced a common rudimentary vocabulary.

The Uralian languages divide into three branches : Samoyedic, Ugrian, and Somian (Finnic).¹¹ The unity of these was demonstrated a generation and more ago by the Finnish scholar E. N. Setälä,¹² who followed in the steps of earlier investigators (e.g. Castrén, Budenz, O. Donner, Halász, Munkácsi, and others). It is obvious not merely in structure, but in part of the vocabulary (cf. Sam. (various dialects) *joha*, river ; *pu'u*, to blow ; *tu*, fire ; *kole*, fish ; *po*, tree ; *korg*, bear ; *mon*, land, with the corresponding Finnish words *joki*, *puhua*, *tuli*, *kala*, *karhu*, *maa*), which however does not include more than two or three of the numerals. Tendencies to vowel harmony and consonantal alternation (Finn. *astevarhtelu*, Germ. *Stufenwechsel*), as in Somian, exist as phonetic peculiarities

beside notable morphological resemblances in noun-cases, pronouns (especially interrogative and possessive), and the verb (preterite, imperative, and subjunctive). The four existing types of Samoyedic ¹³—Yurak or Nenecian, Tavgi (Nganasan), Enecian (Yenisei), and Ostyak-Samoyed (Selkup)—are spoken by a small nomadic population (c. 20,000) over a vast area of cold desert, extending from the Khatanga estuary, east of the Taimyr peninsula to the White Sea, beyond which the Lappish (Somian) lands begin. Like the Lapps, the Samoyeds are racially Mongoloid and leiotrichous, and some scholars incline to the view that they learnt their present speech from Uralian conquerors in the Stone Age.

Ugrian and Somian are often hyphenated as Ugro-Somian (Finno-Ugrian). The Ugrian languages are the more conservative, and the more primitive of them, viz. Ostyak and Vogul, both spoken in a large autonomous enclave of the Omsk Province, in Western Siberia, still cling to approximately those parts, from which the original dispersion of the Uralians is surmised to have taken place. Today the westernmost Ugrian outpost is in Hungary, where for over a millennium the leading Uralian language was moulded into its present shape under Aryan (Slavo-German) and Turanian (e.g. Turkish) influences. But Hungarian has developed outside the U.S.S.R., as indeed have the other two cultivated Uralian languages, Finnish and Estonian.

The primitive (Obian) Ugrian languages, Ostyak and Vogul, are called by the name (*Jugra*) which was anciently used to designate their unity in Arabic and Russian records. In the times of the medieval Arab travellers *Jugra* appears to have meant the lands about the sources of the Pechora. Later the Ugrians moved across the Urals into Western Siberia as the bearers of a chalcolithic culture. Their first contacts with the Russians took place about A.D. 1000 as the result of Novgorodian armed expeditions. The long and effective resistance which they put up under native princes (e.g. the Vogul Asyka) proves that they possessed a higher culture than the one they have now. Racially the Obian Ugrians are not pure : Samoyed strains occur in the north, Russo-Tartar strains in the south. It has been conjectured that, like the Samoyeds and the Lapps (q.v.), they were not originally Uralians in speech. Of the two peoples, the Ostyaks are much the more vigorous numerically (c. 23,000 as against 6,000 Voguls). They call themselves *chanda-chui* (*chanty*), and the Voguls' self-designation is *man's'i* (*men'd's'i*), which Setälä equates with the root of Magyar. Ostyak (Khantyan) is spoken in seven dialects and has a complex

vowel-system (Heikki Paasonen ¹⁴ counted 30 vowels in its Irtysh dialect) and an abundance of affricates ; its stress, unlike the Hungarian, tends to be final (as in Turanian) ; and it has a dual number and six cases eked out with postpositions. Vogul (Mansian) closely resembles Ostyak and Hungarian. A few verbal parallels taken at random from various speech categories will substantiate this. Compare Vog. *sem*, eye, with Ost. *sem*, Hung. *szem* ; Vog. *men-*, to go, with Ost. *man-*, Hung. *men-* ; Vög. *hot*, six, with Ost. *hot*, Hung. *hat* ; Vog. *man*, we, with Ost. *mung*, Hung. *mi* ; and Vog. *jol-*, under, with Ost. *il-*, and Hung. *al-*. Though spoken by only a few thousand persons, Vogul has seven dialects, which, incidentally, contain loans from Samoyedic, Komian, "Tartar" (forms of N.E. Turanian), and Russian.

The remaining Uralian languages of the U.S.S.R. belong to the Somian branch, which distinguishes three types : the Permian, the East Somian (Volgian), and the West Somian (Baltic).¹⁵ The Permian subdivision, which includes Komian (Zyrianian) and Votyakian (Udian), is in some respects a link between Ugrian and Somian, and it is important both linguistically and historically. Its linguistic importance is bound up with the distinction that Komian, after Hungarian, is the earliest recorded Somian language (the Russian missionary St. Stefan of Perm' having devised an alphabet for it in the 14th century), and its historical importance attaches to the mention of the Bjarmar in the Icelandic sagas (11th century)¹⁶ and of the rather earlier Beormas (10th century) in King Alfred's account of the voyages of the Norwegian navigator Ohthere in the 9th century,¹⁷ though there is a credible hypothesis that the Bjarmar-Beormas were not Komians, but Carelians. These names appear to be variants of the name recorded in the Old Russian chronicles as *Permi* and surviving to this day in the Russian designation of the southern Komians (*permjaki*). Separating from their Votyakian kinsmen, with whom they were the bearers of the Iron Age Permian culture, the Komians migrated north and west into the basin of the Pechora. They came in contact with the Carelians on the Northern Dvina (Finn. Viena) in the 10th century and probably absorbed their Carelian loan-words then, but the period of association was relatively short, because the two peoples were early divided by a wedge of Novgorodian intruders. Komian resistance to the Russians was less dogged and implacable than Ugrian, and Moscow ultimately completed without real difficulty the conquest which Novgorod had begun. Today Komian is spoken in several dialects by over a quarter of a million speakers in the Komian Autonomous Republic

and in the Komo-Permyakian National Area of the Sverdlovsk province. Unlike West Somian, Komian distinguishes voiced and voiceless consonants, but, like that group, it generally stresses the first syllable of a word. Morphologically, Komian is agglutinative: it has seventeen cases as well as postpositional constructions, six series (*ʀjady*) of possessives, a future tense, a negative conjugation, like Finnish and Estonian, and a vocabulary containing Iranic, Chuvassian, and Rússian loans. The cognate Votyakian is the mother tongue of over half a million people settled between the Vyatka and Kama rivers and concentrated chiefly in the Udmurtian (i.e. Votyakian) Autonomous Republic. Udmurt (*murt* ¹⁸ = man) is *Votud* in Komian and probably identical with the Budini (*Bovδῖνοι*) of Herodotus. all these names appear to contain the radical from which Votyakian and perhaps the West Somian Vodian (*vadža*) are derived. Wilhelm Tomaschek ¹⁹ thinks that the Budini were the ancestors of the Beormas-Bjarmar (Permians), who, incidentally, are known to history as a trading people of some culture. The linguistic peculiarities of Votyakian are on the whole similar to those of Komian. In its phonetic system back (posterior) vowels predominate; there is no vowel harmony; and there are two sets of plosives. Morphologically and syntactically the parallels between the two types of Permian are as close, and the Cyrillic character, derived from Russian, is still in use for both languages.

The East Somians include the Marians (Cheremissians) of the Marian Autonomous Republic, north of the middle Volga, and the more numerous, but scattered Mordvinians, who live, interspersed with Russians, partly inside and partly outside the narrow limits of the Mordvinian Autonomous Republic, within the Volga bend. Marian comes from *mari* (= men; cf. Votyak. *murt*, Kom. *mort*) and may be the modern representatives of Merja, ²⁰ which occurs in the Old Russian chronicles, and perhaps the *Merens* (acc. plur.) of Jordanes, ²¹ the 6th-century historian of the Goths. Tomaschek (*op. cit.*) identifies the Marians with the Melanchlaeni (*Μελάνχλαινοι*) of Herodotus. Marian is the native name, Mordvinian (*Mordva*), on the other hand, is supposed to derive from an Iranic word (**marāxvā*) meaning "cannibal"; hence Tomaschek's suggestion that the Androphagi (*Ἀνδροφάγοι*) of Herodotus were the ancestors of the Mordvinians. The natives however call themselves either *Erzjá* or *Mokša*, according to which of the two divergent dialects of Mordvinian they speak. As Marian seems to link East Somian with Permian, so Mordvinian seems to link it with West Somian. There are on the whole more points of similarity between Mordvinian

and, say, Finnish than between Marian and Finnish, and the Baltic (Aestic) loans,²² which have been shown to exist in East Somian (e.g. Erz. Mordv. *mukoro*, buttocks, Mokša Mord. *suvo*, millet; cf. Latv. *mugura*, back, Lith. *šora*, millet), may be due to direct contact between Mordvinian and Baltic, presumably on the Oka, though such contact cannot be postulated for Marian, whose Baltic loans must therefore have been acquired through Mordvinian. The extinct Meščera and Muroma (the latter probably West Mordvinians), from which the princes Meščerskiĭ derive their name and the Great Russian folk-hero Il'ja Muromec his cognomen respectively, also appear to have spoken Somian languages related to these.

Marian has two dialects—a lower (*lugovo-marijskiĭ*) and an upper (*gorno-marijskiĭ*), so-named because one is spoken on the low, the other on the high bank of the Volga, which passes through Marian territory. Phonetically this language illustrates the progressive assimilation of vowels, which tends towards "synharmonism" (vowel harmony) in Upper Marian. Marian declension distinguishes grammatical (abstract) and local cases, like Mordvinian and West Somian; there are six possessive series, the apparatus of derivation is well-developed, and though agglutination prevails, there are traces of flexion and amorphism. In syntax qualifier precedes qualified, as in cognate languages, and the predicate is mostly final. The Marian vocabulary is rich in Chuvassian (Churash)²³ and Tartar loans.

Of the two dialects of Mordvinian, Mokša is spoken in the west and south, Erzja in the north and east of the Mordvinian Republic, the second dialect by slightly more speakers than the first. There are notable differences between them, as between the types of Samoyedic, and some (e.g. the Mordvinian M. J. Jevsevjev) prefer to call them "languages". Phonetically Mordvinian, especially the Erzja dialect, closely resembles Russian (cf. the phonetic parallels between unrelated North Amerindian stocks), perhaps most obviously in the numerous palatal assimilations of consonants. In Mokša the stress falls typically on the first syllable of a word for the most part; in Erzja it is freer. Mordvinian morphology is complex and recalls certain types of Palæoasiatic (q.v.). The system of declension has ten to eleven cases, two sets of declensional forms, the definite and the indefinite (e.g. Erz. indef. sing. *moda* (earth, soil), def. *modaś*; indef. plur. *modat*, def. *modat'ne*). Mordvinian conjugation distinguishes few tenses, but many moods, including a subjunctive and a desiderative, and, like Hungarian, draws a formal distinction between an objective (inclusive) and a non-objective

(exclusive) series, i.e. between forms which incorporate and those which do not incorporate the direct object (e.g. Mokša Mord. *palan*, I kiss; *palat'an*, I kiss you). It shares with Marian a rich "logogenic" (derivational) system and mingles a predominantly agglutinative tendency with traces of other structural types, including incorporation.

West Somian, as represented in the U.S.S.R., consists first and foremost of Carelian, spoken in the Carelo-Finnish Federal Republic, the home of the Finnish national epic "*Kalevala*," and the ethnic *Finlandia irredenta*. Olonecian (Aunus), heard on the eastern shores of Lake Ladoga (Laatokka), and the Ingrian (Ižora) of Ingria (Ingermannland), the maritime part of the Leningrad province, are dialectal varieties of Carelian, which is also the language of very numerous colonists in the Novgorod and Kalinin (formerly Tver') provinces, where they apparently emigrated in the 17th century. There are two types of Carelian proper, a northern and a southern dialect, and these, together with the other types already mentioned, give a total of six. The number of Carelian-speakers today apparently exceeds a quarter of a million, which makes this language numerically the leading type of West Somian in the U.S.S.R. Carelian seems to have occupied a more extended terrain in Eastern Europe a millennium ago: J. A. Sjögren and August Ahlquist have discovered numerous Carelian place-names in the vicinity of the Northern Dvina (Viena), and till the 17th century the White Sea coast was known to Russians as *karel'skij bereg* (i.e. the Carelian shore). Phonetically Carelian differs from the related Finnish in having hush (*chuiniantes*) for hiss sibilants (*sifflantes*) (e.g. *šelkä*, back, for Finn. *selkä*), it palatalises its resonants before "i" (e.g. *män'i*, he went; Finn. *meni*), and, like its congeners in the U.S.S.R., prefers the velar to the palatal "l" (e.g. *kołmas*, third; Finn. *kolmas*). Lexically the language exhibits strong Russian influence, even to the extent of retaining initial voiced plosives in Russian loan-words, which significantly include *da* and *i* for the Gothic-type *ja* of Finnish and Estonian.

The other Soviet types of West Somian are Vepsian, spoken by the people known to the Russian chroniclers as *Vesj*,²⁴ and now used on either side of the Svir' (Finn. *Syväri*) and the Oyat', and Vodian (*vadja*, Finn. *vatja*, O. Russ. *Vodi*), the language of the "*crudeles pagani Watlandie*" of mediæval papal bulls, which is now reduced to some five hundred speakers in north-western Ingria, but appears to have been the vernacular of the entire province. To Vepsian we may reckon Ludinian,²⁵ confined to the north-western

shores of Lake Onega (Aänis). The Russians call both Vepsians and Ludinians *Kajvany* or, less kindly, *Čuchari* and *Čud'* (i.e. foreigners). The Vepsians have been known to history since the 6th century (Jordanes's *Vašina-broncas*), and are mentioned as *Visu* by Arab travellers in the 9th and as *Wizzi* by Adam van Bremen in the 11th.²⁶ Of their ancient language nothing is known. Their present-day speech exhibits two dialects. The southern or purer type of Vepsian, like the Carelian-modified Luđinian, has an even more russianised phonetic aspect than Carelian. Its vocabulary however is predominantly Somian, though Russian loans are common. There are numerous parallels, especially with Estonian and Livonian (e.g. *rebāne* for Finn. *kettu*, fox, and *heizhe*, for Finn. *tyttönen*, girl; cf. Est. *rebane*, *neitsi*). Vepsian vowel-harmony is less complete than that of Carelian and Finnish, if more sensitive than that of Estonian and Livonian, which have largely lost it.

Vodian is an almost extinct type of West Somian, like the Livonian of Western Latvia (Kurzeme), but it was once the language of a numerous and influential tribe, which, with the Vepsians, helped to found Varangian Rus'. (Vide "Nestor's" O. Russ. chronicle—*Pověstī vremennych lēt.*) The name first definitely appears in Prince Jaroslav's "Highway Code" (*Ustāv o mostěch*) in the 11th century, and one of the five provinces of the Grand Duke of Novgorod was known as the "Vodian Fifth" (*votskaja pjatina*). The Vodians, as we have seen, were also known to mediæval Rome as "the pagans of Watland." After the annexation of Ingria by Sweden in 1617, many Vodians emigrated to Russia, and Ingria was repopulated from Carelia by the ancestors of the modern Ižora. Today Ingrians far outnumber Vodians in the Leningrad province. In the papal bulls of the 12th and 13th centuries Ingrians and Vodians are mentioned separately: the Ingrians then probably occupied eastern, the Vodians western Ingria. Neither spoke a language that had been reduced to writing.

Like its congeners, Vodian has a Russian-type phonetic system and many Russian loan-words (e.g. *sluga* for Finn. *palvelija*), but its other loans derive naturally enough from Estonian and Finnish. Some varieties of Vodian, especially those used within the territory of the former Estonian Republic, show marked Estonian affinities. All have individual features, which include the negative participle *ep* or *eb* (cf. the older Est. *ep*. Liv. *ab*), final *-b* (*-p*) in the third person singular of the present indicative, lapse of final vowels, Russian *i* (and) for Finno-Estonian *ja*, and vowel harmony as in Setu Estonian and Vepsian.

Both Vodian and Vepsian represent the transition from Finnish and Carelian to the Estonian dialects. Lappish (Saamian), on the contrary, used in three dialectal variants by about 2,000 nomads (1931) in the tundra of the Kola Peninsula, is markedly divergent from the other West Somian languages with which it is classed. This is the least cultivated of the seven Lappish dialects, most of which have literary languages outside the U.S.S.R., but it shares in the idiosyncrasies of the others, except that it shows the additional marks of Russian influence, e.g. *i* (and) for *ja* and Russian loan-words. Its Somian affinities are more apparent in morphology than in phonetics, which exhibits unusual complexity. The morphological resemblances may be seen by comparing the nominative, essive, inessive, elative, and abessive cases of the word for "eye" with their counterparts in Finnish, viz. *t's'alme*, *t's'almen*, *t's'almesn*, *t's'almost*, *t's'almetaka* with Finn. *silma*, *silmäna*, *silmassa*, *silmasta*, *silmatta*. As in Estonian, the genitive and partitive singular have lost their distinctive endings. Lappish personal pronouns are almost identical with Mordvinian pronouns (e.g. Lapp. sing *mon*, *ton*, *son*; plur. *mi*, *ti*, *si*, and Mord. (Mokša) *mon*, *ton*, *son*; *min*, *tin*, *sin*),²⁷ there is a dual number, and, as in West Somian generally, a negative conjugation. Notwithstanding its present geographical focus, Lappish seems to be, in some respects, the modern representative of the hypothetical "missing link" between Mordvinian and West Somian. The name Lapp first occurs in Russian sources in the 13th century and is located in Olonecia. Lapps were to be found in south-eastern Finland (Savo) as late as the 16th century. Their name *sabme* (*same*), plur. *sabmelaš* suggests the radical of "Somian" (Latv. *sāms*) and "Samoyed." Setälä equates one variant of it with the Finnish tribal name *hämälaiset* (i.e. the people of Häme), and if this is correct, we may assume, on linguistic grounds, that the Lapps once had a much more southerly habitat than the one they have at present.²⁸

Characteristic of the Uralian languages, whose representatives in the U.S.S.R. have now been discussed, is a general likeness which places the genetic unity of Samoyedic, Ugrian, and Somian beyond doubt. The common features are not merely phonetic, but grammatical and lexical. Naturally each branch, even each language, displays individual traits. The Obian Ugrian languages and Samoyedic have a dual number, missing elsewhere, except in Lappish, and incorporate pronominal objects. Somian has a complicated system of cases (15-16) inferior numerically only to Hungarian (21-24) and Komian (17), and with the local cases, as opposed to

the grammatical, in evidence ; there is also a negative conjugation ; and only Mordvinian has an objective conjugation like Hungarian. The West Somian languages form a more compact group than either East Somian or Permian, but, in common with these, they have submitted to Russian influence, which is especially noticeable in their phonetic systems and vocabularies. Of the East Somian languages, Mordvinian seems to have detached itself relatively late from West Somian Marian, which incorporates its negative particle like Turanian, has points of similarity with both Mordvinian and Permian. Typologically the Permian languages are more agglutinative than the other forms of Somian, whose flexion shows Aryan irregularities, and their vocabulary has affinities with Ugrian (e.g. the numerals).

Of all the non-Aryan stocks, Uralian, like Semitic, exhibits certain morphological (e.g. personal endings of verbs) and lexical resemblances, which have been held by some investigators²⁹ to point to an original Aryo-Uralian unity. The lexical resemblances include quite common words like "man" and "water" and are difficult to account for as loans from one stock to another (e.g. Finn. *vesi*, water, Hung. *víz*, Aryan **ued-* ; Ostyak-Sam. *qum*, man, Vog. *hum*, Lat. *homo*, Goth. and A.S. *guma*, Aryan **ǵhm-*). As for the morphological ones, no satisfactory explanation of them, apart from the tenuous one of the original unity of two diverse systems of language, has so far been forthcoming.

IV

The transition from one type of Uralian to another is hardly easy, but the transition from Uralian to Altaic still appears to be insuperable. Altaic has three branches : Manchurian (Tungusic), Mongolian, and Turanian (Turkic).³⁰ The relations between these are even less close than those existing between the three branches of Uralian. About a thousand common words have been collected, but of these only some two hundred are found in all three branches. All three are also plentifully supplied with Chinese loan-words. Mongolia, or at least the vicinity of the Gobi desert, seems to have been the focus of dispersion, and the repeated invasions of China, India, and Europe, radiating from there all through the Middle Ages, made the more settled peoples of Eurasia only too familiar with the aggressive vitality and the power, if not with the languages, of their Altaic conquerors. Today Altaic languages still survive in parts of China, Afghanistan, and Europe, but no longer in India.

The study of the comparative grammar of Altaic is complicated by

the lack of any information about those who spoke Altaic languages before the beginning of Turanian ascendancy in the 6th century A.D., by the consequences of the extreme mobility of the Altaic-speaking peoples, who included the Turanian Huns, Avars, Pechenegs, and Polovecians (Cumanians), and the Mongolian Tartars (Tatars) ; by the numerous recorded ³¹ (and how many unrecorded !) transfers of language ; by the relatively close inter-resemblances among members of individual sub-groupings (e.g. among Turanian languages only Chuvassian and Yakut are markedly aberrant) ; and by the slowness of evolution of recorded languages, viz. Turanian from the 8th century and Mongolian from the 13th. The resemblances between Turanian and Mongolian are closer than between either and Manchurian, but there are authorities today who refuse to admit them as sufficient to substantiate the theory of Turano-Mongolian, not to mention Altaic, unity. The phonetic features which all three share in common are vowel harmony at various stages, a double series of velar plosives (flowing out of the vowel harmony), the tendency to avoid initial voiced constrictives (continuants), the clarity and stability of the vowels, the non-occurrence of consonant clusters initially, and the proneness to open syllables. Among morphological features the most outstanding are : the absence of gender and of the dual number, the use of plain stems (bases) as imperatives (verbal) and nominatives (substantival), and the agglutination of grammatical suffixes, with a rudimentary tendency to flexion in Tungusic and Mongolian. Syntactically Altaic follows the rule of placing secondary before principal categories, i.e. the determinant precedes the determinate, the governed word the governing, the subject the predicate, and the adverb the verb, which has final place in the sentence.

Of the three branches of Altaic, the easternmost and least significant in numbers is the Manchurian. This comprises two subdivisions : the declining Manchurian proper of Northern Manchukuo, with the related languages of the Golds, Oroches, Solons, Dakhurs, and others on the one hand, and the more vigorous Tungusic and its congeners (e.g. Orochon, Olcha, Orok—in Sakhalin—Negidal or Negda, Manegir, Samagir, Lamut or Even, Birar, etc.) on the other. This south-north division is based on Schrenck (*op. cit.*), to whom Sternberg's criticism opposes a purely geographical classification, viz. Manchurian (i.e. Manchurian proper, Gold, Solon, etc.), East Siberian (Oroch, Olcha, Lamut, Orok, Negda), Yeniseian (Tungus or Evenki), and Ilian, in the Russo-Chinese riverine frontier-zone. The Manchurian type lies mainly outside Siberia, the Tungusic almost

entirely inside. The mobile Tungus tribes, many of whom call themselves Evenki, have reached the Arctic Ocean at several points and are known on the Pacific coast as "the sea people" (Lamuts). Their principal seats however are the three Tunguska affluents of the Yenisei, now mainly inside the Evenkian National Area of the Krasnoyarsk Region, where they are known to the Samoyeds as *aiya* (younger brothers), a name which recalls a Cantonese designation of the Japanese (*ai d'ž'ai* = little fellows). The Amur is still mainly a Tungusic river, and Tungus tribes are found along its tributaries, Shilka, Sungari, and Ussuri.

Only the Manchurians, under Mongolian and Chinese influence, and as the result of conquest which placed a Manchu dynasty on the throne of China, succeeded in giving themselves a literary language, written with baculiform characters skilfully adapted from the Mongolian. The other languages of the Manchurian branch have been transcribed by scholars. They all exhibit common features—a not too strict vowel-harmony (cf. Manch. *mingan*, thousand, with Tung. *maṅgun*, money), affrication of velars before "i," postpositions as in Mongolian, a verb that, like its Mongolian and Chinese counterparts, ignores number and person and throws the burden of expression on adverb and participle, an emphasis on modality, and the use of the vowels "a" and "e" to distinguish between masculinity and strength on the one hand and femininity and weakness on the other (e.g. Manch. *ama*, father, *eme*, mother; *gaṅgan*, strong, *geṅgen*, weak; *garudei*, male phoenix, *gerudei*, female phoenix).

The Mongolian branch consists of four major dialect-groups: Mongolian proper, of Inner Mongolia, Khalkha Mongolian, spoken in the satellite state of Outer Mongolia (Mongolian People's Republic), Buryat, in the Buryato-Mongolian Autonomous Republic (geographically Transbaikalia), and Kalmyk, in the Kalmykian Autonomous Republic, east of the lower Volga, as well as in Chinese Dzungaria, where the European Kalmyks originated. This grouping is largely territorial. The U.S.S.R. has representatives of two of the Mongolian dialect-groups: Buryat (220,000 speakers in 1926) and Kalmyk (c. 150,000), both closely related, though wide apart geographically, and both closely connected with Khalkha-Mongolian, with which they share Russian loans. Of these three, Khalkha-Mongolian is the most conservative type, and the differences appear to be chiefly phonetic. Buryat, which has three sub-dialects, one of them spoken in Manchukuo, is nearer to Khalkha-Mongolian than to Kalmyk. The Buryat dialects are characterised phonetically by

the reduction of the common Mongolian affricates (e.g. *ts*, *dz*, *tš*, *dž*) to their sibilant components (*s*, *z*, *š*, *ž*). There are two main dialects—the northern (cis-Baikalian) and the southern (trans-Baikalian), and these are discrepant enough to make communication between their speakers difficult. Kalmyk also has two sub-dialects, Derbet and Torgut, but these differ little from each other. The phonetic features of the language are a qualitative distinction between stressed and unstressed vowels, the latter being covered by the neutral ə-phoneme, rigid vowel-harmony, and occasional variability of the base (e.g. *modn*, tree, instr. *modār*, dat. *modnda*). Kalmyk, like Buryat, syntax demands a strict word-order: the less important categories precede the more important (*vide supra*).

The phonetic structure of Mongolian, as of other types of Altaic, is based on the laws of vowel-harmony, i.e. the adaptation of suffix vowels to those of the base on the principle of the anterior-posterior ("soft-hard") classification of vowels. In Mongolian the posterior series "a," "o," "u" is paralleled by the anterior "ä," "ö," "ü," and these, as in Manchurian and Turanian, determine the quality of the adjacent velar plosives. Unlike Turanian, Mongolian treats "i" as a neutral vowel (cf. Hungarian), i.e. as one capable of associating indifferently with both types of the vowel dichotomy. Unlike Turanian again, the agglutinative principle in Mongolian is not strictly applied: consonantal alternation—the first step towards flexion—is found in such forms as *balgasun* (sing.) town, and *balgat* (plur.) Suffixation is as detailed, say, as in Turkish, but the order of the suffixes is not quite the same: Turkish gives precedence to possessive, Mongolian to case suffixes. Mongolian numeration shows marked divergences from Manchurian and Turanian, not to mention Uralian (e.g. Mong. *nigen*, one, Manch. *emu*—cf. Mong. *emüne*, first—Tur. *pir* or *bir*). Šmits (Schmidt)³² explains Mongolian *tabun* (five), borrowed into Russian for "drove of horses," as being derived from a base *tav-* (in *tavar*, span) meaning "hand." This, if correct, furnishes additional proof of the primitive association of the ideas of "five" and "hand" (cf. Austronesian *lima*).

The perpendicular, left-to-right Mongolian alphabet, adapted from Turanian Uiguric,³³ records an earlier pronunciation than that of any of the spoken dialects (e.g. *dologan*: *dolön*, seven; *ulagan*: *ulān*, red; *jagon*: *jōn* what). On the other hand, the less angular Buryat and Kalmyk variants are more discriminative transcriptions of their respective languages. Today the Latin system with diacritic marks has been applied to both Soviet types of Mongolian, as to the numerous varieties of Turanian.

Turanian has the largest membership of all the Altaic languages. The name has had a chequered history of misapplications, having been used, e.g., by Pál Hunfalvy for the Uralian languages, by others for the entire Altaic stock, and by others still for the tenuously hypothetical Uralo-Altaic (*vide supra*). The radical is the same as in "Turk," which derives from Tur. *türk* "power," or, according to Mahmud al-Kashgari (11th century), "mature."³⁴ Turanian is preferable to Turkic, as I have explained in a footnote; and as for Tataric, the second term of the "Turco-Tataric" of a hyphenating age and fashion, it goes back to the Chinese name (*ta-ta*) of a Mongolian tribe and is obviously inapplicable here. The area covered by Turanian is vast and extends, with local interruptions, from the Mediterranean to the valley of the Lena in Eastern Siberia. The total number of Turanians a half-century ago (1897), including those outside the Russian frontiers, was over thirty millions, and there is good reason to believe that this number has risen considerably since then. Over half of the Turanian-speaking peoples now live in the U.S.S.R.—in Siberia, Central Asia, South and East Russia, and the Caucasus. This catalogue of regional names, incidentally, offers a geographical classification of the Turanian languages, but such a classification must be necessarily inadequate, because it is not founded on linguistic criteria. Sauvageot,³⁵ following, but not acknowledging, earlier Altaic students, notably Gyula Németh, suggests detaching the extreme eastern Yakut and the "extreme" western Chuvassian as an independent grouping (Németh's *s*-group) from the large and scattered mass of the remainder (Németh's *j*-group). Wilhelm Radloff³⁶ preferred a geographical terminology and distinguished an eastern (e.g. Altai or Oirot; Uigur), a western (e.g. Kirgiz, Bashkir, Volgian Tartar), a Central Asian (Jagatai or Chagatai), and a southern group (e.g. Turkmeni, Azerbaijani, Crimean, Turkish). Present-day Soviet scholarship, as represented, e.g., by A. N. Samojlovich, mostly retains this broad grouping, but introduces minute subdivisions by applying linguistic criteria, notably phonetic key-words. According to this classification, Yakut is placed along with Uigur, Sagai (Khakas), Shor, and Tuva in the north-eastern, Kazakh, Kirgiz, Oirot, Tartar, Kumyk, and others in the north-western, Jagatai, Uzbeki, and Tarancha in the south-eastern, and Turkmeni and Azerbaijani in the south-western group, while Chuvassian forms a group on its own, i.e. the *r*-group, in contrast to a much subdivided *z*-group, which takes in all the other Turanian languages.

Of the Turanian languages spoken in the U.S.S.R., Yakut, in

the immense Yakutian Autonomous Republic (Lena basin), is the most aberrant ; it is remarkable pre-eminently for the perfection to which it carries the Altaic and Uralian device of vowel harmony. To Central Asia belong Turkmeni, Uzbeki, and Kirgiz (formerly called Kara Kirgiz)—the languages spoken respectively in the federal republics of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Kirgizia. North of these Kazakh, formerly miscalled Kirgiz Kazak (earlier Kaisak), is used in the Kazakhstan Federal Republic, the homeland of the epic poet Džambul Džabajev. West of the Urals and of the Caspian Sea, from south to north, we have Azeri, spoken in the Azerbaijan Federal Republic, Karacha and Balčarian in the Caucasus range, Nogay in Daghestan and Circassia, Kumyk in the North-East Caucasus, Crimean Tartar in the Crimean Autopomous Republic, except along the coast, Bashkir in the Bashkirian Autonomous Republic (Belaya basin), Tartar (Tatar) in the Tartar Autonomous Republic, on the lower Kama, and Chuvassian in the autonomous republic of that name, situated inside the Volga bend, immediately south of the Marian Autonomous Republic.

Turanian is very uniform in both time and space. Its separation from Mongolian seems ancient : the numerals, for instance, are totally different. And yet the relationship between these types is sufficiently intimate to be indisputable within the general framework of the stock. Nominal and verbal forms, as we have seen, are built up by agglutination, pointed by vowel harmony. These are the two principal characteristics of Altaic, and Turanian reproduces them to perfection. The tendency to agglutination increases as we pass not only from Manchurian to Turanian, but from Yakutia to Anatolia. At the same time the Turanian yerb becomes more complex (cf. Yakut, in this respect, with, say, Turkish). Of the regional forms, Yakut, though remote and strongly individualised, is not always conservative (e.g. in the lapse of the genitive suffix). The Central Asian forms of Turanian are remarkable for phonetic abbreviations. And Chuvassian, at the western extremity of the Turanian lands, has a peculiar individuality, largely because of its Uralian "substratum."

The Turanian languages, except Uigur, which had an ancient alphabet adapted from the Sogdian,³⁷ used the Arabic script with Persian values till the spelling reforms inaugurated at a conference in Baku, in 1922, which recommended a modified Latin character and gave the initial impetus to Mustafa Kemal's reform of the Turkish alphabet in 1928. Since then the Soviet authorities have been assiduous in framing alphabets for the Turanian, as well as for

the other languages of the Union, whether these previously had their own script or not. Till about 1935 the new alphabets were based on the Latin character, whose introduction Lenin had described as "the great revolution in the east," but with the resurgence of Russian nationalism, several of the Soviet peoples, especially those in contact with Russians, adopted the Cyrillic script. This is an even less adequate medium of phonetic notation than the pseudo-Latin alphabets current till the middle 'thirties, but it has the advantage of being familiar to all Soviet citizens from their schooldays.

V

Of the many Turanian languages, Azeri and Kumyk, Nogay, Karacha, and Balkarian are near neighbours of the languages of Caucasian and Iverian ³⁸ stock, all of which are spoken in the Caucasus, the modern Tower of Babel. Summarising the researches of R. von Erckert, N. Marr, A. Dirr, and others, Prince N. Troubetzkoy (Trubeckoj) distinguishes three types of languages spoken there, exclusive of Turanian and Aryan, viz. East, West, and South Caucasian. The East Caucasian (Checheno-Lezginian) includes Chechenian, spoken on the middle Terek, in the Checheno-Ingussian (Ingush) Autonomous Republic, and Avaro-Andian (twelve languages in North-West Daghestan), Darginian (from *dargwa*, confederation), Lak, Archi, and the Samur-river group—Tabasaran, Rutul, Udi, etc.—in South-East Daghestan. To the western (Abkhazo-Circassian) branch belong: Abkhaz, in the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic, which is affiliated to Georgia, and the two varieties of Adygean, viz. Kabardinian, in the Kabardino-Balkarian Autonomous Republic, and Circassian, in the steppe and along the Black Sea littoral south of the Kuban' and in the Adygean Autonomous Province of Balkaria. To these we may add Ubykh, still spoken in Turkey, where the Ubykhs emigrated with the bulk of the Circassians after the Russian conquest of the Caucasus in the 19th century. South Caucasian, the only clearly defined and compact linguistic stock of the three, consists of Georgian (Gruzinian) and its dialects, Mingrelian (Megrel) and Laz (Chan)—this mostly in Turkey,—and the more distant Svanetian (Svan). All these are spoken as variants of a single language in the Georgian Federal Republic.

The East and the West Caucasian languages appear to be fundamentally cognate and may be considered as two ramifications of a Caucasian (less suitably, North Caucasian) stock, but scholarship has not yet demonstrated (*pace* Marr's Japhetic theory) the affinity

of this and the so-called South Caucasian, which must accordingly be treated as an independent stock under the name Iverian (or perhaps Kartvelian).³⁹

Caucasian (i.e. North Caucasian) is remarkable phonetically, for a plethora of consonants (Circassian, e.g., has fifty-seven, Awar forty-three phonemes), which include the characteristic Mexican-looking (Nahuatl) lateral affricates (e.g. *tl*), numerous labialised consonants, and the uvular plosives. In the western branch consonantal groupings of considerable difficulty are common; in the eastern, on the contrary, such agglomerations are rare. In East Caucasian (e.g. in Tabasaran and Chechenian) there is a classification of nouns, with from two to six classes (cf. Bantu and Papuanic), each distinguished by a specific consonant, which is affixed to words of all the other grammatical categories associated with a given noun.⁴⁰ This may be illustrated from Awar, in which *w* is the masculine, *j* the feminine index: "*dow č'i wugo roq'ow*" (this man is in the room) has a feminine parallel in "*doj tč'užu jugo roq'oj*" (this woman is in the room).⁴¹ The nominal categories are declined, and there is a bewildering number of cases (e.g. thirty-five in Tabasaran). The verbal base is mostly a solitary consonant, and this is enlarged by prefixes indicating aspect and by suffixes indicating mood, tense, and person. East Caucasian has a profuse vocabulary as well as this structural complexity, and its numeration, as in most Caucasian languages, is vigesimal. In West Caucasian declension is reduced to a minimum (e.g. Abkhaz has no cases), there are fewer verbal forms, the vocabulary is poor in single terms for some of the more elementary notions (e.g. the word for "face" means "eye-nose," for "beard"—"mouth-tail"), and composition is resorted to abundantly to compensate for morphological and lexical "indigence."

The Iverian phonetic system, in spite of its glottalised consonants, is rather simpler than the Caucasian, but, as in Checheno-Lezginian, there is a predilection for massing consonants (e.g. Georgian *bavšvs*, to the child, *brtšqvinavda*, shone). Iverian declension is relatively rich (there are, e.g., eleven to twelve cases in Georgian), its verb, both of the direct and of the indirect conjugation, is intensely personal, and there is a curious permutation of the cases of subject and object according to tense. F. N. Finck ⁴² describes Georgian as *gruppenflektierend*, i.e. having "glomerative" flexion, in contrast to Arabic, with its radical (*wurzelflektierend*), and to Greek, with its thematic flexion (*stammflektierend*). In all three cases the flexional element is an essential component of a word, undetachable with the clean

edges of Turanian suffixes and Bantu prefixes.⁴³ Yet this does not mean that Georgian is an inflected language in an Aryan or a Semitic sense, or rather that it is inflected to the same degree. Structurally it is intermediate between the Aryan and the Uralian type and has autonomous features. Of the languages of Iverian stock, Georgian is the only one with a considerable degree of literary cultivation: it uses two ancient alphabets, deriving through St. Mesrop's Armenian from Greek, one of them ecclesiastical and angular (*chucuri*, priest's hand), the other civil and curvate (*mchedruli*, knight's hand); its long literature dates back traditionally to the 5th century A.D., and it has a modern university culture. Since the Soviet *régime* was established however all the other Iverian languages, as well as many of the Caucasian ones, have acquired a press and books of their own.

VI

Immediately flanking Georgian on the north is Ossetinian, the language of the North Ossetinian Autonomous Republic and the South Ossetinian Autonomous Area (an enclave of Georgia), saddled across the middle Caucasus, and flanking it on the south is Armenian, which is now largely concentrated in the Armenian Federal Republic. Both Ossetinian and Armenian are Aryan languages, the former Iranian and related to the Tajiki of the federal republic of Tajikistan, on the Afghan frontier, and to the Pamiri dialects. The connection of Ossetinian with the language of the ancient Alans, a Sarmatian tribe mentioned in the 6th century by Jordanes (*op. cit.*), may be demonstrated circuitously by adducing the vocabulary it shares with Hungarian.⁴⁴ It is known of course that the Hungarians and Alans were medieval neighbours and allies before the former finally migrated to Slavic Pannonia (geographically the major Danubian plain). It is significant too that Turanian-speakers in the Caucasus refer to the Ossetinians as Alans.⁴⁵ Ossetinian in all its three dialects—Tagaur, Tual, and Digor—exhibits a partiality for consonantal groupings, which we have already observed in Caucasian and Iverian, but these are not nearly so complex because of the presence of dividing vowels. It is more conservative than the other Iranian languages in having preserved six cases. Tajiki, on the other hand, seems nearer to Persian in its greater tendency towards structural disintegration, and may be regarded as an archaic Persian dialect. It differs from Persian phonetically, having velars absent in Persian, as well as in morphology and vocabulary, having been influenced by Turanian Uzbeki. Related to Tajiki are the Iranian

dialects of the Pamirs, misnamed Ghalchah by British investigators like G. A. Grierson and others.⁴⁶ They have been grouped by H. Reichelt⁴⁷ and Grierson⁴⁸ as Yaghnobi, Vanchi, Yazgulami, the Shugni (Shigni) group, Sargilami, and Ishkashmi, on the Oxus or Amu, north of the Hindu Kush, and Vakhi and Minjani (Mungi) in northern Afghanistan. These dialects are spoken by mainly bilingual tribes, whose second language is Tajiki or Persian, and they are naturally shrinking because of the encroachment of their major congeners. One of them—Vanchi—is probably already extinct. The remaining Iranian languages indigenous in the U.S.S.R., Tat and Talysh, in south-western Azerbaijan, are found on the outskirts of the Caucasus abutting on Iran, and their affinities are with the North Persian dialects.

The form of Armenian used in the U.S.S.R. is the eastern, in contrast to the expatriate and older western dialect spoken in European Turkey. Each is a lineal bifurcation of the colloquial language, corresponding to literary Old Armenian, which, according to tradition, had its peculiar black-letter alphabet of Greek origin and a religious literature, associated with the name of St. Mesrop, as early as the 5th century A.D. This Old Armenian (*grabar*) is a strictly literary dialect, like Wulfila's Gothic, and as such it is distinguished by formal regularity. Middle Armenian (10th–15th century) is simpler grammatically, and out of this dialect the two modern literary languages developed in the 19th century. These are nearer the spoken language, the eastern, for example, reflecting the speech of the Armenian Federal Republic and the adjacent parts of Georgia and Azerbaijan. Armenian resembles Germanic in its shifted plosives, but differs from all other forms of Aryan in having no gender. In this respect, as in its characteristic sound-system, which contains, e.g., glottalised consonants, like Georgian, its invariable attributive adjective, and elaborate paradigms of declension (with seven cases), Armenian seems to have preserved the influence of its non-Aryan neighbours. Indeed Marr now even suggests that Armenian is not so much an Aryan language with an Iverian "substratum" as a hybrid, perhaps transitional, type, and points out its numerous affinities with various representatives of his Japhetic "system" (stock), notably Abkhaz, Svanetian, and his own Georgian.⁴⁹

The remaining type of Aryan spoken in the U.S.S.R. is East Slavic, to which the *lingua franca*, Great Russian, mother tongue of at least half the total population, belongs. East Slavic consists of three varieties, whose separation ascends to the 12th century,

viz. Great Russian, which has just been mentioned, White Russian, and Ukrainian. In Tsarist times it was customary to treat all three merely as dialects of the same Russian speech, but each of them has a literary language of its own, and these languages are used in their respective territories for administrative and educational purposes.

Roughly reproducing the political dichotomy of Novgorod and Muscovy, Great Russian distinguishes a northern from a southern dialect, the line of demarcation between them describing a curve from near Pskov, in the west, to the middle Sura, and from there to Stalingrad (formerly Tsaritsyn) and the lower Volga. The northern dialect is the more conservative and follows the traditional spelling, except in the treatment of "e." In southern Great Russian we have *akanje*, i.e. the pronunciation of written unstressed "o" as "a" (a phonetic definition would be more complete and more subtle), "g" is sounded like a voiced fricative, and "v" and "u" are confounded. The Moscow dialect, on which literary Russian is based, represents a compromise, blending mainly northern consonantal features with southern vowelism. Literary Russian, known since the 11th century, was subjected till the October (November) Revolution of 1917, and remains indirectly subject even now, to the tentacular and continuous influence of Old Bulgarian (Old Church Slavic), the vehicle of the Slavic Orthodox liturgy. The influence of this language on Russian is paralleled by Latin influence on the Romanic languages and English and by Arabic-Persian influence on Urdu. During the 18th century Russian began to feel the impact of West European culture. The earliest "European" words arrived in Polish shapes, but since the later 17th century the borrowings have been made either from the original sources or through the medium of French, which was the "polite" language and an aid to class distinction in Russia from the Age of Enlightenment to the Revolution. Though much simplified since the 11th century, Russian remains to this day a conservative inflected language, in comparison with English and French, and even with the more intricate German. Its nominal flexion is more complicated than its verbal, but the verb, as if in compensation, has been subtilised by the later mechanism of aspect.

White Russian,⁵⁰ the modern descendant of the Old Russian dialect of the *Dregoviči*, is spoken not only in the White Russian Federal Republic, but in the adjoining parts of Poland and the two southern Baltic States (1939-1940), i.e. roughly in the basins of the upper Western Dvina and the upper Dnepr. It arose as a literary

language in the Grand Duchy (*ducatus*) of Lithuania in the 14th century and was used, along with mediæval Latin, for official purposes, because the bulk of the inhabitants of historical Lithuania were White Russians. After the dynastic union of Lithuania with Poland (1386) and until the 19th century, White Russian remained largely in abeyance as a written language. Recreated independently in the 19th century on the basis of its central dialects, it has tended, at least in the practice of some writers, to diverge deliberately from Great Russian and Ukrainian. Generally speaking, White Russian has more in common with Russian than with Ukrainian: it is an *a*-language and it distinguishes "i" (front) from "y" (back). White Russian also has affinities with Polish (e.g. *t's'*, *d'z'* for palatalised *t*, *d*) and has substantially enriched its literary vocabulary with borrowings from that language.

Ukrainian (less appropriately, Little Russian or Ruthenian), descended from the ancient speech of the *Velynjane* and *Dulěby* of Volynia and Galicia, is the official and domestic language of the thirty to forty million inhabitants of the Ukrainian Federal Republic, and it is indigenous in the now annexed Galicia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia. The literary form of modern Ukrainian does not go back beyond the 18th century and has no direct connection with attempts to write it before that time. During the later 19th century it was persecuted, like all other minority languages, by the Tsarist Government. This led to the concentration of Ukrainian exiles in Lemberg (Ukr. *L'viv*, Pol. *Lwów*), then the regional capital and cultural focus of Austrian Galicia, and the Imperial Austrian Government, for political reasons, welcomed and encouraged the literary use of Ukrainian. The language, as written in Lemberg, absorbed many Polish words and idioms, some of which were discarded when Ukrainian was revived at home after the repeal of the Tsarist ban in 1906. In common with Great Russian and White Russian, Ukrainian exhibits the irregular accentuation peculiar to East Slavic as well as other East Slavic features, notably pleophony or double vowelling (*polnoglasije*)⁵¹ and the palatalisation of consonants by front (anterior) vowels, though this has been substantially reduced. Ukrainian also illustrates "itacism," i.e. the coincidence of "i" and "y" (e.g. *lycho*, misfortune, is pronounced as if it were written *lycho*) and the change of original "o" and "e" (the "o" and "e" underived from the "surds" or *jery*) into "i" (e.g. *vol*, ox, becomes *vil*; *peč'*, oven, *pič'*, etc.), which offers a phonetic approximation to Scotch "mither" for English "mother."

The Soviet policy of consistently furthering the literary use of

regional idioms gave a strong impetus to White Russian and Ukrainian studies. Universities and academies, at which these languages have become media of scientific exposition, were established, and White Russian and Ukrainian schools multiplied. Writing in 1918 under the vivid impression of revolutionary events, the French comparativist, A. Meillet,⁵² regretted the linguistic decentralisation in the U.S.S.R., but comforted himself with the conviction that Great Russian would survive this apparent setback. The regret was gratuitous even then. The expansion of Great Russian, attested over so many centuries, seems, whether desirable or not, to be an inevitable process, if only because this language remains the sole medium of communication between one Soviet people and another. Its forcible tuition, once part of the centralist policy of Tsardom, naturally bred distaste for it among the non-Russians on whom it was imposed, and linguistic nationalism went to intensify its political counterpart. The present government, on the contrary, aims at appeasing ethnic and linguistic minorities by encouraging them, through school and study, to take an interest in their mother tongue. Nevertheless this policy is subtly expansionist in result, if not in purpose, but, quite apart from such an implication, there can be hardly any doubt, to quote Meillet, that "the future of Great Russian is assured," and decidedly without any "conflicts and difficulties," even the purely imaginary ones, which he seems to believe this language, always numerically powerful, "has never been spared."⁵³

W. K. MATTHEWS.

¹ Bishop R. Caldwell's correlation of Uralian with Dravidian in 1856 (*vide A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*), still retained by J. L. Wyatt and T. R. Pillai in their revision of his standard work (London, 1913), has rarely been taken seriously by competent linguists, and the more recent hypothesis advanced by the Hungarian W. Hevesy (*vide* his challenging *Finnisch-ugrisches aus Indien*, Vienna, 1932), that Uralian is ultimately cognate with Kolarian (Munda-Sprachen), does not carry conviction, in spite of its massive documentation, any more than does W. Schmidt's Austric theory, connecting Austronesian with Austroasiatic (including Kolarian), which it is designed to refute.

² Ostyak occurs in three tribal names. Yenisei-Ostyak, Ostyak-Samoyed, and Ostyak proper. In the first two cases it is a misnomer. For an account of the origin of the Yenisei-Ostyaks or Kets, *vide* G. J. Ramstedt, "Über den Ursprung der sog. Jenisei-Ostjaken" (*JFOu*, XXIV, Helsinki, 1907), and for the correlation of this language with Sinitic, E. Lewy, "Zum Jenissei-Ostjakischen" (*Ungarische Jahrbucher*, XIII, Berlin, 1933).

³ Counting in Chukcha literally means "fingering." Five = hand, ten = hands, twenty = man, i.e. the possessor of twenty digits. Cf. the Austronesian *lima* (= hand, five) and Indonesian Dutch *vijf* in the sense of "hand," also the Papuanic (non-Melanesian) *Kâte* (in New Guinea), which reproduces the full Chukcha-Koryak-Kamchadal system.

⁴ *Vide Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande in den Jahren 1854-56*, 4 vols (St Petersburg, 1858-1900)

⁵ *Vide Über die Sprache und Schrift der Jukagiren* (Berlin, 1899)

⁶ *Vide Bemerkungen über die Beziehungen zwischen der Morphologie der gilyakischen und amerikanischen Sprachen* (St Petersburg, 1904) [sic]

⁷ *Vide Ievads valodniecībā* (Riga, 1934)

⁸ *Uralaltaische Völker und Sprachen* (Berlin, 1884), *Der uralaltaische Sprachstamm, das Finnische und das Japanische* (Berlin, 1909), *Die altaische [= uralaltaische] Völker und Sprachenwelt* (Berlin, 1921), "Die altaischen Sprachen" (*Ungarische Jahrbücher*, IV, Berlin, 1924).

⁹ *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des langues ouralo-altaïques* (Paris, 1930)

¹⁰ *Vide "Die uralaltaischen Sprachen"* (*FUF*, I, Helsinki, 1902)

¹¹ Somian, as used in Baltic scholarship, is preferable to Finnic, because it avoids confusion between the latter and Finnish, between the larger and the smaller term

¹² "Zur Frage nach der Verwandtschaft der finnisch-ugrischen und samojedischen Sprachen" (*JSFOu*, XXX, Helsinki, 1915)

¹³ The obsolescent fifth type, Kamas(-in), appears to be still used by a small number of speakers (there were 137 fifty years ago). But the majority, like the Koi-bal, Karagas, and Soyot tribes, have been turanianised (turkicised)

¹⁴ *Vide JSFOu*, XXI, Helsinki, 1903

¹⁵ In approximate topographical terms the Somian peoples are montane (Permian), riverine (East Somian), and maritime (West Somian).

¹⁶ *Vide Snorri Sturluson's Konungabók* (13th cent.)

¹⁷ This account is inserted in the Anglo-Saxon version of Paulus Orosius's *Historiae adversus paganos* (5th cent.).

¹⁸ Cf. Kom. *mord*, also Pers. *mard*, Hindustani *mard*, Arm. *mart'* (man)

¹⁹ In *Kritik der älteren Nachrichten über den skythischen Norden* (Vienna, 1889).

²⁰ *Vide M. Zsirai, Merja Adalékok egy kihalt finnugor nép ismertetéséhez* (Budapest, 1934)

²¹ *De origine actibusque Getarum* (551)

²² *Vide P. Smits, Ievads baltu filoloģijā* (Riga, 1936). The author identifies the ancestors of the Baltic peoples with Herodotus's *Neupoi* and the Neuri of Ammianus Marcellinus (4th cent.), and sees this name in the Old Russian *Neroma* (an apparent synonym for *Lëtigola*)

²³ E.g. the name *Čeremis* itself derives from Chuvassian *čaremyš* (defender)

²⁴ The *Vesī*, according to the Old Russian annals, were one of the peoples which participated in the founding of the Varangian state in Russia, and one of the Varangian (Swedish) princes is said to have settled among them in Belo-ozero. This was the Sineus of Russian history text-books. Recently it has been shown that this name was mistakenly extracted from Old Swedish words meaning "his (i.e. the Novgorodian Prince Rjurik's) household," as the name of his supposed third brother, Truvor, was from words meaning "loyal forces"

²⁵ Its speakers call it *luvun kielē* (Livian).

²⁶ *Vide Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* (1075).

²⁷ Cf. the Lule Lappish equivalents: *mān* (I), *tān* (thou), *sān* (he, she), *mī*, *mī* (we), *tī*, *tī* (you), *sī*, *sī* (they). The dual is *mar* (we two), *tai* (you two), *sai* (they two). *Vide K. B. Wiklund, Lårobok i lappiska språket* (Uppsala, 1915²). For Mokša Mordvinian *vide A. Ahlquist, Versuch einer moksha-mordwinischen Grammatik* (St Petersburg, 1861). The Lappish illustrations in the text of this study are not taken from Kola Lappish.

²⁸ It has been conjectured that the Lapps were originally non-Somian and acquired their present language from Somian invaders. They were known to Tacitus as *Fenni* and to Ptolemy as *Φίννοι*, a name still applied to them by Norwegians, who have another name (*Kvæner*) for the Finns proper. For a full discussion of the Lappish tribal names and their origins, *vide M. Zsirai, Finnugor rokonságunk* (Budapest, 1937), p. 277.

²⁹ *Vide N. Anderson, Studien zur Vergleichung der indogermanischen und finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen* (Tartu, 1879), and B. Collinder, *Indo-uralisches Sprachgut* (Uppsala, 1934).

³⁰ The term Turanian, invented by the Persian poet Firdausi a millenium ago, is better than Turkic, which is often confused with Turkish, as Finnic is with Finnish.

"Turco-Tataric" belongs to the period of double epithets and is antiquated I use Turanian for Turkic and Soman for Finnic

³¹ The Kirgiz, according to pre-Christian Chinese sources, were not originally Turanian, and it is known that the Misers, Tepters, Soyots, etc were formerly Uralians. There have also been changes within the limits of Altaic, e.g. the Nogays of the Crimea now speak Crimean Tartar and those of Astrakhan—Volgian Tartar

³² In "Altaische Zahlwörter" (MSFOu, LXVII, Helsinki, 1929). For a comparative table of Altaic numerals, vide J. Grunzel, *Entwurf einer vergleichenden Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen* (Leipzig, 1895).

³³ Itself a variant of the Sogdian script of Semitic origin

³⁴ Vide his Arabic work *Divānu lugat al-turk* (Collection of Turkish Words, 1074).

³⁵ Vide his article on the Altaic languages in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th ed., 1929). Németh's classification is accepted by Carlo Taghavi in the *Enciclopedia Italiana*, Vol. 34 (1937).

³⁶ Vide *Vergleichende Grammatik der nördlichen Turksprachen, I Phonetik* (Leipzig, 1882)

³⁷ This is also the source of the Turanian runiform characters, as used, e.g., in the Orkhon and Yenisei inscriptions deciphered by Vilhelm Thomsen in 1893

³⁸ "Iverian," as "Iberian" (*Ἰβηρες*), is found in ancient Greek records of Colchis, and the name has survived in the Caucasus in the stunted Armenian designation of the Georgians *Vur-k'*. Marr has identified *Iver-* (*Iber-*) with *Imer-* (in Imeretian, a Georgian dialect) and, less plausibly, with *Kimer-* (Cimmerian)

³⁹ This is the name (K'art'vel) by which the Georgians call themselves

⁴⁰ Vide A. Dirr, "Über die Klassen (Geschlechter) in den kaukasischen Sprachen" (*Archives Internationales d'Ethnographie*, VIII, Leiden, 1908)

⁴¹ The "hard breathing" (') indicates aspiration, the apostrophe (') glottal closure or glottalisation. For Awar and the other Caucasian languages, vide N. Troubetzkoy "Les langues caucasiques septentrionales" in A. Meillet and M. Cohen, *Les langues du monde* (Paris, 1924)

⁴² Vide *Die Haupttypen des Sprachbaus* (Leipzig, 1909). For an account of Georgian, vide also N. Marr and M. Brière, *La langue géorgienne* (Paris, 1931)

⁴³ Swahili, being a mixed language, is not so good an example of Bantu as some of the less modified types, e.g. Subiya, in Portuguese Mozambique. Vide F. N. Finck's *Haupttypen des Sprachbaus* for a characterisation of Subiya.

⁴⁴ Vide B. Munkácsi *Árja és kaukázusi elemek a finn-magyar nyelvekben* (Budapest, 1901)

⁴⁵ The Ossetians call themselves *Iron* and *Os*, the first being a variant of Irān.

⁴⁶ Vide W. Lentz, *Pamir-Dialekte* (Göttingen, 1933).

⁴⁷ Vide "Iranisch" in *Grundriss der indogermanischen Sprach- und Altertums-kunde*, Bd. II, Abt. 4 (Berlin, 1927), also W. Geiger, "Kleinere Dialekte und Dialektgruppen" in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, Bd. I (Strassburg, 1895-1901).

⁴⁸ Vide *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. X (London, 1921), also *Ishkashmi, Zebaki and Yazghulami. An Account of Three Eranian Dialects* (London, 1920)

⁴⁹ Vide his article "Jafetičeskije jazyki" in *Bol'shaja Sovetskaja Enciklopedija*, Vol. 65 (Moscow, 1931), also *Po etapam razvitiya jafetičeskoj teorii* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1928).

⁵⁰ English is the only language in which this name has a quite erroneous, but seemingly tenacious, political association. Awareness of its true force however has led to the use of scholastic substitutes like Byelorussian (*sic*), which is as helpless as Bolshoi (for Grand) Theatre, besides being misspelt; West Russian, which is vaguely geographical; and White Ruthenian, which is a contradiction in terms.

⁵¹ Cf. Ukr. *horod*, town, with, say, Serb. *grad*, or Ukr. *moloko*, milk, with Serb. *mleko*. A kind of pleophony exists also in Biblical Hebrew as compared with Classical Arabic: 'eres (earth). 'ard, šemes (sun). šamsu

⁵² Vide *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle* (Paris, 1918, 2nd ed., 1928).

⁵³ The foregoing study deals only with Soviet languages proper, i.e. those with the full Soviet tradition, and naturally does not include the languages of territories annexed to the U.S.S.R. since 1939, viz. the West Soman (Uralian) Estonian and Livonian, the Baltic (Aryan) Latvian and Lithuanian, and "Palæoasiatic" Ainu (in South Sakhalin and the Kuriles). It also omits languages like Finnish (in the Carelo-Finnish Republic), Polish (in the mid-western march), Roumanian (in the Moldavian Republic), German (in the Volga-German Autonomous Republic), and

Yiddish (in White Russia, the Ukraine, and Birobijan), which, as the mother tongues of majorities living outside the U S S R , are not typical of that country. Finally the languages of certain, mostly urban linguistic minorities, e g. French, various types of South Slavic, Arabic, Gypsy, etc , are excluded, because they have no regional significance.

TOLSTOY THROUGH AMERICAN EYES

OWING to the circumstances of their development, Slavic studies in America, with the exception of history and politics, have thus far represented work achieved primarily in the field of languages. The organisation of these studies in the United States aims first of all at didactic and practical goals, that is to secure for students the knowledge of Slavic languages—mainly of Russian. Therefore the American philological publications consist of school grammars, readers, dictionaries, "methods" of teaching Russian, and so on (However, the *American Slavic Review* and some other publications should not be forgotten.)

American scholars dedicated to the history of Slavic literature have had until now two main goals (1) bringing to the student and average reader translations from the Slavic literatures, and (2) acquainting them with the various achievements of Slavic scholars. This still remains an important and very useful task. From this point of view one cannot but greet with feelings of genuine satisfaction the monumental publication of Professor Ernest Simmons on Tolstoy.¹ The significance of this event is certainly augmented by the exceptional prestige of Tolstoy in the Anglo-Saxon world, especially in America, and the enormous popularity which *War and Peace* has won again during this war.

One who has even a modest acquaintance with the immense amount of biographical materials and the numerous works of literary criticism dealing with Tolstoy may easily realise the effort represented by this publication. I therefore certainly agree with the acknowledgement which this book has received from its American reviewers. One may well share the following views: "Chock-full as it is of new and important information derived by the author from the immense amount of documentary material that Russian scholars have turned up in the last few decades, it can be said at once to replace and displace virtually all the biographical studies of Tolstoy now available in English" (*New York Times Book Review*, 1 December, 1946). Quite correct also is the opinion of Clifton Fadimon, who calls Mr. Simmons "the most eminent of living Tolstoy scholars." Finally another reviewer says: "His *Leo Tolstoy* is a monumental achievement, the fruit of long and devoted labour, and a contribution such as few scholars in our field can match in a lifetime. It should be an inspiration to the many young

people, the Slavists of the future, who are studying with him to-day at Columbia, and to those who will continue to study under his inspiring direction in the future" (*Bulletin of the American Association of Teachers of Slavonic and East European Languages*, 15 December, 1946). Indeed, in his impressive book Mr. Simmons has succeeded in conveying in summaries, periphrases, and analyses the original Russian research literature to the American reader, thereby securing to him the most recent knowledge of many events in the life of Tolstoy, of problems connected with his art and philosophy, and of interpretations of the works of the great Russian writer.

In order to reveal the amount of reading which Professor Simmons was obliged to undertake in preparation for his story of Tolstoy, I shall take up for analysis and discussion some of his contributions.

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Let me begin with one important recent discovery in the field of Tolstoy scholarship, i.e. the relationship of Tolstoy and Proudhon, which was for the first time revealed and plainly discussed by the brilliant Russian scholar, Professor B. Eichenbaum.² It is quite true that Mikhaylovsky, some time before Eichenbaum, mentioned Proudhon in connection with Tolstoy; but he did not develop the story of that remarkable episode in Tolstoy's life which became so important, as it appears now, for *War and Peace*. It was the privilege of Eichenbaum to give in three striking chapters of his two-volume work on Tolstoy an exhaustive analysis of the Proudhon-Tolstoy question. He was the first to discover the Proudhonian origin of the title *War and Peace*, the affiliations existing between Tolstoy's and Proudhon's conceptions of war, the dependence on Proudhon of Tolstoy's characterisation of the rôle of women in war-time, and (what is even more striking) the influence of Proudhon in the stylisation of the figure of Napoleon which we find in the novel. Eichenbaum discovered the previously unnoticed letter of Proudhon to Gustave Chaudey; he also, throughout his whole development, stressed the importance of Tolstoy's opinion of Proudhon (reported by Biryukov) as a "strong man who has '*le courage de son opinion*.' " The whole of this discovery appeared as an unexpected, enlightening revelation. Some details connected with Herzen, Tolstoy, and Proudhon were added to Eichenbaum's original work by Mr. N. Mendel'son.³

The reader may find on pages 187 and 271 of Professor Simmons's book the following résumé of the Proudhon-Tolstoy story: "No doubt Proudhon's work, *La Guerre et la Paix*, then much talked about

in Russia, was also a frequent subject for discussion" (p. 271). "At their meeting Proudhon impressed Tolstoy as a man who had the courage of his convictions. In turn, the Frenchman wrote Herzen that the faces of Russians who visited him fused in his mind. 'But a Mr. Tolstoy has been calling on me over the last few days, and he is a savant who has presented to me quite a different side.' Another letter to a friend is slightly more revealing:

"A well-informed man, Mr. Tolstoy, with whom I have been talking these last few days, told me: 'There you have a real emancipation. (Alexander II's decree of emancipation had appeared 5 March, 1861.) We do not free our serfs with empty hands, we give them property along with their liberty!' He also said to me: 'You are much read in Russia, but they do not understand the importance you attach to your Catholicism. Only after I had visited England and France did I understand how right you were. In Russia the Church amounts to zero!'

These two men, who intellectually had so much in common, talked about Proudhon's book, *La Guerre et la Paix*, which was just then going through the press. This book was translated into Russian in 1864 with the title *War and Peace*. Although Proudhon's book is a work on the principles of international law, Tolstoy was indebted to it for much more than the title. A study of *La Guerre et la Paix* reveals a good deal about the whole theory of war that Tolstoy incorporated in his novel" (Simmons, p. 187).

In his book, which he considers a work of general information and not a monograph, Professor Simmons does not use references for each of his assertions but writes anonymously out of the fullness of his reading. Therefore we do not find here any reference to Eichenbaum (nor to Mendel'son); he refers simply to Proudhon's *Correspondance*. Eichenbaum gave a Russian translation of Proudhon's letter, which he discovered, as well as its original French text. Mr. Simmons for some reason prefers the Russian version which is entirely adequate to the French—with the exception, only, of the last phrase. We read in Proudhon's letter: "*Il a fallu que je visitasse l'Angleterre et la France pour comprendre à quel point vous aviez raison.*" Eichenbaum simplified this sentence and said as follows: "*Tol'ko posle togo, kak ya pobyval v Anglii i Frantsii, ya ponyal kak vy byli pravy*" (Eichenbaum, vol. I, p. 384). This text in English gives exactly Mr. Simmons's translation. "Only after I had visited England and France did I understand how right you

were " (Simmons, p. 187). A direct English translation from the French text would give " I had to visit England and France to understand to what degree you were right." ⁴

Over some ten pages of his book Eichenbaum discussed the influence of Joseph de Maistre on Tolstoy, and again brought several extremely interesting juxtapositions. Professor Simmons, again writing from the fullness of his reading, says that Joseph de Maistre's *Correspondance diplomatique* and *Soirées de St. Pétersbourg* " helped to turn his (Tolstoy's) mind toward that ultimate and vaster conception of his masterpiece as a medium for the full expression of a philosophy of history " (p. 271). I think I may be justified in bringing the brilliant Eichenbaum to light from the shadow of Simmons's monumental book.

With the same ability the author treats other fascinating episodes in Tolstoy scholarship—as, for instance, the story of the *rencontre* of Auerbach and Tolstoy, and the rôle of Stendhal in Tolstoy's " military art "—stories which were told and explained by Eichenbaum, Gusev, Boyer, Apostolov, and others. (Compare Simmons, pp. 190–91, with Eichenbaum, vol. II, pp. 39–47, 181 and his book *Molodoy Tolstoy*, and Gusev, vol. I, pp. 377–79, 195–96).

One of the most successful parts in Eichenbaum's book is the story of Tolstoy's return from Sebastopol to Petersburg and his meetings and fights with the people of the *Contemporary*. Lack of space prevents me from relating the entire episode; I shall only compare certain passages from the chapter entitled " Return of the Hero " in Simmons's book with the corresponding texts of Eichenbaum. The latter has not been mentioned, but this certainly does not diminish the faithful confidence which Simmons shows in his scholarship. I begin with this: " If not exactly a military hero, he returned to Petersburg to find himself a literary hero " (Simmons, p. 122). Further: " By now he had a clear comprehension of the civil war that raged among the *Contemporary* circle . . . The aristocratic liberals were sure of him; after all, he was a count, and they expected him to share their hate for Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov, . . . Tolstoy first directed his fire at the liberal aristocrats, and most of all at their leader, Turgenev . . . Turgenev's ' disinterested love for utter truth ' annoyed Tolstoy. It was merely a phrase, he believed, coming from a flabby nature. This giant of a man, with his huge shoulders, striking features, and shock of hair, prematurely greying, failed to impress discerning people like Tolstoy. They found in him a lack of spirituality; he seemed capable of experiencing only physical feelings.

"With persistent and deadly effect Tolstoy began nagging Turgenev on his political convictions. . . .

"Tolstoy's point was that these men were being hypocritical when they flaunted their convictions. Convictions were invented by the intelligentsia so that they would have something to talk about. As for himself, Tolstoy would have asserted that he lived by instinct. The 'rules' that he composed to guide his existence were suggested not by conviction, but by moral instinct. And moral instinct he could trust, but only his own. Here was the quintessence of individualism" (pp. 125-26).

And here is Eichenbaum: "The *littérateurs* received Tolstoy not only as a 'hero' but as the long-awaited 'heir' of Gogol—as an undoubted new talent . . . A new force had appeared, not only a talent but a count . . . They still hated Chernyshevsky as a representative of the '*raznochintsy*' who were entering into literature and . . . they hoped that Tolstoy . . . would put an end to the unbearable situation. . . . Having delved into the matter and seen what was going on in the depths of the *Contemporary*, Tolstoy began his artillery fire—at first, however, not against Chernyshevsky but against the intellectuals of the nobility, and above all against Turgenev with his tendency toward impartiality and 'utter truth' . . . This trait of Turgenev . . . aroused indignation among people of a different temperament and was considered by them as 'flabbiness'" (vol. I, p. 213). "A short time passed—and Turgenev becomes his victim. Tolstoy persecutes him for his 'convictions' . . . Tolstoy attacks the *littérateurs* of the nobility for their political convictions" (vol. I, p. 215). "Having crossed the liberals, Tolstoy appears as a cruel reactionary, but not because such are indeed his 'convictions,' but because it is important for him to prove to himself that they have no convictions at all, that they are hypocrites—a nihilism which is characteristic of Tolstoy. He lives by 'instinct' and despises the very nature of 'conviction' as something invented by the intelligentsia in order to have something to talk about. He knows only 'rules' which he deduces not from 'convictions,' but from moral instinct, which does not change and is not destroyed because of the fact that the 'rules' are not executed" (vol. I, p. 216).

In order to be precise I must add that all the epithets applied to Turgenev by Simmons in describing the attitude of Tolstoy and others toward Turgenev have been taken from the letter of V. S. Aksakova, quoted by Eichenbaum—especially: "They found in him a lack of spirituality; he seemed capable of experiencing

only physical feelings." Mrs. Aksakova says. "He is a man capable only of experiencing physical sensations. . . . There is in him some kind of flabbiness of soul, . . ." (Eichenbaum, vol. I, pp. 214-15). Simmons attributes to Tolstoy the characterisation of Turgenev which is to be found in the letter of Aksakova quoted by the unquoted Eichenbaum. The whole anecdotal material presented in this chapter is also to be found in the books of Eichenbaum and Gusev (as, for instance, the Longinov story).

* * *

After these complimentary remarks in which I have tried to demonstrate Simmons's knowledge of the modern research work dealing with Tolstoy, I should like to suggest a few reservations. First of all, I advance the opinion that, as the book deals primarily with the life, and only incidentally with the works, of Tolstoy, the title should be *A New Biography of Tolstoy*, *The Life of Tolstoy*, *Tolstoy the Man*, or something similar. Out of 800 pages only some fifty, I believe, have been devoted to literary criticism. This is a paradoxical disproportion: but under these circumstances one must, just because of the economy of the literary criticism, attribute especial importance and significance to Simmons's literary interpretations. Therefore the particular interest which the passages in the book, devoted to the works of Tolstoy, awoke in me is, I believe, justifiable. Let us take the short page dealing with *Anna Karenina*, one of the greatest novels in the world. The author, generously but perhaps rather superfluously, begins with a résumé of the plot. Although he does not mention Gusev, I believe that his résumé is a reduction of the one to be found in Gusev's biography of Tolstoy. In the first part of his résumé Simmons gives the story of Anna and Vronsky; in the second part we find the following statement: "Parallel with the story of Anna and Vronsky runs the account of the love of Kitty and Levin. Tolstoy drew heavily upon himself for the character of Levin, and the latter's brother Nikolay is modelled on Tolstoy's dead brother Dmitry. Indeed, the whole story of Levin and Kitty—their courtship, marriage, and family existence—is in many respects the story of Tolstoy and his wife . . . etc." (p. 309). Now let us take Gusev: "Parallel with the love story of Anna and Vronsky runs the account of the love of Konstantin Levin and Kitty Shcherbatsky. Konstantin Levin is a portrait into which the author has put many characteristic traits of himself (just as into the picture of Levin's brother Nikolay are put many characteristics of Dmitry, the brother of Lev Nikolaich). Levin's dreams of love for woman and family life, the profound impression made upon him

by the death of his brother : all that is copied by the author from himself. Many details of the relations of Levin and Kitty . . . (enumeration) . . . fairly closely depict the relations of Lev Nikolaich and Sophya Andreyevna " (vol. II, pp. 218-19). Further Simmons says : " Tolstoy had never probed more deeply the mystery of human fate nor presented more arrestingly the dependence of human happiness on the immutable laws of nature " (p. 310). In Gusev I read : " In this work Tolstoy looked deeper than at any other time into the mysteries of human fate and presented more arrestingly than anywhere else the dependence of human happiness on the eternal and invincible laws of nature . . . etc." (vol. II, p. 218). This is, by the way, a quotation, acknowledged by Gusev, from the book of R. A. Disterlo published in Petersburg in 1887. In accordance with his impersonal method Simmons prefers to avoid references and quotation marks. Continuing, he states : " With the appearance of *Anna Karenina* the reputation of Tolstoy as Russia's greatest novelist was secure. Almost without exception, the enthusiastic reviews accorded him the leading position. Even abroad, Turgenev, in a foreword to a French translation of the *Two Hussars*, generously declared Tolstoy's pre-eminence " (p. 310). I read in Gusev : " About the time of the appearance of *Anna Karenina* the reputation of Tolstoy as the greatest Russian novelist was firmly established . . . Abroad Tolstoy's reputation was supported by Turgenev who in *Le Temps* (1875, 10 févr.) published a translation of the *Two Hussars* with his preface in which he wrote . . . etc." (vol. II, pp. 225-26).

The treatment of the above-mentioned story, the *Two Hussars*, in Simmons's book also deserves some observations. In order to explain the juxtaposition of the father and the son in Tolstoy's story, the author brings to the fore Tolstoy's remarks about Dickens and Thackeray which when used in this case become a kind of tautology. Eichenbaum's brilliant and subtle analysis revealing the Pushkin-Gogol duet in this story is much more convincing. To the remarks of Eichenbaum I should like to add that Turbin, the father, is indeed essentially Pushkinian, a Burmin (compare the names !) borrowed from the *Snowstorm* just as Turbin the son belongs to the world of the *Dead Souls*.

Not less significant are the comments concerning the death of Tolstoy's brother Nikolay and the story, *Three Deaths*. Simmons writes : " Nikolai's death had shattered Tolstoy's former complacent acceptance of immortality . . . etc. . . ." Further on he brings a quotation from Tolstoy's diary in which the latter says : " At

the very time of the funeral the idea occurred to me of writing a materialist Gospel, a Life of Christ as a materialist." Then Simmons adds: "Perhaps he thought that there was also a materialistic immortality, like that suggested by the peasant in *Three Deaths*: he had serenely accepted his passing as a unification with deathless Nature." Next he mentions Tolstoy's letter to Fet (p. 183)

I read in Gusev (vol. I, p. 371-72): "When that terrible blow fell upon him . . . he was seized by a deep despair which almost entirely expelled from him any belief in immortality . . ." Gusev next stresses the fact that Tolstoy still preserved a vague hope that the earth might hide something for the dying man: "Like that peasant, whose death he depicted in the story *Three Deaths*, he felt such a nearness to nature that he could not admit that the unification with nature, the return to earth, should signify the destruction of life. Like that peasant he confessed a religion of nature—a sort of peculiar religious materialism, with which there still remained possible a hope for some kind of material immortality.⁵ It was not without reason, therefore, that he wrote in his diary that 'At the very time of the funeral the idea occurred to me of writing a materialistic gospel,—a life of Christ as a materialist.'" Then comes the letter to Fet. By the way, both Simmons and Gusev in these paragraphs mention the death of a thirteen-year-old boy; and both use the same passages from Tolstoy's diary. In addition I should like to observe that the translation of the text of Gusev (who again remains unmentioned) is not quite adequate. Gusev speaks of a *material* immortality, Simmons of a *materialistic* immortality. I must frankly confess that I do not fully understand the meaning of the expression "materialistic immortality".

The brief remarks about *War and Peace* end with the following paragraph: "With some justice the radical critics could point out that he did not see the faults of the privileged classes and failed to portray the dark misery of the peasantry at that time, although he significantly recognised in the novel the historical mission of the people. In an interesting letter addressed but not sent to the author, P. D. Boborykin, Tolstoy defended his avoidance of social problems. 'The aims of art,' he wrote, 'are incommensurable (as they say in mathematics) with social aims. The aim of an artist is not to resolve a question irrefutably, but to compel one to love life in all its manifestations, and these are inexhaustible. If I were told that I could write a novel in which I could indisputably establish as true my point of view on all social questions, I would not dedicate two hours to such a work; but if I were told that what I wrote

would be read twenty years from now by those who are children to-day, and that they would weep and laugh over it and fall in love with the life in it, then I would dedicate all my existence and all my powers to it.'

"However justifiable this conviction may be as an æsthetic aim, it is not a full explanation of Tolstoy's deliberate avoidance of the real social problems that played so large a part in the historical period he attempted to re-create. The fact is that he wrote *War and Peace* in an atmosphere of love and family happiness. The prevailing spirit of the book is an ecstatic love of life in all its manifestations. Lulled to contentment by his own happiness, he evaded the suffering and grief of people in the historical past and tried to see in life, as his character Karatayev did, only 'a resplendent comeliness'" (Simmons, pp. 275-76).

A footnote is appended (No. 13), but it refers only to the text of Tolstoy's letter to Boborykin. This Simmons acknowledges as having been taken from Gusev's book; the general and final remarks about the æsthetic aims and the spirit of the book are presented as his own views. Let us take Gusev. On page 99, vol. II, he writes: "That Tolstoy in *War and Peace* did not touch many dark sides of Russian life of that time, A. V. Amfiteatrov, as well as some other writers, explain by the fact that in that period he was under the 'strong influence' of the 'aristocratic prejudices' which forced him to take an 'exceptionally optimistic and partial' attitude toward the traditions of the old aristocratic way of life which 'he liked so much' at that time! This explanation is untrue. . . ." Then comes the letter to Boborykin, followed by several comments in which Gusev says: "In this view of æsthetic aims is hidden the reason why Tolstoy indeed 'avoided' in his great work the horrors of serfdom . . . and such repulsive occurrences of that time as . . . (Gusev gives an enumeration)." "If one now would ask the question: Why did Lev Tolstoy at that time hold such æsthetic views?—the answer to that question must be that in this case appeared the influence of the conditions of life in which he was living at that time." "As if vaguely feeling the whole injustice, falsehood, and violence at the base of the material well-being of the privileged classes to which he himself belonged at that time, Tolstoy tried to drive away every thought concerning it in order not to disturb his own peace. . . . It was all the more tempting for Tolstoy to take such a view on art, because at that time he felt completely happy and satisfied in his family life . . . And, praising and loving his happiness and peace, Lev Tolstoy unconsciously tried

to see in life, like Karatayev, only 'a resplendent comeliness' and close his eyes on some dark and oppressive sides of life, on human suffering and pain" (vol. II, pp. 100-01).

Turning to Professor Simmons's own formulations in the field of literature one must also make some reservations. Such, for instance, is the case with many of the short stories and with *Resurrection*, whose chief aims remain in the shadow. Simmons says: "The principal purpose of *Resurrection* is to reveal the evil consequences of the violence of government and the hypocrisy of the Church" (p. 574).

If one wished to attempt to define the inner dynamism of Tolstoy's work, one would be obliged to conclude that this was determined by the subjective reaction of the individual to the objective fact of social differentiation and to the social, moral, and religious virtues existing in the traditions of the nineteenth century. From this point of view we may discern in this work two main groups of heroes and problems—one connected with the social problem; the other with the psychology of the individual, with the fight of the human personality against rending passions, a fight led in the name of a religious and *par excellence* individual morality. *Resurrection*, accordingly, might be considered to be the most synthetic work of Tolstoy; for here the social problem has been most closely bound to the purely individual one. The guilt of Nekhlyudov toward Katyusha Maslova and his expiation acquire a symbolic universal significance: the necessity of personal expiation represents an imperative for a similar expiation by the class to which Nekhlyudov belongs. In this is hidden the revolutionary symbolism of Tolstoy's art. No other novel of Tolstoy has the same iron structure as *Resurrection*; and when compared with *The Cossacks*, it shows the whole consistent road which Tolstoy followed from Olenin to Nekhlyudov. On that road we see a man who reached the ultimate limits of aristocracy: one must be a true aristocrat to find delight in resignation from elitarian principles to egalitarian principles.

Tolstoy's "archaism," "epigonism," conservatism, and aristocracy combined with his radicalism, revolutionism, primitivism, and democratism illustrate eloquently the essentially dualistic character of his personality—which, none the less, represents an indivisible unity.

It would be difficult, of course, to impose on any author a preconception of the studied man and work. But the historian has two tasks: one the knowledge of facts and documents, the other the interpretation of those facts and documents. And it is only this

interpretation that distinguishes the historian from the chronicler. The interpretation is an answer to the needs of the generation to which the historian himself belongs. This is why every generation has its own history of the French Revolution. Thus if there was need of a new book on Tolstoy, this need was first of all connected with the need of a modern interpretation of the man and artist.

And I think that a more careful consideration of the rôle of rationalism and irrationalism in Tolstoy's life would leave one less helpless in the understanding of Tolstoy's crisis or in the explanation of his anti-historical attitude. The latter is essentially connected with the story of his own life experience related in his diaries. These, incidentally, have also been used in a very modest way by Professor Simmons in spite of the fact that, repeating Eichenbaum, he stresses the importance of the diaries for Tolstoy's literary work. My personal point of view, which I shall sometime develop, is that Schopenhauer should be taken into consideration as far as the anti-historicalism of Tolstoy is concerned. True enough, it was after *War and Peace* that Tolstoy was especially impressed by Schopenhauer; but the sketches and drafts for other historical novels which he began to write after *War and Peace* contain several theoretical conceptions about history and show the complete similarity of Tolstoy's and Schopenhauer's views on this subject.

Indeed, one may consider the "historical novel" *War and Peace* a kind of negation of history, a novel intentionally written to demonstrate the impossibility of history. This, as I mentioned above, is connected with the fight of Tolstoy the obstinate rationalist against rationalism. The irrational essence of life never ceased to tempt him. What is history if not an attempt to rationalise life, and this leads to a fatal deformation of truth, thinks Tolstoy. Unfortunately Simmons has neglected the very interesting old book of K. Leont'ev (*O Romanakh gr. L. N. Tolstogo*) in which the author, by a very convincing comparison of the heroes of *Anna Karenina* with the heroes of *War and Peace*, showed that the latter were true to themselves, to the laws of general human psychology, but not true to their epoch. In other words, they were contemporaries of their author rather than of Napoleon and Alexander I. This is another point, but still connected with our problem. The main thing for Tolstoy was to show that life is always the same. He preferred to deform history rather than to lose in a consistent historical stylisation his spontaneous reaction to the truth of life. Paradoxically enough these conceptions belong to a man who, to a greater degree than any other Russian, was himself *historical*. Tolstoy was

essentially a historical product of his nation, a product of his class, of his time ; he was a man deeply rooted in Russian life and in Russian soil.

Not less striking is Tolstoy's secret admiration of Napoleon, revealed by Prince Bolkonsky's worship as well as by Tolstoy's passionate negation of the Emperor. One must not forget that Tolstoy was constantly vacillating between individualism and pantheism, recognised leadership and anonymity of the masses. From this point of view *War and Peace*, just as *Servitude et Grandeur Militaires*, might be considered one of the first monuments to the unknown soldier—erected by a man whose chief temptation was the Hero.

When speaking about the sources of *War and Peace*, Simmons reduces his research to three names : de Maistre, Proudhon, and the *Maréchal* Marmont. Gusev, Biryukov, and Eichenbaum could provide him with a much more complete documentation. And what about Apostolov's work on the historical sources of Tolstoy, and the brilliant book of Shklovsky ?

Besides, many important *rencontres* have been almost completely neglected, as, for instance, that of Chicherin ; and Chicherin would help a great deal in defining Tolstoy's attitude toward Westerners and Slavophiles. The same may be said about Vladimir Solov'ev.

Incidentally, I prefer the documentation in Maude's book, which gives a much more complete picture of the inner development of Tolstoy. Maude uses very exhaustively the diaries of Tolstoy, and this is what one must do. Simmons follows the diaries, Gusev, and Biryukov, but his documentation is much more fragmentary. And as he constantly combines different sources, sometimes taking from the same source one passage from one part, a second from another, he loses the trend of, say, Gusev's or Eichenbaum's thought, and the picture he gives becomes evasive, unprecise, unconvincing—as though reflected in a broken mirror.

The same occurs, for instance, with the problem of Tolstoy's attitude toward the peasants and serfdom. Simmons tells the story of Tolstoy's letter to Bludov and of his first talks with his peasants in 1856 ; but he simplifies the facts and problems. Eichenbaum says (vol. I, p. 263) : " In order to understand this letter of Tolstoy (and this is necessary for the understanding of many other things), one has to develop a special historical commentary." And he develops that commentary on many pages of his book. Simmons does not follow it.

Professor Simmons does not feel the aristocrat,⁶ the man attached

to patriarchal conditions of life, to patriarchal relationships between the lord and his serfs which persisted not only at that time in Tolstoy, but which sometimes reappeared in him at the most paradoxical occasions. But there was even more than this—there was in him a kind of lordly disdain for the peasant and a conviction that the peasant as such is physically and morally less vulnerable than a lord. How characteristic from this point of view is the talk between Prince Andrey and Pierre on the ferry. But this is in *War and Peace*; and what about the answer Tolstoy gave to Sienkiewicz's inquiry concerning the Prussian persecutions of Polish peasants? On the other hand, Simmons does not see Tolstoy's real fear of revolution, though Eichenbaum gives extremely interesting details illustrating this fear and the origin of Tolstoy's conception of the rôle of the proletariat.

To the comments of Eichenbaum I should like to add that in Tolstoy himself and in his figure of the sentimentalist-aristocrat it is possible to discern two factors which determined the rôle of the peasant in his life and his novels: the social and Christian expiation of the representative of the privileged classes on one side, and on the other, an essentially literary, sentimental, and romantic idealisation of the people. The first originates from the first Russian Westerners, masons like Radishchev, Novikov, Fonvizin, and the Decembrists; the second binds Tolstoy with Karamzin, the Russian Romanticists, and the Slavophiles. Of course Rousseau must also be taken into consideration.

As far as the purely biographical material is concerned, I do not think that the book presents any really unknown and unpublished facts or even details. It has been done on the basis of the published diaries of Tolstoy, the published correspondence of Tolstoy, the published diaries of the Countess, the biographies of Biryukov (4 vols.) and Gusev (2 vols.), and some other studies (Goldenweiser, Chertkov, Alexandra Tolstoy, Zhdanov). However, Gusev's biography of Tolstoy played a particularly important rôle in this case. I may add that as far as the first part of the work is concerned (only two volumes of Gusev's book have as yet appeared), the whole disposition of the biographical material in both books is almost similar. The first half of the book is divided into the same number of chapters: Gusev has twenty-two chapters for the first period of Tolstoy's life—Simmons also has twenty-two. The opening phrases of some chapters are often the same. Compare, for instance, the beginning of the chapter on *Anna Karenina* in Simmons's book and the chapter on *Anna Karenina* in Gusev's book; the beginning of

Section 4 in the same chapter in Simmons and Section 14 in the same chapter of Gusev. I have not checked the beginning of every chapter and of every section in both books, feeling that the juxtapositions presented above have sufficiently shown the great reverence Mr. Simmons has for Gusev's book. I should also like to observe that in spite of the fact that Gusev's work is only a biography, it is provided with very carefully listed résumés of the critical studies about the works of Tolstoy; and from this point of view it is more widely informative than Simmons's book. The latter, of course, gives his bibliographical survey, but the English-speaking reader would have profited greatly if the author had acquainted him with the résumés of Russian and foreign criticism which may be found in Gusev, Biryukov, Eichenbaum, Shklovsky, Apostolov, and Breitburg (*Literatura o Tolstom poslednykh let*, 1931, which is not mentioned in Simmons's bibliographical survey).

* * *

I have mentioned above the necessity of "preconceived" ideas. I shall explain my point of view. Once Dostoyevsky made fun of French writers who visited Russia in order to write books on Russia. He said that these gentlemen usually arrived in Russia with books already written and that they undertook their trips only in order to justify the publication of those books. This joke contains, nonetheless, some serious elements: indeed, before going to Russia, one must know at least half of what one's book is to contain. Besides, there are people who may travel and write, there are those who may travel but should not write, and finally those who may write and not travel at all. We know that Professor Simmons went to Russia to do his research on Tolstoy. I should not, of course, try to impose any arbitrary tendency or dogmatic approach, but I think that some personal, general conception—the Aristotelian form—must preside over the chaotic potentialities which the historian faces. Before writing a book, one must have a general idea of it, even if it is only a biography. It would be futile, I think, to undertake a purely descriptive book on Tolstoy, a book deprived of any moral conception of the man; it would be simpler to rest content with raw materials. What is a biography? It is a portrait, and only the artist's conception of the face he paints makes his picture great.

It seems to me that in the case of Tolstoy the main task is perhaps even not to collect different and very often trivial details of his life, but to understand that one cannot present a synthetic picture of

Tolstoy without bearing in mind that the exclusiveness of his case is from a certain point of view a function of his deep humanity, of the astonishing perspicacity of his mind, and his amazing knowledge of human nature. Here is hidden Tolstoy's universal symbolism. And why? Because that exclusiveness is a question only of degree, of tension, and of development. Everything in him is gigantic, enormous—his sensuality as well as his spirituality. Powerful elements created that titanic ego.

His terrific fear of death resulted from his likewise terrific attachment to life; and this attachment was an essentially pagan one. Tolstoy loved everything in life, in the world. He loved trees, animals, children, young people, old people; and there was nothing more beautiful for him than to enjoy that life and nothing more terrible than to be obliged to leave it. What is poignant in his story is that the fear of death approached him in the middle of a happy and peaceful life, as a terrible shadow in full sunlight; and this fear had nothing to do with the problem of fear and courage which Tolstoy studied and analysed in his battle stories. It was a much more penetrating fear. It was a metaphysical fear experienced by the most physical of men. Tolstoy's religious and ethical system is a direct product of this attachment to life and fear of death. By a kind of rationalisation he came to the conclusion—and this even before the so-called crisis—to which he remained faithful to the very end of his days: that the more one loves his fellow-men, the more one creates goodness around himself, the more surely one secures for himself immortality. One's acts of goodness remain in the memory of other people. These ideas appear already in the earliest works of Tolstoy, and we see this *leitmotiv* constantly resounding in all his works and diaries from *Childhood* through *The Cossacks*, *Anna Karenina*, *Resurrection*, and to the very end. We find in the Countess Alexandra Tolstoy's *The Tragedy of Tolstoy* the text of the following thoughts which Tolstoy dictated to her on 1 November, 1910, a few days before his death: "God is the unlimited all, of which man understands himself to be a limited part. God alone exists truly. Man is his expression in matter, time and space. The more God's expression in man (life) unites with the expressions (lives) of other beings, the more that man exists. This union of one's life with the lives of other beings is achieved through love.

"God is not love, but the more man loves, the more man expresses God, the more truly he exists.

"We recognise God only through consciousness of His expression

in us. All deductions from this consciousness, and the guidance of life based on it, always entirely satisfy man in his knowledge of God, and in the guidance of his life based on this consciousness " (*op. cit.*, p. 271).

The pathetic story of Tolstoy's Pascalian *bet* is told in the *Confession*, in which one may see the sorrowful drama of a Pascal deprived of the night of 23 November, 1654, and its blessings. Undoubtedly the main source of Tolstoy's religious speculations was his love of life, and in this he differs from Pascal whose chief object was God.

Of course the second, or rather the last, period of Tolstoy's life is in some ways different from his childhood and youth. We see the old man preparing himself to leave that adored life and world by trying to detach himself gradually from all fetishes of life. And in this he is again deeply human and great. Suddenly he realised that his own greatness and the greatness of the whole world is nothing in the face of death. And is it not really deeply pathetic—the picture of the creator of *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina*, who for so many long years looks at those marvels of his genius as at things of no importance? His escape from Yasnaya Polyana was a natural gesture, and again an essentially personal one.⁸ He was looking for solitude. His deep desire was to meet death alone, separated from his domestic drama; but he had to wait for that ultimate decision in spite of the fact that it was much harder for him to remain in the turmoil of his drama than to leave.

Shortly before Tolstoy's escape, Chertkov wrote: "However enticing such an end might have been for him and however theatrically brilliant it might have seemed to the crowd which was at that time judging him, he could not have acted thus, simply out of love for those who loved him: his daughters and friends who were near to his heart and spirit . . . Indeed such a quiet and free life in comparison with that hell in which he was at that time obliged to live would have been for him a true paradise. . . . It is evident that if he does not do so, it is in no wise from weakness, or lack of spirit, or egotism, but on the contrary, from the feeling of duty, the manly decision to remain at his post to the very end and to sacrifice his preferences and personal happiness to the fulfilment of that which he considers for himself the higher will" (Goldenweiser, vol. II, p. 326).⁹

This decision to remain was made much more difficult because of the interference in the life of Tolstoy by the whole world, which was demanding his departure—but for reasons of its own: it

wanted this as a gesture of his ideological consistency. Tolstoy remained in Yasnaya Polyana not because of his attachment to comfort and luxury, but because of his moral obligations to his wife and children. On the other hand, he did not leave Yasnaya Polyana only because of his domestic troubles—this, by the way, is very beautifully expressed by Bunin in his penetrating book, *The Liberation of Tolstoy*.

Another guiding "idea" would be connected with another Tolstoyan dualism. I have again in mind the fact that his diaries and his works are a constant battlefield on which rationalism and irrationalism lead an unceasing fight. Insights into this problem have been made by Shestov, by Merezhkovsky, by Zweig, by Aldanov (*The Enigma of Tolstoy*), and especially by Veresayev in his brilliant book, *The Living Life*, in which he made a striking comparison of Tolstoy with Bergson and showed the wonderful animism of Tolstoy's world. All these books have been ignored by Simmons, and this is regrettable, for they explain not only the artist but essentially the man. How great an advantage he would have secured to his readers if he had followed Shestov's and even Merezhkovsky's comments on the problem of death in Tolstoy's life and work—especially Shestov's penetrating interpretations of the fascinating episode of Prince Bolkonsky's passing in *War and Peace*. How profoundly Shestov explained the significance of this episode for Tolstoy's personal defence against the horror of death!

Returning again to the problem of Tolstoy's rationalism, I should like to stress—and this against Shestov—that however much Tolstoy was confined to the prison of his mind, he knew also that this prison is only a flimsy tent. But he was also conscious of being able and bound to leave this tent with only one goal before his eyes: goodness.

Let us take another case. Professor Simmons quotes Tolstoy's meditations concerning the moral advantages he would derive from being physically deformed; but he does not explain this. We have everywhere the same attitude, whether it be toward some personal suffering or toward any other calamity such as the death of his brother, his children, or the eventual death of his wife. Always his concern for the profit he might gain from a calamity for his own self-perfection is given first place, and because of this he is able to consider some great losses the most significant and beneficial events of his life. The death of those who were close to him brings him closer to his own death, and he considers these passings a preparation for his own end—a kind of training.¹⁰ It may appear

inhuman and selfish, but such is Tolstoy. Shestov, whom, as I remarked above, I believe Simmons neglects entirely in his development, gives extremely striking examples of the audacity of some manifestations of Tolstoy's egotistical philosophy (in *War and Peace*, the epilogue, for instance). On the other hand, this was not only the basis of his general philosophy of life and of his moral system, but the road toward universal self-perfection. He evolved a theory which was very simple and primitive but very consistent—that unless every individual strives to improve himself, there can be no hope for general moral improvement. I must confess that this theory is a very appealing one.

But all these fights, dualisms, interior antagonisms, and splits took place within the frame of Tolstoy's personality, while he himself remained greater than all those diverse tendencies of his mind and of his heart. This organic unity of Tolstoy must not be forgotten. When analysing the passages of the diaries in which Tolstoy discusses his literary technique, Simmons expresses his amazement at Tolstoy's assertion that he would like to have a moralisation at the end of every literary work. He adds, however, that Tolstoy was to return after 1880 to this "strange idea" of his youth. For Tolstoy this idea was not strange in the least. Every one of his works, from the beginning to the end of his literary career,—and Simmons does not deny it—has moral implications. And this problem of "moralisation" was also closely connected with the problem of the structure of his short stories and novels. Tolstoy felt that the moralisation might become a kind of stem which would define the relationship between what he called in his diaries "generalisation" and "detailisation." From this point of view, the rôle of the theme in the architecture of Tolstoy's novel is extremely important. Such was courage in his Caucasian and Sebastopol tales; such was sin and expiation in *Resurrection*; such was money in *Polikushka*; such in *Anna Karenina* were the two *leitmotifs* of adultery and virtuous life and their organisational play. (Maude has analysed very well the significance of Tolstoy's moral struggles as seen through his diaries and the opposition in him between theory and practice. I take the opportunity here also to mention the book of G. R. Noyes—which, in spite of its severe conciseness, gives a very precise, soberly carved picture of Tolstoy.)

There are two other factors which one must remember when dealing with the last period of Tolstoy's life: first, the fact that we are in Russia, and second, the rôle of publicity. Mentioning

Russia, I have in mind the typical conditions of Russian life : the frequent co-existence of taste for luxury with disdain and indifference for order and material enjoyments. One must not exaggerate when speaking of the presumed luxury of Tolstoy's life, a point which he himself constantly emphasised. The house of Yasnaya Polyana was rather modest ; the photographs show us that the furniture there was only middle-class. Nor should too much symbolic significance be attributed to his "peasant shirt." One may recall how his brother, Count Dmitry, who died many years before the crisis of Tolstoy, always dressed. In his youth Tolstoy himself liked to be well dressed and ordered his suits from the most expensive tailors. But this was in Moscow, while in Yasnaya Polyana the same snobbish gentleman, very "*comme il faut*," slept without even a pillow-case on his pillow. And one might also recall the appalling impression made on his young wife when she arrived at Yasnaya Polyana after the wedding, brought up in a family where the German traditions of household order were strong, she had different tastes in these matters. And those who speak of Tolstoy's beautiful horses and of Tolstoy as a great horseman surely have not looked at the photographs of the horses at Yasnaya Polyana. They certainly were not of the same breed as Vronsky's "Frou Frou." The best picture of the life at Yasnaya Polyana is to be found in the descriptions of the life of Levin and Kitty in *Anna Karenina*. One may recall the old carriage and the unmatched horses which brought Dolly to Anna. Many have stressed these details and presented things as they really were—Bunin, for instance. And perhaps one of the most adequate descriptions of the character of Tolstoy's life at Yasnaya Polyana and Moscow even before the crisis may be found in the very interesting book of M. V. Muratov, *L. N. Tolstoy and V. G. Chertkov* (Moscow, 1934).

Nor is the problem of Tolstoy's aristocratism simple. One must realise that Russian aristocratic traditions were not similar to those of Western Europe. The Russian social differentiation and social hierarchy were less sharply defined ; and in connection with this, there always existed among the Russian gentry a kind of patriarchal democratism. On the other hand, owing to the historical development of the Russian nobility one may see the presence in that development of elements of subtle antagonisms between the aristocracy of birth and court aristocracy, between the Muscovite "princes and boyars" and the Petersburgian "dignitaries and counts." Tolstoy himself was much more proud of his mother's family, the Princes Volkonsky, than of the Counts Tolstoy who were, in addition,

at the moment of the marriage of Tolstoy's parents, poor. This is why Turgenev used to tease Tolstoy about his "*zakhudaloye grafstvo*"—"shabby countship."

From this point of view Tolstoy's "peasant shirt" also demands some reservations. I would not, of course, deny Tolstoy's "*oproshchenie*," but I still have in mind the difference existing between a Russian lord and, say, an English one; such a social gesture would be much more difficult for the latter. The aim of this consideration is to emphasise the individual rather than the social significance of this gesture. On the other hand, neither must we forget the fact that for Tolstoy the aristocrat, the problem of social injustice was more a problem of social courtesy than of Christian ethics. To possess wealth in face of the poor is not only unjust—it is indecent and embarrassing, it is not polite.

Turning to the second factor, Tolstoy's case is the unique example we have of the interference of publicity in the private life of an individual, and because of this the domestic drama of Yasnaya Polyana is indeed something quite unprecedented. It is as if the hurricane of that publicity had torn away the roof of the house, leaving its entire contents exposed and revealed to the whole world. If such a thing is fitting for a dolls' house, or for the "Lame Devil," it is not so with real human beings; and who knows what the picture might be if the life of even the most average person were suddenly and completely revealed? There exist in the life of every man certain things which cannot withstand the light of public opinion—not because they are shameful, but because they are too personal. Just as photographic film cannot be exposed to sunlight, so some human situations cannot be exposed to the light of public opinion. If this occurs, a deformation is inevitable, and pathetic things become pathological, intimate—vulgar.

His enormous prestige and popularity placed Tolstoy in a quite exceptional situation. The dualism of private and public life which characterises the existence of every great man became in the case of Tolstoy the human being, unbearable. We see Tolstoy constantly facing these two levels of his life. In even the most extremely personal situations he was perpetually obliged to remember the fact of that double existence. We find, for instance, this to be the case in the Taneyev episode: Tolstoy wrote two letters to his wife explaining his decision to leave her—one giving the real motives, the other destined for eventual publication. On many occasions he wrote letters and notes which he wished to be published at a certain term after his death. That ever vigilant control exercised

by the public opinion of the entire world became a kind of nightmare. We see Tolstoy as if obsessed by the idea of his responsibility to it. To this should also be added the fact of the interior split of the family into two camps—some children with the mother against the father, a daughter with the father against the mother, the perpetual presence in Tolstoy's life of several friends who were watching his every step; all this created a pathological climate. Finally, one other circumstance must be taken into consideration: the fact that Alexander III firmly refused to permit any drastic measures to be taken against Tolstoy himself. He did not wish to make him a martyr of Russian autocracy. Nicholas II followed the example of his father, and this again created a quite unique situation: the followers were arrested and imprisoned, while the teacher remained immune.

Not less complicated was the domestic drama itself. The Countess could not follow her husband to the final development of his thought, she remained the same woman he had loved during the first happy period of their life together. She was defending the interests of their children—and this very concept of strong family ties had been instilled in her by the author of *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina*. Professor Simmons knows all these facts, but he does not organise or interpret them in a way which might to some degree clarify the life of this man who suffered first of all because of his enormous greatness. He knows the various accounts of the tragedy: the diaries of the Countess, those of Tolstoy himself, the accounts of Bulgakov, Biryukov, Gusev, the notes and memoirs of Makovitsky, Chertkov, and Goldenweiser. But his book brings no conception of his own to the tragedy.

As far as the works of Tolstoy are concerned, one must repeat that Tolstoy the writer is completely absent—and this in spite of the fact that Simmons himself stresses the autobiographical character of Tolstoy's writing. Thus, at least for biographical purposes, he should have made a greater use of Tolstoy's works; they certainly might have suggested to him a general conception of the spiritual man whose picture we constantly see from *Childhood* to *Resurrection*. In his book even the greatest novels of Tolstoy follow like humble shadows and empty ghosts after the stormy events of the writer's life. Therefore the reader has no philosophical explanation of Tolstoy. For the same reason he does not feel at all the paradox of Tolstoy's apostasy from his art. As a matter of fact, in spite of his assertions, Tolstoy never ceased to be a great artist.

In my travels along the innumerable paths of Simmons's labyrinth I could not stop at every crossing. I have tried to show how closely Simmons followed some Russian texts, and the fact that he did not take advantage of important available philosophical and æsthetic interpretations of Tolstoy.¹ My aim was not to give a detailed description of the book but to disclose its method.

I should not like to give the reader the impression of any pre-judiced criticism, which might diminish the sincere admiration I have for the enthusiasm inspiring a scholar to produce a work of such magnitude during the stormy and tragic days of war. However, I was amazed to see on various occasions how suddenly Professor Simmons turns from sophistication to simplification, and abandons or avoids the wide though sometimes tortuous roads of Russian scholars in order to follow a narrower and less complicated path.

Involuntarily I think about the passage from Voltaire's *Candide* in which Cacambo and Candide, on the shores of Eldorado, met children dressed in gold brocades who were playing at quoits at the entrance of the town, having no idea that the quoits were gold, emeralds, or rubies. Simmons is overwhelmed by his material as well as by the hero of his book. His Tolstoy is like Gulliver among the Lilliputians—the noise of petty facts and events accumulated by Simmons drown out the voice of the recumbent giant. . . . We do not hear him, we do not understand him.

Near the beginning of his book Simmons says: "Genius has no ancestors or descendants; it is an accident of nature and hence inexplicable in terms of human influences. The man who possesses genius, however, is subject to all the ordinary factors and circumstances that influence the average person." From this point of view the book is a complete achievement. The genius has not been explained, but all ordinary factors have been very thoroughly related.¹¹

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¹ *Leo Tolstoy*, by Ernest J. Simmons, Little, Brown & Company, 1946, cloth, pp. xiii, 852, \$7.50.

² Eichenbaum, B., *Lev Tolstoy*, vol. I, "Priboy," Leningrad, 1928; vol. II, "Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo Khudozhestvennoy Literatury," Leningrad, Moscow, 1931.

³ Mendel'son, N., *Gertsen—Prudon—Tolstoy, Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, vol. 15, Moscow, 1934.

⁴ A similar case occurs with a text taken from Gusev (*Zhizn' L'va Nikolayevicha Tolstogo*, vol. I, Moscow, 1927; vol. II, Moscow, 1928) who quoted an article which

appeared in a Kazan newspaper in 1846. Instead of referring to Gusev (or to Biryukov—P. I. Biryukov, *Biografiya L. N. Tolstogo*, vol. I, Gos. Iz., 1923) where Mr. Simmons probably found his text, he indicates in his footnote the title of the newspaper and the year 1846—and the number of the issue. His spelling suggests the question of the source. Mr. Simmons writes *Kazanskiye gubernskiyey vedomosti*. In 1846 the spelling was different (cf. Gusev, vol. I, p. 118; Biryukov, vol. I, p. 52, Simmons, pp. 48 and 778).

⁵ This pagan pantheism of Tolstoy has been excellently presented by G. W. Plekhanov.

⁶ In Gorky's *Reminiscences of Leo Nikolaevich Tolstoy* Simmons might have found an excellent episode revealing Tolstoy the aristocrat.

⁷ I have analysed the significance of this episode in *Quelques aspects du nationalisme et du christianisme chez Tolstoy*, Cracow-Paris, 1935.

⁸ To be entirely correct as far as the text of Simmons's book is concerned, I must acknowledge that here and there (p. 763, for instance) the author tries to accumulate the motives of Tolstoy's last departure. He refers to Tolstoy's Rousseauism, he compares him to Don Quixote, he emphasises the "unhappy experiences of Tolstoy's married life" (thus making a much too broad implication, for Tolstoy had many long years of undisturbed happiness with his wife). But all these fragmentarily presented facts still do not bring the book to any conclusion. Furthermore, the work ends abruptly, and the reader needs some general conclusion summarising the immense agglomeration of facts and events.

⁹ Goldenweiser, A. B., *Vblizi Tolstogo*, vol. I, Moscow, 1922, vol. II, Moscow, 1923.

¹⁰ Excellent comments on these "stupefying" pages of Tolstoy were made by P. Bitsill.

¹¹ Simmons's system of transcription is not quite convincing, the distinction between "é" and "e" is a purely phonetic one and creates only confusion. There are, by the way, Russians who pronounce the name *Lev* as *Lyov*. The failure to signify the *myagky znak* is without justification, difficulties are created, as, for instance, with the name "Arsen'ev" in which the *myagky znak* is a sign of the palatalisation of the preceding consonant and of the iotisation of the vowel.

In the genitive form—*Tolstogo* suddenly appears *Tolstovo* which is a phonetic transcription contradicting the accepted principles of transliteration.

I do not like the use of the Russian diminutives in English when applied to personal names, as, for instance, in the case of the Countess Tolstoy. Mr. Simmons constantly calls her "Sonya" (The same occurs in innumerable other cases). I do not know what the feeling of the English reader may be, but for anyone well acquainted with Russian this does not re-create any intimate atmosphere—it creates only an impression of familiarity. The use of the Russian patronymics is also, from my point of view, unjustified. But this would lead to a too complicated discussion.

DOSITEJ OBRADOVIĆ AND THE ENGLISH RATIONALISTS

IN his first published work, his *Pismo Haralampiju* (*Letter to Haralampije*) Dositej Obradović indicated the method he intended to adopt in carrying out the task he set himself—that of providing interesting and instructive books for his people. He spoke of Serbia's need for books in the spoken language,¹ and wrote: "I cannot do better than to translate the excellent and beautiful thoughts of learned men into our language." Two years later he wrote in his autobiography: "I know from my own experience not only how useful it would have been to me, but what a source of pleasure, too, to read something wise in my own familiar tongue. How grateful I should have been to any fellow-countryman of mine who had taken the trouble to pass on to my mind, without any effort on my part, and briefly, what he himself had acquired by means of hard work and at the expense of much time." He did not set out to be original in his writings, though there is much in them that is original and almost everything he wrote bears the stamp of his own mind. His ambition was to make available to his people knowledge and ideas that he had acquired and selected from his own extensive reading of foreign authors. In carrying out his programme Dositej drew from Latin, Greek, German, English, French and Italian works. The inspiration he drew from English writers and the use he made of their works were considerable.

Dositej's particular enthusiasm for England had already been stirred, before he visited this country, by the general admiration and respect for English thought and scholarship which had developed in Europe during the second half of the 18th century. He first read works of English writers (he does not name them) in Vienna, about the year 1773, in translations lent him by his French teacher there, a man "well read in books of taste and erudition." Dositej did not learn English until he visited England in 1784. His first record of any acquaintance with Englishmen refers to the year 1781, during eleven months which he spent on the island of Chios; he speaks of having formed a friendship with one of them. By this time his greatest ambition was to visit Paris and London. He went from Chios to Carigrad (Istanbul). Here a plague raged, and feeling his life threatened, Dositej exclaimed: "The plague knows not

¹ The literary language of the time was the artificial "Rusko-Slovenski."

and cares not that I have not yet seen Paris and London." He tells how, three years later, after the publication of his first works: the *Letter to Haralampije*, Part I of his autobiography: *Život i Priključemja* (*Life and Experiences*), and a collection of philosophical and moral essays: *Sovjeti Zdravago Razuma* (*Counsels of a Sane Mind*), when he found himself in Leipzig with little money and with Paris and London still unvisited, he complained: "Always to read and hear about these cities, to hold the books of these enlightened nations in my hands, and not to know them and see their glorious towns, would be to me like living in darkness."

At length, in the late autumn of 1784, Dositej made this journey, and after a stay in Paris which he was reluctantly forced to limit to three weeks in order to have enough money left to visit London, he came to England.

Dositej was now forty-two. He had spent twenty-seven years of his life travelling and studying in central, southern, and south-eastern Europe and Asia Minor, learning the languages of the countries he visited in order to read their books, and supporting himself by teaching. He was to travel still more, but the visit to London appears to have been the culmination of his wanderings.

The chapter of his autobiography describing his experiences and his friends during his six months in London is detailed and enthusiastic. Dositej wrote only one more chapter of his autobiography after this, in which he gives a somewhat summary account of the events of the following four years. (It concludes with a Latin quotation from Bacon, to whose Latin works he may have been introduced by one of his friends in London, Sir William Fordeyce, a prominent Latin scholar.) Throughout the autobiography the only event dated is his arrival at Dover. He described vividly, while he was there, his impressions on finding himself for the first time on English soil and among English people. The rest of the chapter was evidently composed at some later date. His enthusiasm on his arrival in London was boundless, but he excuses its apparent childishness, explaining that it was the enthusiasm of an intellectual, which would be understood by "those who esteem, more than all the buildings in London, the works of Addison, Swift, Pope, and others like them."

Dositej was modest, kindly, full of enthusiasm, and mentally alert—a good companion—and it was his usual experience to meet with hospitality and friendship. In London he found kind friends to help him with his study of the language, and hospitable and cultured people who entertained him generously and helped him

financially. They shared his interest in literature, and must have done much to extend his knowledge of English writers.

While he was in London Dositej presented to the British Museum a volume containing the three works which he had already published, and inscribed: "This book is presented to the British Museum by Dositheus Obradovics, the author, as the first book ever printed in the Serbian dialect." When he left England his friends made him valuable presents of English books: four years later, in Leipzig, when he was obliged to sell his books, he kept only these and sold his entire collection of German, French, Latin and Italian ones.

Dositej records that he would, and could, have stayed longer in London, supporting himself by teaching languages now that he had mastered English, but for his impatience to publish another work in his own language. For this he must return to Leipzig. It seems probable, therefore, that his next work was already almost ready for the press. There are other grounds for supposing that this work, the *Fables*, although not published until 1788, was at least partly compiled in London. Dositej's interest in Æsop's *Fables* dated from his youth, and most of the 160 fables in his collection are translated from Æsop. We know that he was reading Æsop's *Fables* in London, for he relates how, while he was there, he translated one or two of them every morning, with an English friend, from Greek to English. Like Addison and other writers of his time he realised the value of the fable as a subtle means of moral instruction. In Dositej's case it was ideally suited to his purpose of rendering his teaching simple, pleasing and palatable. Again like Addison, he has two dissertations on fables: his Preface *On Fables* and, in a later work, his *Praise of Fables* in verse.

Addison's essay in No. 183 of *The Spectator* begins: "Fables were the first pieces of wit that made their appearance in the world, and have been still highly valued, not only in times of the greatest simplicity, but among the most polite ages of mankind. Jothram's Fable of the Trees is the oldest that is extant, and as beautiful as any which have been made since that time. Nathan's fable of the poor man and his lamb is likewise more ancient than any that is extant, besides the above-mentioned, and had so good an effect as to convey instruction to the ear of a king without offending it, and to bring the man after God's own heart to a right sense of his guilt and his duty. We find Æsop in the most distant ages of Greece; and if we look into the very beginning of the Commonwealth of Rome, we see a meeting among the common people

appeared by a Fable of the Belly and the Limbs, which was indeed very proper to gain the attention of an incensed rabble, at a time when perhaps they would have torn to pieces any man who had preached the same doctrine to them in an open and direct manner."

Dositej writes in his Preface. "The Fable is the first-fruit and offspring of the human intelligence; and great men have made use of it to provide subtle, lofty and useful teaching for all. Jotam, the son of the prophet Gideon, accusing his citizens of injustice, tells them a fable about how the trees elected an emperor for themselves. Nathan the prophet, giving David to realise the impious and unjust act which he had performed against Uriah, relates to him the fable of the poor man and his lamb. One of the first and most ancient Romans quelled a rebellion of the whole furious populace with the fable of the belly and other parts of the body."

The conclusions one may draw from these parallels are obvious.

But Dositej does not leave it to us, when we have read the fables, to "consider the precepts" as Addison said "rather as our own conclusions than his instructions." He follows each of the fables in his collection with original remarks and explanations, frequently short philosophical or moral essays. After the style of essays in *The Spectator*, these are illustrated with other stories and anecdotes and enlivened by quotations from various writers. The quotations are often given in their original language, and followed by a translation. Among the English writers named and quoted are Addison, Chesterfield, and Bacon. An "Oriental tale" translated from an English version illustrates one point; an English anecdote another; and Dositej makes many references to the English. He generously speaks of them as "the most highly educated nation in Europe," "the very wise English," and "the most freely-thinking nation in Europe, and, to the glory and good fortune of the human race, also the most intelligent." A few English proverbs and sayings are also introduced. One of these: "He that communicates truth with success must be numbered among the first benefactors of mankind," might have been taken by Dositej as his motto. He comments: "Blessed the country where such things are thought and believed." A collection of proverbs translated from English is also included in the volume. It occurred to Dositej to compile this chapter after his departure, in what seems to have been a moment of nostalgia for England, when, as he says, he was walking in a park with a beautiful English book in his hand. The proverbs have no literary value, but Dositej not only found them morally edifying but hoped that they might serve as an inducement

to the reader to learn the English language. For this reason he even attempted to give the pronunciation of the few he has quoted in English. (In 1790 he spoke, in a letter, of his hope of publishing grammars of English and other languages, but this was never realised.) Finally, there are translations of two of Johnson's works, an Oriental tale and an essay followed by an allegory, both from *The Rambler*. These are almost literal translations; possibly Dositej translated them as English exercises with the help of his friends in London, for his later translations of similar tales were extremely free.

Part II of his autobiography was published together with the *Fables*. Part I, already published in 1784, had been a straightforward narrative; Part II was written in the form of letters. The idea for this may have been suggested by Richardson's *Pamela*, the only novel of this kind which Dositej mentions. But what has been described as the "most natural and least probable way of telling a story" becomes even less probable as employed in the autobiography. The "letters" are simply chapters, each of which is addressed to an anonymous friend. They were written during the year 1788, and all bear dates of that year, but they relate the events of his life from the year 1760; so his use of epistolary form seems merely artificial, and is not justified by any heightening of the vividness of the narrative.

In 1793 Dositej published his *Sobranije raznih naravoučitelних vešćej* (*Collection of various morally edifying matters*), consisting of short and readable essays on moral, social and educational questions, and allegories; in 1815 the second volume of this work, with the title *Mezimac*, was published posthumously. These are usually considered his best works. In the preface to the *Sobranije* he speaks of the need for written works to satisfy the desire for knowledge, and goes on: "Every benevolent man, when he reads or hears anything beautiful or useful, wishes that everybody whom he loves should read and know it too, that he may be better and more intelligent." He then explains the scope of his present work: "The material which I intend to translate from German and from the languages of other learned nations into pure and popular Serbian will treat of various matters. To read about one and the same subject for any length of time is not for everybody, and there are few who can read for long at a time; but the system of Addison and of similar writers is adapted to everybody, old and young."

Addison, in No. 10 of *The Spectator*, where he expounds his plan for making "instruction agreeable and diversion useful", had made

this promise to those who would spend a quarter of an hour every morning reading *The Spectator*: "I will daily instil into them such sound and wholesome sentiments as shall have a good effect on their conversation for the ensuing twelve hours," and Dositej says: "Anybody can read three or four pages a day and meditate all the day on what he has read, unless he or she has sworn never to take up a book. Moral lessons, useful and diverting stories, briefly told, meditations on various matters which are always occurring in conversation—these will be the subjects of my translations."

Not only had the idea for the *Sobranije* been suggested by 18th-century periodicals such as Addison's *Spectator*, and by the *Spectator* in particular, but much of Dositej's material was drawn from them.

It was no doubt a source of great satisfaction to him to find in works of high literary value and yet of popular appeal models for his own: and even without his various expressions of admiration for Addison it would be obvious that Dositej found a man after his own heart in this witty, kindly and pious writer, whose "insatiable thirst for knowledge" had carried him into "all the countries of Europe," who could claim that there were "very few celebrated books either in the learned or the modern tongue" with which he was not acquainted, and, above all, who had stated that his sole aim in his writings was to banish vice and ignorance. Of other English writers whom he quotes or mentions in his essays he has perhaps drawn most from Chesterfield, in whose practical advice to his son he found much to pass on to his own people.

Although Dositej had announced in his preface that the material in the *Sobranije* would be translated from various languages, in fact there is little that is directly translated, a good deal that is very freely translated or adapted, much that has been assimilated from other writers and reproduced, and a certain amount (especially in the second volume, *Mezimac*) that is obviously original. When he spoke of his intention to translate, unless he was using the verb "prevoditi" in a wider and more literal sense "to lead, or take over," Dositej can only have had his allegories in mind, for they at least are in part translated and follow their originals more closely than anything else in the *Sobranije*. Or, possibly, he modestly assumed that his fellow-countrymen would read with greater respect the writings of "other learned countries" than those which came from his own pen, though it is hard to believe that a man of Dositej's high moral principles would have intended to mislead.

There is a larger proportion of "Oriental tales" and allegories

in the *Sobranje* and *Mezimac* than in *The Spectator*. They are included, as in *The Spectator*, for the sake of their moral significance. Their sources are to be found in French and German collections, as well as in English periodicals, since such tales were popular on the Continent, as in England, during the 18th century; but four out of the nine in the *Sobranje* have been proved to be "translations" of English versions. Unlike those which Dositej had taken from Johnson's *Rambler* and published with the *Fables*, these are far from being literal translations of their originals. Only the first paragraph of the tales in the *Sobranje* is translated literally; then he tells the story in his own fashion, adding, omitting, and altering as he pleases. It is worth noting that he stated the source of the literal translations from the *Rambler* which were published with the *Fables*, but not of the free translations in the *Sobranje*.

Dositej's *Vision of Mirza* is taken from the tale as told by Addison in No. 159 of *The Spectator*, with the loss of Addison's conciseness, and a tendency to become sententious in the philosophical passages. The original of his *Vision of Almet the Dervish* is No. 114 of the periodical *The Adventurer*, written by the editor, John Hawkesworth. In these two tales Dositej has kept fairly close to the narrative and structure of the originals.

The original of *Sreća i Nesreća* (*Prosperity and Adversity*) is William Duncombe's allegory in No. 84 of the *World*. After the first two paragraphs, which he has translated literally, Dositej strays further and further from the original, losing some of its subtlety. In Duncombe's version Prosperity is, at last, shown to her victim in her true and repellent form; but Dositej has her abandon the man whom she has ruined, because he has shown himself unworthy of her. Duncombe's Adversity becomes respected, though never loved, by the man to whom she is wedded; Dositej rather unconvincingly causes the husband in course of time to find attractions in his wife, Adversity, and even to love her.

Lastly, *Blagočestije i Sujevjerije* (*Religion and Superstition*) is taken from an allegory by Elizabeth Carter, in No. 84 of the *Rambler*; but so much altered that the source is proved only by the fact that a few passages are translated literally. Dositej has again adapted the allegory to express his own ideas. Where, in the original, Superstition commends to asceticism and Religion the enjoyment of the good things God has provided, in Dositej's version Superstition demands ecclesiastical intolerance and the persecution of truth and knowledge, and Religion exhorts to virtuous actions.

None of Dositej's essays are translations, but they have sometimes their subjects and often their ideas in common with the works which inspired them.

His essay *On Taste* is the nearest to its original Burke's *Philosophical Inquiry into the origin of our ideas on the sublime and beautiful*. Essays in the *Tatler* and *Lounger*: *Reputation, the only just means of obtaining and establishing it* and *Speaking, the acquisition of knowledge by it* provided material for two other essays: *O važnosti i blagopotrebnosti dobroga imena, smatrajući to samo kao sredstvo privremene polze* (*On the importance and value of a good reputation, regarded only from a practical point of view*) and a section of the essay: *O načinu s velikom polzom čitati* (*On how to read with great profit*). Elsewhere Dositej translates an anecdote from Chesterfield's *Letters to his Son* and draws from it conclusions similar to those in the original. Another reminiscence of Chesterfield is Dositej's repetition of his advice never to "let off a proverb" in conversation—a warning which Dositej must have noted reluctantly, for he obviously shared his own fellow-countrymen's love of them. Throughout the essays one may trace such reminiscences of the works of English writers. Quoted individually, such details of borrowing seem too trivial for attention; their interest lies in the frequency with which they occur. In his essay *On how to read with great profit*, mentioned above, Dositej says: "This is the method of the most distinguished men of learning: they read with great thought and concentration and absorb and assimilate (the works of) various writers; and when they write and talk about the subjects of these works they do so as if the ideas were their own." This was, of course, Dositej's own method. Probably, too, like the authors from whom he borrowed, he kept his own commonplace book.

A flattering biography of Queen Elizabeth, and the story of Lady Godiva occur in a chapter *On famous women*; and a true anecdote about the friendship of one Englishman for another is quoted as an illustration for the chapter *On friends and friendship*. This anecdote, and the story of Lady Godiva, were well known, and had appeared during the 18th century in published works, but the source from which Dositej took them is uncertain.

Dositej's fondness for introducing original philosophical and moral ideas in his treatment of allegories has already been noticed. In all his works, his essays on such subjects are in the main original.

Naturally, much of the material in *The Spectator*, such as matters concerning various aspects of fashionable London life, was of no use

for his purpose ; and as for Chesterfield's *Letters to his Son*, often as he borrowed from them Dositej was certainly not in agreement with the general moral principles revealed in them, nor with the author's ideas on the education of a child. The characters and general outlook of these two men were in complete contrast.

Dositej selected from his sources only such subjects and details as would appeal to his own people and be of practical and moral guidance to them. The form in which they are presented is simpler and more direct than that of the *Spectator* essays. The lavish introduction of quotations, anecdotes and stories, taken most frequently from ancient Greek and Latin writers and history for the purpose of illustration and emphasis, is the only point of resemblance in style between Dositej's essays and those of the English writers. He attempted none of that subtle elegance of expression which the English Rationalists had brought to perfection ; on the contrary, his vocabulary is limited, and he makes no attempt even to translate graceful descriptions or figures of speech : the people for whom he was writing had far to go before they would reach the cultural level of Addison's public. Besides this, the Serbian language was still only in process of formation, and incapable of reproducing the accomplished style of an Addison. But Dositej has a simple eloquence of his own, an easy, good-humoured, conversational tone. His own genial and ingenuous personality is very apparent in his works, however much he borrowed from other writers. Dissimilarities in style and choice of material between his works and those of his models are to be accounted for rather by all these factors than by a comparison of the writers' lives, environment, education, and literary ability.

Yet Dositej's aims as a writer were much the same as those which Addison expressed in his well-known passage in No. 10 of *The Spectator* : " I shall be ambitious to have it said of me, that I have brought philosophy out of closets and libraries, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables and in coffee-houses." The Serb had a similar ambition. " What a flattering prophetic thought ! What a sweet hope of eternal life ! " he had exclaimed when he expressed the hope that his name would be remembered with gratitude for his services in making wisdom and knowledge available to his people, and in a palatable form. Addison said elsewhere : " The great and only aim of these speculations is to banish vice and ignorance." Dositej certainly aimed at banishing ignorance, and the purpose of his moral treatises was, if not to banish vice, at least to improve where improvement was

possible. In an essay on hypocrisy he says: "Here we are considering and writing for those people who respect humility, who feel and admire the beauty and nobility of virtue, and who, if they are not faultless in every respect, wish to improve themselves." Addison was no less a lover of humanity than Dositej; he, too, believed man to be fundamentally good, but he was writing principally for the upper classes in the post-Restoration period, and Dositej for the morally uncorrupted Serbian peasantry.

Dositej was interested almost exclusively in didactic literature, but he realised the merits of fiction, too. He spoke with praise of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, and recommended that Richardson's *Pamela* should be translated into Serbian, so that Serbian girls might read it. It is strange that even in his account of the glories of Queen Elizabeth's reign he has no mention of Shakespeare: probably he had never read any Shakespeare; it seems clear that he mentioned only the names of authors whose works he knew. There was nothing of pedantry in his practice of introducing the names of great writers into his works, but only his usual desire to educate. Besides those English writers to whom reference has already been made, he has mentions of John Knox and Isaac Newton. Within a short time, many of the works which he had recommended were translated into Serbian.

Through Dositej Obradović,² then, knowledge of some English writers and their ideas found its way for the first time to Yugoslavia; and his works, in which these ideas were incorporated, and which to some extent were the result of English inspiration, formed the foundation of modern Serbian literature.

VERA JAVAREK.

² ED. NOTE · Dositej Obradović (1742-1811), born in Čakovo of humble parentage, became a monk but left the Church at eighteen, and began a life of travel in Asia Minor and Europe. Lived for thirty years in Leipzig, Halle and Vienna, supporting himself by teaching. At sixty-six he founded a High School in Belgrade, and three years later, just before his death, was appointed Minister of Education. He has been described by Popović as "Serbia's intellectual patriarch."

CLASSIFYING SLAVONIC LANGUAGES

SOME REMARKS

THE Slavonic languages are usually divided into three groups: West Slav, South Slav and East Slav. Among the criteria for this classification, those concerning the development of sounds take an important place. And to these there belongs the following feature: the medial consonant combinations *-dl-* and *-tl-* remained unchanged in West Slav (e.g. in Polish and Czech), while in the East Slav group (that is, in Russian, Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian) the dental before "l" disappears, and thus, instead of *-dl-* and *-tl-*, only *-l-* occurs. The same sound change can also be observed in South Slav (in Bulgarian, Serbocroat and Slovenian). Polish *mydło* = soap, and Czech *mýdlo* (id.) correspond to Russian *мыло*, Serbocroat *mīlo* = lye for washing the head, soap, etc. The masculine singular of the past tense of *plesti* = to weave (root *plet-*) appears in Czech *pletl* and in Polish *plótl*, but in Russian *плел* (fem. *плела*), in Bulgarian *плел*, in Serbocroat *plèo* (< **pletl*; fem. *plèla*), etc.

The East Slav (Russian) and South Slav therefore indicate a common sound change. But it has already long been known that the boundary of this phenomenon is not sharply defined. Slovenian belongs to the South Slav languages and usually has *-l-* instead of *-dl-* and *-tl-*. But this is not always the case. In Old Slavonic (in the *Freising Leaves*) the *-dl-* in *modliti se* = to pray, has remained unchanged; and in the dialects, forms with *-dl-* are to be found in Slovenian to this day.

If therefore there are in Russian and South Slav cases with *-dl-* and *-tl-*, they, of course, require a special explanation. Russian *седло* = saddle, (Old Russian *сѣдло* and *седьло*) presupposes a Common Slav **sedblo*. The new combination *-dl-* which has here originated from *-dbl-* has not participated in the early transition *-dl- > -l-*. The same applies to a new *-tl- < -tbl-*, cf. *сѣмьлвѣ* = bright, Old Slavonic *světlъ*, earlier *světblъ*, see Leskien, *Grammatik der Altbulgarischen Sprache*, p. 59. Likewise Russian *метла* = broom, cannot be regarded as a preservation of *-tl-* in Russian. Indeed, *метла* has been regarded as a derivation with the suffix *-la* (i.e. *мет-ла*), see Preobraženskij, *Этимологический словарь русского языка*, under *мести*. If this were really the case, the *-tl-* in this word could only be explained by assuming that the connection

between *мету*, *метешь*, etc. and **меля* = broom, was felt unconsciously by the speakers of the language, and thus caused the restoration of the "t" in the derived word. Russian *метла* would therefore be a parallel to cases like the Slav *gybŋoti* = to perish (with the "b" inserted by analogy) by the side of the regular *gynoti*, cf. *gybatŋ*, *gybelŋ*, etc. For my part I consider this explanation of *метла* hardly probable. The corresponding derivative which is certainly Common Slav, has *-tl-* in South Slav, too, cf. Old Slavonic and Bulgarian *метла* and Serbocr. *mělla*; one must therefore suppose in every case the use of the verb *met-* as a basis. I prefer to agree with Shakhmatov, who derives *метла* from **метъла*, see *Очеркъ древняго періода исторіи русскаго языка*, p. 103. In most cases where Russian or South Slav have *-dl-* or *-tl-* Shakhmatov considers this to be derived from *-dbl-* or *-tbl-*. Thus Serbocr. *svjětlŋca* = lightning, *mělla* = broom, *sědlo* = saddle, *vŋllati* = to wave, *pětlja* = loop, *svědlo* = gimlet. In Russian I could point to *умлый* = old, bad, frail, sickly (cf. Serbocr. *uŋlina* = hollow, Polish *watŋy* = feeble, not durable), to be compared with Old Slavonic *otlŋ*, or *otblŋ* = in holes; so that here, too, one presumably has to presuppose an original *-tbl-*. But there are in Russian words with *-tl-* and *-dl-* whose etymology is not clear and in which the sound groups with which we are here concerned remain unexplained, e.g.: *ветла* = willow (Polish *wita* = thick willow twig; and *witwa*, *witwina* = withy, may somehow be connected), *кодло* = nest or breed (Ukrainian *кодло*, Polish *kodŋo*), see Shakhmatov, *op. cit.*, the Russian *мѣдлѣть* = to dawdle (*мѣдлѣнный* = slow), in which one can assume an original *-dbl-* fairly certainly, cf. Old Slavonic *mědъlŋ*. In *подлый* = mean, base (of character), *подлецъ* = scoundrel (< *podŋ*) the *-dl-* is presumably of late origin. Would it be over-bold to connect Russian *по́лый* = open, free, uncovered; hollow, empty (cf. *по́лая грудь* = sunken chest, *по́лый пенъ* = hollow trunk) with *pod-*, hence **podlŋ* originally = sunken? The development of the meaning would be "sunken" > "open, free." It should be noted that *по́лое мѣсто*, according to Dal', means "low place exposed to flooding." A late *-dl-* must also be assumed in the dialect words *па́дла* and *па́дло* = fallen cattle, carrion (= *па́даль*). The preposition *по́дле* = near, goes back to *подъль*. I will not here go into the many place-names with *-tl-* and *-dl-* (cf. *Котлас*, *Кодлас*, *Ветлуга*, *Водлозеро*, etc.).

It is generally assumed that both *-tl-* and *-dl-* have become *-l-* in Russian; and I do not want in any way to contest this assumption. But I would only like to point out that while *-dl-* > *-l-* is established

through a large number of examples (mostly nouns), e.g. *вѣла* (*вѣлы*), *вѣлый*, *збрѣло*, *е ъ*, *мѣло*, *жсерлѣ*, *зѣркало*, *кадѣло*, *крылѣ*, *моли́тва*, *мы́ло*, *пра́вило*, *пря́лица*, *ра́ло*, *ры́ло*, *са́ло*, *селѣ*, *силѣк*, *точѣло* and *шѣло*, the assumption of *-tl-* > *-l-* must largely be based on the forms of the past tense, as *плел*, (*плела*, *плели*) (< *плет-* = to weave), *мел*, (*мела*, *мели*) (< *мет-* = to sweep), which diminishes the certainty of this rule. At least theoretically it would be quite possible that *-dl-* should change to *-l-*, but *-tl-* should remain unchanged, and that the past tenses such as *мѣл* and *плѣл* should have arisen by analogy. On the model of Russian *вѣстѣй* (root: *ved-*): *вел*, the Russian *мести*; *мел*, *плести*: *плѣл* could perhaps have developed, even if the change of *-tl-* > *-l-* were quite unknown in Russian. It is therefore important to find examples of *-tl-* > *-l-* which lie outside the possibility of analogy. Unfortunately I know only one example of this kind in Russian, namely: the *-lo-* derivative *номѣлѣ* = stove-brush, which clearly presupposes the root *met-* = to sweep, (therefore instead of **помѣило*), and to which can be compared the Serbocr. *омѣло* = oven-cloth. Both examples are indisputable and specially important because otherwise the Russian *метѣлѣ* and Serbocr. *мѣтѣла* could be quoted in support of a contradictory explanation.

Not all individual cases in Russian are clearly explainable. We have *-tl-* (*-tl'-*) for example in *вертѣлѣ* = gimlet, *вертѣлѣг*, *вертѣлѣг* = peg or hook, *вертѣлѣвый* = restless, fidgety, presumably because the etymological connection with *вертѣть* is felt; but we have *сверлѣ* = gimlet, although Ukrainian is *сверѣло*, *сверѣлѣ*, Old Russian *сверѣль*. The numerous examples with original *-dl-*, such as *мыло*, *шило*, etc., clearly show that *-dl-* > *-l-* is the rule; likewise *номѣлѣ* makes it highly probable that *-tl-* goes to *-l-*. Unfortunately I know of no sure examples of *-tl-* > *-l-* in the second syllable of a word.

But just as in this respect the South Slav languages are not entirely uniform—mention of Slovenian has already been made above—so, too, in the East Slav languages one can find cases in which the change *-dl-*, *-tl-* > *-l-* has not taken place.

About forty years ago it was pointed out that the Great Russian dialect of Pskov had not participated in the general change in these consonant groups, when the gifted Russian scholar L. Vasiljev first brought this to notice in 1908. His material collected from documents from Pskov was subsequently greatly enlarged by N. Karinskij in his work "*Языкѣ Пскова и его области въ XV вѣкѣ*" (1909). In the old writings of this region we meet forms such as *вели*, *привели*, *стѣли*, *чѣкли* instead of *вели*, *привели*, *стѣли*, *чѣли*. The consonant

groups *-gl-* and *-kl-* here clearly represent the forms *-dl-* and *-tl-*, and therefore point back to **vedli*, **sědli*, **čstli*. But if this is so, one is compelled to ask whether this dialect does not stand on a different basis to that of Russian in general, namely, on that of West Slav which at the same time represents the original position in Common Slav. This question has been answered in two ways.

According to Karinskij it is not a case of the Common Slav groups *-dl-* and *-tl-* having been preserved (as *-gl-* and *-kl-*), but—as all examples are forms of the past tense—it is a case of the influence of the present on the past tense, that is, an instance of analogy. The form *vesu* (or *привесу*) presupposes in the dialect an earlier form **vedli*, which had arisen instead of *veli*, because *d* appeared in the present, viz. *nesu* : *nesli* = *vedu* : *X*, where *X* = **vedli*. If this explanation is correct, then the whole thing is only a dialectical revival without any great historical value. A. Sobolevskij and A. Shakhmatov see in the *-gl-* of the Pskov dialect a development of the Common Slav *-dl-*. Which of the two explanations is right?

Karinskij's explanation can only be maintained if the examples with *-gl-* and *-kl-* are actually limited exclusively to past tenses of verbs. Shakhmatov has, however, pointed out that a Pskov document of the 18th century has the word *жепезло* which corresponds to the usual Russian *жепело* = jaws. In this document the word *жепезло* is used to indicate the broad mouth of the River Mda which flows into Lake Peipus. The Russian word presupposes a Common Slav form **žerdlo*, cf. Polish *źródło* = source, Czech *zřídlo*, Serbo-cr. *ždrijelo* = jaws (Russian *жепело* and Serbo-cr. *ždjlo* on the other hand go back to a Common Slav **žbrlo*). In the Russian (Pskov) *жепезло* (< Common Slav **žerdlo*) we have a noun in which the *-gl-* cannot be the result of analogical formation; and this is important to note.

In *Очерк истории русского языка* (publ. 1924), p. 140, N. Durnovo points to the word *жагло* (= *жало*, meaning "a sting") and also to the past tenses *непечок* (< **pēcokl*, cf. *непечел*) and *привом*, *уном* (< **prišodl*, **ušodl*), all of which originate from the present-day Pskov dialect or from neighbouring territories. *Жагло* is particularly convincing (< Common Slav **žedlo*).

We are not, however, any longer compelled to base our final conclusion on two nouns (*жепезло* and *жагло*). The relevant consonantal combination of the earlier Pskov dialect is reflected in some loan words taken over by the Baltic Finnic languages, which together with *жепезло* and *жагло* are decisive. In the neighbourhood of the Pskov Russian dialect there lies the south-eastern part of the Estonian-speaking territory, and it is no wonder that Estonian

has taken over a few Russian borrowings in the form of the Pskov dialect.

H. Ojansuu in *Virttäja*, 1911, p. 34, explained Estonian *vigl*, *viglas* (genitive: *vigla*) = pitchfork with more than two prongs, as a Russian loan-word. His Russian original is *вила*, *вилы* = fork, in the Pskov dialect form **vigla* < Common Slav **vidla* (cf. Polish *widły*, pl.).

Later, in 1922, the same writer, in the Estonian periodical *Eesti keel*, connected South Estonian *mogl*, gen. *mogla* (*mugl*, *miigl*) = caustic lye (remaining after boiling soap) with Russian *мыло* = soap. The Estonian word presupposes the Russian dialectal form (Pskov) *myglo* (cf. Common Slav **mydlo*). The meaning in Estonian is "lye," not "soap"; but one can compare Serbocr. *mīlo* = lye for washing the head, soap. In *Finnischugrische Forschungen*, XXIX, pp. 87-88, I have pointed out that this word for lye appears also in Vepsian (*mugl*, Part. sg. *muglad* = lye) and here, too, with *-gl-*, which also points to the Pskov dialect.

The Vepsian evidence is important because the Vepsian language (in the eastern part of the former guberniya of Novgorod, and partly in the former guberniya of Olonetz) is rather far from the Pskov region and cannot presuppose any direct contact with it. Vepsian *mugl* thereby forms a bridge to the East. Thus Shakhmatov's explanation for the otherwise unique Russian dialectal *негла*, *нёгла*, *мёгла*, etc. = Siberian larch, becomes very probable. This word appears in the former guberniya of Olonetz (in the districts of Pudož and Kargopol'), in the former guberniya of Archangel (in the district of Mezen) and in the former guberniya of Vladimir, and thus brings us even farther from the Pskov region than the Vepsian *mugl*. Shakhmatov has convincingly connected this word with the Polish: *jodła* = fir-tree.

From these five examples: Russian *желез*, Russian *жагло*, Estonian *vigl* (*viglas*), Estonian *mogl* (= Vepsian *mugl*) and Russian *нёгла*, one can maintain as fully proved the sound-law *-dl- > -gl-* for the Pskov dialect. At the same time *-tl- > -kl-* is highly probable (the examples are limited to past tenses); but one cannot accept that all words with an original *-dl-* should have the combination *-gl-* in the Pskov dialect. Thus the word *молитва* appears only in this form, and not as *моглитва*. This is easy to understand: the influence of the surrounding dialects tended from early times greatly to diminish the number of cases with *-gl-*.

It remains for one to answer the question of what historical background this phenomenon presupposes. Shakhmatov sees in this

signs of an intermingling of certain Lechitic tribes with the Russians in North Russia ("сѣвернозападная Россія была нѣкогда заселена ляхскими племенами ; вторженіе въ эту область Сѣвернорусовъ повело къ смѣшенію ляхскихъ племенъ съ Русскими, передавшими имъ свой языкъ, но' позаимствовавшими у Ляховъ нѣсколько звуковыхъ чертъ ; къ числу таковыхъ относится и сохраненіе сочетаній *-dl-*, *-tl-*, особенно упорно державшихся, какъ и у сѣверозападныхъ Словенцевъ, въ причастіяхъ."), see *Очеркъ древ. періода*, p. 101. N. Durnovo judged this Pskov feature on the same lines (*op. cit.*): "Повидимому, это потомки каких-то западнославянскихъ говоровъ, оторвавшихся отъ западнославянской группы и вошедшихъ въ составъ русскаго языка уже после его образованія, причемъ эти говоры слились съ остальными русскими говорами и утратили большую часть зап.слав. чертъ ; этимъ объясняется, почему зап.-слав. *-dl-*, *-tl-* сохранились въ такихъ говорахъ не последовательно, а лишь въ некоторыхъ словахъ и формахъ."

I am not convinced of the correctness of this view. In my opinion one must still reckon with the possibility that this is a case of a direct continuation of the Common Slav *-dl-*, *-tl-* on Russian territory. One should note that the word *исереглю* not only has the Russian "polnoglasié" (instead of a possible **žreglo*), but also agrees in meaning with the Russian *исереглю* (the Polish meaning "source" here shows a difference). But this in no way decides the whole question. It is more important that I must doubt the correctness of Durnovo's assertion that *-dl-* and *-tl-* have not' been consistently ("последовательно") preserved in the dialect in question. Durnovo (like Shakhmatov) does not know the examples from Estonian. Now we must take into consideration that Estonian, in which the number of Russian loan-words is not at all large, has actually taken over two words with the Pskov characteristic *-gl-*. Through this *accident*, as one might say, the number of known cases has risen from three to five. But five cases in Russian is already 20-25 % of the total number of the commonest words with original *-dl-* ! Everything indicates that the actual number of these cases of *-gl-* in the Pskov dialect may quite well have been far greater than the number that has been preserved for us by chance. The written documents have preserved for us in the main only the forms of the past tense. Were they a few centuries older and richer in vocabulary, they would have given, in all probability, quite a different picture of the whole subject. We know that the dialect in question now has *мыло* and *вильи*, but in earlier times **мыдло* and **видлы*. The same has certainly been the case with many other words originally with *-dl-*.

In *Введение в историю русского языка* (publ. 1927), p. 121, Durnovo has modified his theory. He gives two possibilities: the coincidence of this feature with the West Slav languages may be organic, that is, a part of the north Great Russian dialect once belonged to the West Slav dialect group and only later, when the change of *-tl-* and *-dl-* > *-l-* had already been completed in the Russian group, did it join this group. This explanation agrees roughly with the earlier one. More important is the other alternative: "As one can see in the omission of this change a preservation of the old state of affairs, it is possible that the Western dialects of north Great Russian, which were farthest from the centre and so from the source of the change *-tl-*, *-dl-* > *-l-*, did not carry out this change at the same time by reason of their being separated, hence quite independently of the same phenomenon on West Slav territory." Durnovo's new explanation agrees with my view: the old Pskov dialect represents that part of the old Russian-speaking territory where the change *-dl-*, *-tl-* > *-l-* did not take place.

It can often be observed that certain sound laws are peculiar to a certain territory irrespective of language boundaries. Thus in Polish, Byelo-Russian and Great Russian the change *e* > *o* (e.g. Russian *мѣд*, Polish *miód*, gen. *miodu*) fundamentally rests on the same phonetic basis. Likewise the Pskov change of *-dl-* > *-gl-*, and *-tl-* > *-kl-* belongs to a larger complex. J. J. Mikkola, in his *Urslavisché Grammatik*, p. 10, says: "In the 'Altpleskaner' (Pskov) dialect original *-dl-* changed to *-gl-* at least before palatal vowels, although *-dl-* in Russian had in other cases become *-l-*. This is the case in just the same way in the Lithuanian and Latvian languages which bordered on Byelo-Russia, cf. for example, Lith. *ẽgle* < *edlė*, cf. Prussian *addle*. In such linguistic parallels one cannot decide in every case which was the influencing and which the influenced part." In the main Mikkola has struck on the right explanation.¹

According to G. Vinokur, *Русский язык*, pp. 50-51, Prof. A. Seliščev has also expressed an opinion on this question. He is quoted as presupposing an Old Prussian substratum in the Pskov form on account of the groups *-gl-*, *-kl-*. As I do not know his grounds for this theory, I will not express any opinion on this subject.

Prince N. Trubeckoj's essay, "Die Behandlung der Lautverbindungen *-tl-* und *-dl-* in den slavischen Sprachen" (*Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, II, pp. 117-21), I have not taken into account

¹ In *Die älteren Berührungen zwischen Ostseefinnisch und Russisch*, p. 97, Mikkola takes up Karinskij's unquestionably mistaken point of view (see above)

here, as there the whole question is looked at from quite another angle.

Addendum

The only thing that can be said in favour of Shakhmatov's theory, quoted above, is the circumstance that the dialect word *мѣла* = Siberian larch (instead of *ѣла*), which has a *-gl-*, is an *a*-stem word, and in this respect agrees with its Polish etymologically corresponding word *jodła* = fir-tree, in contrast to the ordinary Russian *ель* (< **edle*) = fir-tree, which is an *i*-stem. This agreement, which I here point out for the sake of completeness, can in no way be decisive for the whole question and in general has little significance, because in Slavonic this root varies in this case : an *a*-stem is more common and appears everywhere except in Russian, the *i*-stem is to be found by the side of an *a*-stem in Slovenian and Old Czech (see Berneker, Slav. etym. Wörterbuch, under *edla*), (the Russian *ѣлка* = small fir-tree, Christmas tree, is equivocal as it can presuppose a form **ēla* just as well as a form *elb*, cf. *цѣль* = a crack, but dim. *цѣлка*). It is quite possible that Russian (just as Slovenian and Czech) originally possessed both an *a*-stem and an *i*-stem side by side. We can here see, by the way, a well-known phenomenon in the life of languages—the specialisation of meanings in variants : the *i*-stem has preserved the original meaning, whereas the *a*-stem has taken on a secondary meaning—Siberian larch. I cannot ascribe any significance to the agreement in stem (Russian dialectical *мѣла* and Polish *jodła*), whereas everything of importance speaks against Shakhmatov's theory, among other things the meaning of the dialect word *мѣсечко* which agrees with the Russian meaning in contrast to the Polish, from which it differs.

- JALO KALIMA.

OTTO HOETZSCH, 1876-1946

SOME RECOLLECTIONS

My personal contact with Professor Otto Hoetzsch was not substantially different from the pleasant and instructive acquaintance with his writings; and, just as I have not read everything he wrote, I feel that I know almost nothing of the man apart from the reflection of his personality in his books and articles, as well as in the innumerable studies published in the *Zeitschrift für Ost-Europäische Geschichte* and in *Ost-Europa*.

Hoetzsch was both historian and publicist, covering with characteristic thoroughness his chosen field of research—Imperial Russia, as far as Central Asia, and the three parts of Poland. As leader-writer of the *Kreuz-Zeitung* in succession to Theodor Schiemann, and as a Member of the Reichstag after the first World War, his achievement must be judged by others. In the latter capacity I saw him twice, in London. The first meeting was marred by the *rapprochement* just effected between Germany and Soviet Russia, which I could not stomach. The second visit offered me an opportunity to suggest to Professor A. F. Pollard that Hoetzsch be invited to address one of the "Wednesday evenings" in the Hut on Malet Street, where he would have the opportunity of meeting a number of scholars. The visitor gave a short talk on the various historical "schools" at the time when he was starting his career. He apologised for his English "made in Germany"—a formula which had served him well on his tour in the U.S.A. He spoke about Lamprecht, while the company listened in silence, though (I fancy) with interest.

At the first meeting he gave me news of my cousin (once removed), George Chicherin. Together with the German Ambassador in Moscow, Count Rantzau, I believe Hoetzsch had been operative in bringing about the Rapallo Agreement, which surprised the Allied delegates at Genoa.

In 1933 we met again in Warsaw, at the Congress of Historians, where England was represented by Temperley (now deceased), Gooch, Miss Penson, Sumner and Webster—to name only a few. There we heard Hoetzsch lecture on some general topics of Polish history, and I was surprised by the type of his eloquence, which had little in common with his ordinary demeanour. There was something that reminded one of *coloratura*. Among the Polish

historians present his appearance was noted with bitter smiles: they recalled his past activities at the Posen (Poznań) Academy—a “learned institution of Germanic character”

At the banquet I was seated next to Frau Hoetzsch, whom I had met shortly after their marriage, twenty years before, in St. Petersburg. Here in Warsaw (on her way back from Moscow) she mentioned two matters of interest. With visible disgust she spoke of Hitler's anti-Semitic purges, adding that hardly any educated German family could claim purely Aryan descent. The other topic was her surprise at the new tide of energy in Soviet Russia, giving me to understand the contrast with her earlier visit, I believe about 1910. From what I had seen then of that very quiet and observant lady, I gathered that she was still a companion and helper in her husband's interests and work.

I am unable to remember when I met Hoetzsch for the first time; but I can definitely trace the origin of the acquaintance to my first and only meeting with Theodor Schiemann in Mitau (Mitava) in 1898 or 1899. The latter, already a well-known Berlin “Expert on Russia,” came there to see his brother, a barrister, with whom I had had an official interview in regard to the Bill on the abolition of privilege attached to manor-lands for the sale of spirits. The Government, in view of the State monopoly of the sale of spirits, in force since January 1895, had to take a stand with regard to the privileges at that time in force only in the three Baltic Provinces (Estonia, Livonia and Courland) and in the Cossack territories, where however the Cossack communities, and not any individual owner, were the recipients of the rent paid by the publicans. The legal nature of the privilege was a tricky problem and does not concern us here. Schiemann was interested, as the historian of the Emperor Nicholas I, in the papers of Peter Meyendorff (b. in Riga 1796, d. in Petersburg in 1863), Russian Minister in Berlin 1838-1853) and *persona gratissima* at both courts. About twenty-five years later the three volumes *Peter von Meyendorff, ein Russischer Diplomat*, appeared in Berlin, and Professor Otto Hoetzsch, at the time the occupant of Schiemann's chair at the University of Berlin and the Military Academy, was their editor. Before the 1914-1918 war he had secured the financial support of the Austrian and Prussian Historical Societies, if I am not mistaken, for the publication of that bulky material, consisting in the main of Meyendorff's reports to his chief, the Chancellor Count Nesselrode. Despite the fact that Nesselrode's diplomatic corre-

spondence in six or seven volumes had already been published by Plon in Paris, while the foreign policy of Nicholas I was pretty well known, the three volumes were an event in Germany.

Hoetzsch had taken the trouble to spend six weeks at our old family estate of Klein Roop, about 50 miles north of Riga, where I could watch him taking for eight hours daily shorthand notes from the manuscript material and books which I fancied could serve his purpose. I dare say that his patience, especially in regard to family background, was touching, as everyone who glances through his Introduction and the second part of the third volume can see for himself. While working at the desk Hoetzsch was in the habit of drumming with his heels, and when he left I noticed a small cavity in the wooden floor. Soft wood and hard work!

This was, I think, in 1908.

If I remember rightly, during those six weeks we had only one walk. He used to have his meals with us, but his residence was in another wing of the house, within the confines of our tenant farmer, who in the summer used to fill his numerous rooms with twenty to thirty boarders—whole families, whose well-being, food and amusements were organised by his motherly wife. In the neighbourhood Hoetzsch, as a Professor from Berlin, was invited more often than any other stranger would have been by the German-speaking squires. Thus he had daily contacts with three languages: the French of the documents, German with the people around, and Russian during meals with my wife and her young nieces. He would, however, allow himself only a minimum of diversion. Anyhow he must have gathered the strong Germanic traditions among the two German-speaking groups—two groups whose racial kinship was not merging them closely into one society. The holiday-makers were town-people, intellectuals and business folk, whose ubiquitous presence in the woods and in the small but accessible parks was just tolerated, more than it would have been in this country. The large majority of the country people, speaking Lettish or at best broken German or Russian, remained outside the purview of the Professor's observation. It was altogether focused upon the Meyendorff papers; and only mild surprise was noticeable over the heterogeneous national interests prevailing within the narrow area of a few miles, with its spare sprinkling of Russian officialdom and clergy, altogether to be counted on the fingers of one hand.

Hoetzsch was a man to find enjoyment in watching in a friendly disposition things around him, but he was not one of those whose

heart beat in rapid staccato because the German tongue and German mentality was still predominant among the educated class on the countryside. The local doctor, as well as his wife and their daughters, knew Russian well, because he had been an army doctor. He was the son of a well-known headmaster of one of the best classical secondary schools of St. Petersburg, Lemonnius by name. The vicar, Pastor Gross, his seven children and his wife (the daughter of the late vicar K.) were German-speaking, though Pastor Gross had to preach every Sunday in Lettish in the morning and in German in the afternoon. The Orthodox priest, a specialist in fruitgrowing, fishing and beekeeping was a Russian, Menshikov. He would have easily suspected poor Hoetzsch of the most sinister political schemes, had it not been for the friendly intercourse with us maintained throughout many years; especially in the difficult time of the "Lettish" rising of 1905, when he found himself to some extent in the same boat with the Germanic elements as a Russian "intruder." The putting down of the revolution, which was both social and national, by the Guards sent from Petersburg, took place during heavy frost. Arson, hostage-taking and murder were punished in a summary way in a winter campaign which left bitter memories. I don't think Hoetzsch thought it right to delve into those aspects of local affairs. Law and order had been restored, two local squires, my neighbour, Baron Rosen and myself, were members of the State Duma. A couple of years had already revealed symptoms of Russia's recuperation.

Had Hoetzsch foreseen what would happen after the First World War he might have sought acquaintances among the revolutionaries, from whose ranks were to come the First President of the Republic of Latvia, and several Cabinet Ministers and diplomats; and had his foresight gone some twenty-five years further the same revolutionaries would have been seen as hostages sent to Siberia or as refugees scattered abroad, even in Germany. But Hoetzsch could no more than anyone else imagine such ups and downs, though he could not help speculating about the future. His work, *Russland—1904-1912*, published in 1913, was as comprehensive as it was compact, and certainly had been in preparation for many years. The main problem for the Russian Government he then thought would be the co-ordination of the diversity in Russia's population. The unrest of 1905 had impressed him not so much by the volume of extreme political and social aspirations, as by the craving for national independence on the part of the Russian subject races. The only one which he thought was of lesser im-

portance was the Ukrainian movement, which Germany in the years 1914-1917, perhaps misled by Austrian experts, regarded as particularly apt to be utilised. He had to withstand a bitter attack on the part of super-German writers (*Die Russische Gefahr im Deutschen Hause*).

Hoetzsch was not a journalist ; he was not in search of news. He was averse and perhaps even unfit to ferret. He would be happy to learn in a scholarly way from people with a similar disposition. I think that, on the whole, he took the Russian official world at its face value, and was not suspecting it of diabolic scheming against the peace of the world, or of keeping the Russian nation in a state of abject misery. The reverse—an underestimating of the subversive elements—was perhaps in his case the result of a lack of sympathy with their all-too-radical projects, and still more their terrorist methods. At one with most of the non-German foreign students of Russian affairs, he could sympathise with the liberal opposition ; but here he was less confident of their capacity to rule and of their importance in the country than were other friendly disposed observers. Hoetzsch was not an exponent of the theory many times formulated in this country, that German sympathies were tantamount to reactionary policy. The reign of Alexander III with its Russo-French Alliance had given a shock to that theory. The reign of Nicholas I, for which the Meyendorff Papers were the ideal replica, formed a peculiar version of that doctrine. Reading the several hundred handwritten minutes of Peter Meyendorff's despatches, most of them sent from Berlin at a time of Prussia's nadir, and making his shorthand notes, Hoetzsch could not misread the substance of Russia's foreign policy—not a flattering one for German national ambitions. Meyendorff, always in agreement with Nesselrode, would not accept them as serious and nicknamed them *Allemandrie*.

Hoetzsch must have had very strict rules for scholarly work. They seem to have been a clearly circumscribed field of observation, and the detailed and dispassionate investigation of that field. His style, precise and concise, was admirably fitted for such an attitude of mind. He kept his sympathies and antipathies under strict control. Thus as a research worker, and this he was with regard to Russia, no better guide could be imagined. Nothing else did he mean when he said to me : " Theodor Schiemann writes Russian history, and has never been in Moscow." Thus Hoetzsch recognised the importance of what the English call the atmosphere. The Russian atmosphere noticeable in the Russian novel seemed

repellent to the late John Buchan, and to some distinguished Frenchmen. Such an one resented the danger of infection, not of light coming from the Orient but rather of a plague. Cambon, in his turn, resented it in diplomatic intercourse. Hoetzsch, I think, was capable of a very marked degree of self-control, which enabled him to keep scholarship and political predilections strictly confined to their respective spheres. Whether he did this in his political activities between the two wars, when the problems of the day became particularly acute, and the "German atmosphere" was charged with the forebodings of a Hitlerian explosion, must be left to one who has seen Hoetzsch as a party leader. The Communist danger, real or imaginary, was certainly one of the causes of the events of 1933. Despite his conservative sympathies Hoetzsch, if I am not mistaken, took a cooler view of what was supposed to be of decisive importance. Under the Nazi regime he was at first tolerated and later (in 1935) deprived of his chair at the University. The blow must have been a heavy one, although I imagine it did not mean destitution, as such measures usually mean in the totalitarian countries. His powers of physical and moral resistance were already by that time impaired, as the following letter shows—one of the few I have had from him. I am quoting it in its entirety because it shows the stamina of one devoted to his work. Here it is:

"Berlin W. 62. Einem Str. 22. 6. VII. 38.

"Many thanks for your p.c. of 12. VII. and the reference to Paléologue, who all the same (*doch*) has more and more turned into a French 'Emil Ludwig.'

"As regards Stolypin I got a little further, to-day I mention to you the essays of N. Savitsky, *P. A. Stolypin* in *Le Monde Slave* 1933, IV., 1934, I. and 1936, I., all together about 125 pages, since *Le Monde Slave* has all kinds (*allerlei*) of contemporary historical stuff, more than the *Slavonic Review*, in whose poetical section I am not at all interested.

"Here also we have summer with very intense heat. I am just being sent to Wildbad for a cure. It is now eight months that I have been ill, and a burden to myself and the others. The constant pain caused by the shingles (*Gürtelrose*) which with intervals joins with the gout and the gall to make a *trio*, I can tame only by work. *Russky Vestnik* has been gone through until 1881, and also a volume of Katkov's articles in the *Moskovskya Vedomsti*. It was a tough bit of

work, but well worth doing : I have now a different impression of Katkóv and also a clearer idea of the conditions which I am inclined to call "National-Conservative" [*sic* !] Now I am still lacking *Dmitry Milutin*, the Minister of War, who somehow is inaccessible for research work. The biography of the Empress Marie is quite finished. Most abundant (*ergiebig*) is the correspondence between Alexander II and Carl Alexandér, which is in Weimar. But my illness has prevented me from going into it, and meanwhile the old Hermann Egloffstein ("Cabinet Secretary" of Carl Alexander) has died. Have you known him? I was counting on his assistance.

"But head and nerves refuse now to serve. I hope the cure will help a little. Gradually I turn rather melancholic."

There follow the usual greetings, and then a notice :

"Julius von Eckard calls the Minister Pahlen an Estonian Pahlen. Were not the Counts P. Kurlaenders?"

"Yours sincerely, OTTO HOETZSCH."

After this letter Heotzsch carried on for another eight years—I do not know in what state of health. Nor do I remember when or how the news reached me that he had to give up his chair at the University.

* * *

Time and circumstances are against my summarising Heotzsch's lifework in the field of Slavonic studies, let alone his contribution to Germany's endeavours in domestic and foreign politics. I shall therefore sketch his approach to two or three problems only, important enough to allow of some sort of appreciation of the school of thought that reminds one of the French "*juste milieu*" attitude of Guizot and his time. He was certainly averse to any exacerbation of contrasting currents, even when he could not do otherwise than understand their importance.

Russia as subject-matter both in her personalities and in her history seemed to him a perfectly justifiable pattern of human relationships. Hence there was no trace of a looking down upon one or the other. This point deserves to be stressed, because the reverse attitude is the usual one. At its best it is a preferential treatment for one aspect of Russia or one set of its people, which is referred to as a justification for having attempted the study,

regarded as an extravagance to be excused, or needing a special explanation. Nothing of that kind of condescension is noticeable in Hoetzsch's work. This has been resented by some of his countrymen, who have branded it as something akin to treason. Russia, the big thing, was there near by in Europe, and had been growing for several centuries—let us try to understand what it is? This was roughly his matter-of-fact attitude, *sine ira et studio*. I have not found the slightest desire to idealise the pro-German elements in Russia's past or present, nor to denigrate the opposite side. Herein he managed to remain the conscientious research worker. Even the terms "Liberal" and "reactionary" were not for him the most comprehensive and exhaustive adjectives for the valuation of a complicated situation. Thus he was far remote, in the studies I have in mind, from the journalistic approach, which has to be helpful for a quick approximation of definition for the needs of the day. His reputation will not rest on a particularly large circulation of his publications, nor on any important revelations of passing interest. Though a writer of political "leaders," as mentioned already, his Russian studies were of an academic nature. It can, however, not be denied that even the academic frame of mind must feel an understanding for the "challenges and the responses"—to use Professor Toynbee's terminology. It must be admitted that the challenges were those of the political and not of the literary, philosophic or religious fields; which along with the economic, in a lesser degree, were never absent from Hoetzsch's studies.

In his general outline, which he called simply *Russland—1904-1912*, he finds, along with a number of Russian nationalist writers, one of the greatest difficulties in the *diversity* of Russia's *population*, and the inevitable task of its co-ordination.

Indeed the composition of the First Russian Duma (10 May-21 July) shows a long study in racial diversity—taking the word racial as also meaning linguistic, though many peoples were not represented at all. There were 265 Great Russians, 62 Ukrainians, 12 White Russians, 51 Poles, 6 Lithuanians, 6 Letts, 4 Estonians and Germans, 8 Tartars, Bashkirs, 2 Mordvines and Votyals, 1 Bugar, 1 Kirghiz, 1 Chuvash, 1 Chevchents, 1 Moldavian, 1 Kalmuk, and 13 Jews. All of the peoples represented, with the exception of the Jews and the Germans, had during the years of trouble following upon the war against Japan shown discontent and even definitely separatist tendencies; which in Poland and the Caucasus were like the Palestinian pattern of our days, and

had at the same time a strong undertone of socialist connivance. When Hoetzsch wrote his *Russland*, an introduction "auf Grund seiner Geschichte," it seemed that the Russian State was facing its greatest danger. Pilsudski and Stalin (of later fame) were promising satisfaction, each in his particular way—the former inspired more by the Polish past than by the Socialist future; whereas Stalin, more cynical with regard to the past, was glad to use all seditious elements for the still remote future.

That First Duma, analysed and reflected in figures, consisted of 339 Greek Orthodox members, 63 Roman Catholics, 14 Lutherans, 14 Mohammedans, 11 Jews, 4 Old Believers (some were conscientious objectors even against being photographed!), 1 Baptist, 1 Buddhist, 1 Freethinker. No doubt the greatest number of the former were to be found among the first category. A German scholar wished to draw up a similar table with regard to British Labour members, and was surprised to have to register a number of declarations worded: "religiously minded"! None gave the reply of one of Disraeli's characters—I can't remember in which of his novels: "All sensible people are of the same religion, but a sensible person never asks which"!

Hoetzsch was not inclined to discover in that catalogue the seeds of what is called in India communal unrest. Anti-semitism was not an open wound in his eyes, but a sensitive spot, which could become dangerous on account of the irreconcilable disagreement about the causes of the itch and the criminality of the scratching.

A symptom of lesser importance for the nation as a whole was the lack of unity between the orders of estates on which the following figures throw some light. The First Duma consisted of 204 peasants, 164 Gentry, 24 Burghers, 14 clergy, 12 Kossacks, 11 merchants, 9 hereditary Burghers. The educational and social centre of gravity were thus far apart. You would easily tell where among these groups to find the 189 graduates of Universities, the 62 holders of secondary school certificates, the 111 with elementary school education, the 84 who registered as self-educated, and the 2 illiterates. But the lack of co-ordination was even more perilous when one thinks of the relationship of occupation to mentality. Though the majority, i.e. 276 members of the First Duma belonged to the agricultural class, no less than 162 were smallholders, in other words family farmers employing no labour, 72 middle-sized farmers employing probably no more than two or three persons, and only 42 were large landowners. The contrast of interest between the

extremes of that group was exacerbated by circumstance and by doctrines. Right here lay the centre of gravity of Russia's domestic difficulties. And Hoetzsch gave the problem of the "Land Hunger" due attention. It loomed larger than any conflicts within the "trading community": big industry being represented by but 2 members, commerce by 24, and labour by 25. "Labour" here means industrial labour, mainly the urban workers, who, though but a small minority of the country as a whole, were to show their precocious political consciousness under the guidance of the white-handed intellectuals—people who, in the opinion of Henderson, had never done a day of honest work.

"However divergent the opinions," says Hoetzsch (p. 147), "in that first of all Russian representative assemblies, there was no doubt that liberal opinion in the widest sense of the word was in the majority. The handful of Monarchists meant nothing at all, a truly conservative group was in the proper sense of the term quite absent, and those who were opposing the high tide of democracy were lacking both in strength and clarity. The elections had taken their course regardless of the Government's anticipations and tricks, and in spite of all difficulties had resulted in bringing about an unadulterated oppositional Duma. Therefore *politically* it was dominated completely by the 'Kadets' together with the Socialists; in questions of economics, on the other hand, by the revolutionary peasantry absolutely; and the world witnessed the surprising spectacle, that in the stronghold of absolutism, with its most consistent realisation of monarchical rule, as represented so far in the world by the Russian State, Radicalism alone would raise its voice and was apparently advancing from victory to victory."

The other surprise of the time was the party organisation. But before we quote the passage referring to that topic, three more lines of Hoetzsch's characteristic prose, this time in the original German:

"The Duma was 72 days in session. The periods of its labours were as follows: Die Adressdebatte, Die Amnestie v- Frage, der Byalystoker Pogrom, die Ministerverantwortlichkeit. Alles aber überschattete die Agrarfrage" (p. 147).

It is not out of place to mention how much has been achieved in this country by Sir Bernard Pares, and Prince Mirsky, each in his own field, in the art of condensation, so important both for clarifying the ideas of the writer and for transmitting information, an art very rare among Russian authors. The Second Duma

(5 March-16 June, 1907) has recently been described in a special monograph by one of the best orators of all four Dumas, V. A. Maklakov. It reminds one of the triptych for which the verger offers you a magnifying glass, so that you should see every petal carefully designed on the flowered foreground. And one can't help admiring it. Curious enough is the almost complete identity between Hoetzsch's and Maklakov's opinions as regards the Kadet policy during the First Duma. One page of the former, however, cannot fascinate as do the many retrospective pages in the reminiscences of the latter. Here you have a heartbreaking elegy on a fatal line of action. The failure of Liberalism almost overshadowing the failure of absolutism was, in the conception of Maklakov, a tragedy (perhaps) for Europe.

"It was not an inarticulate mob," writes Hoetzsch, "which on the 10th May, 1906, numbering between 450 and 500 delegates, gathered at the opening of the first Russian Parliament, and political opinions were differentiated to such a degree that one could not describe the Duma as consisting merely of liberal and conservative, or of seditious and law-abiding elements." He then gives a short chronology of the origins of the political groupings. Among the oldest were the Social-Democrats, whose programme dated from 1898 and 1903; but already in 1899 they had experienced a split. True, the liberal organisation, mainly based on local government people, was in process of formation since 1894, and had a central, nationally organised nucleus since 1902. The leaders in all those groups were well-known personalities, not merely to the police, but the country. In a word, like the northern summer following so suddenly upon spring, the opportunity of free expression offered in the Duma immediately revealed the western paraphernalia of political and parliamentary activity. The language used had no neologisms, the vocabulary was ready for use, and "it went pouring over the nation in streams." The preceding era of censure-ship had trained the writers in enriching the modes of imparting their ideas, and so it came about, wrote Hoetzsch, that "Russia to-day disposes of such a number of journalists of all camps writing really well as elsewhere can be found only in England."

What Hoetzsch could not discover—he was not of those who are reserved only with their countrymen, while being quite at ease with foreigners—is the point brought out by Maklakov's Reminiscences with great insistence: the "maturing" of the Second Duma, the gradual moving of the backbenchers among the Kadets away from the dogmatism of their leaders. Hence the

dissolution of the Second Duma prevented a co-ordination of radical and liberal opinion with the Stolypin Cabinet.

Nevertheless, Hoetzsch as a historian avoids conditional sentences. I don't think this was a stricture which came easily to him.

Properly to assess his lifework as a student of Russian affairs one would have to give an outline of almost a whole library, comprising not only his own writings but also those of his pupils, as well as of the many whose studies would not have been completed without Hoetzsch's encouraging help.

A. MEYENDORFF.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON RUSSIA, 1946-1947

[THIS list is a continuation of that which appeared in the *Slavonic Review*, Vol. XXIV (1946), pp. 133-47, and covers the period July, 1945-December, 1946.]

ART

I. MUSIC

- Abraham, G. *Rmsky-Korsakov*. 142 pp. Duckworth, 1946.
 — *Tchaikovsky A Symposium*. 252 pp. Drummond, 1945.
 Calvocoressi, M. D. *Mussorgsky*. Ed. by G. Abraham 224 pp., Dent, 1946.
 Tchaikovsky, P. *Eugene Onegin*. English version of the libretto by E. J. Dent. 67 pp. Oxford University Press, 1946.
 Weinstock, H. *Tchaikovsky*. 388 pp. Illus. Cassell, 1946.
 Yagolim, B. *Soviet Music. Musical Education and Music Making*. 72 pp. Illus. "Soviet News," 1946.

2. THEATRE AND BALLET

- Beaumont, C. W. *The Diaghilev Ballet in London. A Personal Record*. New edn. with illustrations. 355 pp. Putnam, 1945.
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 Macleod, J. *Actors Cross the Volga. A Study of the 19th-century Russian Theatre and of Soviet Theatres in War*. 359 pp. Illus. Allen & Unwin, 1946.
 Morley, I. *Soviet Ballet*. 71 pp. Illus. Collins, 1945.

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- Baker, N. B. *Peter the Great*. Illus. by M. Horder. 272 pp. Collins, 1946.
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 Eppstein, J. (ed.). *The U.S.S.R. Vol. 1. The Land of the People*. Vol. 2. *The Story of the Soviet Union*. (British Survey Series. Nos. 26, 27.) 16 pp. each. Gill, 1946.
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CZECHOSLOVAK ARCHIVES— WAR-TIME LOSSES

CZECHOSLOVAK archives suffered during the years 1938–1945 great losses which they will hardly ever be able to retrieve. The damage caused to the archives and collections of documents in various administrative centres is of twofold origin. The greater part of it is due to the proverbial German insatiability, as well as to efforts to transfer under German control a vast amount of Czech historical records. These were to serve as support of the thesis of predominating German influences upon Czech life and for justification of German claims on the Lands of the Bohemian Crown. The lesser part of the damage was the unfortunate result of military operations which took place in Czechoslovakia in the final phase of the war.

The main cause of trouble was the German demand that documents relating to territories which, after Munich, were occupied by the German army be separated out and handed over to the German authorities. In enforcing this separation and delivery the Germans were both industrious and punctual. As early as December, 1938, a special commission for the separation of current documentary material was formed, and it began to function without delay. Its activity extended to contemporary documents deposited in administrative centres of the separated border regions of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, as well as to files relating to the ceded areas but produced by, and deposited in, various departments of the central offices, whether in Prague or in Brno. This was to be done as quickly as possible to enable the Germans to take up and to carry on the routine administrative work.

During the year 1939, the Germans presented their claims for documentary material of a historical character, the *archivalia*. At that time, the so-called Protectorate was already in existence. Such demands were incomprehensible. In view of the enforced connection of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown with the Third Reich, it mattered very little whether historical collections remained intact or were divided along lines corresponding to the frontiers between the so-called Protectorate and such border districts as were incorporated into German *Gaus* as a result of the Munich agreement. Moreover, the German University in Prague, which was given the status of a Reichsgerman University, did not close when, in November, 1939, Hitler dealt a mortal blow at all institutions of higher learning

in the Czech lands. It took over the libraries and laboratories of the abolished Czech institutions; and professors and students of such departments as history or law were encouraged to work in the Prague archives. Even from this point of view the splitting up of traditional units was quite senseless.

If we look for reasons why the separation of documents pertaining to the ceded areas was presented as a postulate and insisted upon, we must take into account the feeling of uncertainty as to the duration of the German rule over the Czech lands. Another reason was the vindictive mood on the part of members of the special commission, composed of Reichsgermans, Austrians and Sudetengermans. It may be said, on the whole, that the Reichsgerman archivists showed more restraint in enforcing the postulate than did their Austrian colleagues. For the latter the dislocation of Czechoslovak archives was a partial repairing of the measures taken in the Vienna Archives after the First World War by the Succession States, including Czechoslovakia. Needless to say, the Sudetengermans exceeded the other members of the commission in their zeal, violating ruthlessly the cardinal principles of a sound administration of Record Offices. To give one example: in the Archives of the Prague Ministry of the Interior, corresponding roughly to national archives in other countries, there were preserved two large collections of documents from the period 1526 to 1748, pertaining to the Kingdom of Bohemia in general—called, rather inadequately, The Old and The New Manipulations. The original and more or less chronological order was replaced in the 19th century by a classification by subjects, and catalogues were composed accordingly, giving comparatively easy access to the files. The Sudetengerman members of the commission pressed for a division of these two collections, having in mind the post-Munich frontier, though it was evident that nothing but confusion could arise from such a mechanical operation. The same yardstick was to be applied even to such collections as the Land Registers (*Tabulae Terrae*), although nobody was able to suggest a suitable method by which volumes in original binding were to be divided so as to satisfy both sides. The Austrian archivists were rather successful in securing the support of the German authorities for their excessive claims. By a decree of 8 August, 1939, the Reichsprotector ordered a speedy delivery to Vienna of such files as had been transferred from there to Prague in, or after, 1920.

The success, however, was not complete. Czech representatives cleverly exploited differences of opinion between the German and

Austrian members of the commission. They succeeded in preventing the transfer of the largest collection, which was particularly dear to the Czech heart. To make it easier for the English-speaking historian or archivist to grasp the meaning of such measures we must give a few details concerning the nature and importance of this treasure. It grew organically during the 17th and early 18th centuries (prior to far-reaching administrative reforms by Maria Theresa in 1748) out of the activities of the Bohemian Court Chancellery—the highest office in the Lands of the Bohemian Crown under the Habsburgs, and a symbol of their former independence. Its activities spread all over the Kingdom, i.e. not only Bohemia but also the so-called incorporated provinces, Moravia, Silesia and both Lusatias. Apart from its value as a historical source this collection appealed to the Czech imagination as a reminder of former independence. Since it concerned exclusively the Crown Lands it was claimed in 1920 by the Czech archivists and handed over by the Austrians without too much reluctance. The demand for its return to Vienna, as presented in 1939, could not be motivated by any serious reason: the desire to make the Czechs pay old debts was transparent, and was frustrated by the Germans. Thus the Archives of the Bohemian Court Chancellery were saved for Prague, and they miraculously escaped even such operations as were advocated by the Sudetengerman archivists for the Old and New Manipulations. As a disputed object the Archives of the Chancellery remained out of the reach of the Sudetengermans when their stock stood high.

On the other hand, the Austrian archivists obtained satisfaction in many demands. They received back even more than they had handed over to the Czechs in 1920. The Director of the Archives of the Ministry of the Interior was forced to deliver 24 bundles of the Archives of the Bohemian Nobility, which up to 1918 formed a part of a large collection covering Austria; also 119 large volumes with copies of privileges granted to the Bohemian nobility either by the Bohemian Court Chancellery or the Joint Court Chancellery from the 16th to 19th centuries (*Saalbücher, Codices Aulici*); and further 93 boxes with the records of the Imperial General Albrecht of Valdštejn (Wallenstein)—which were claimed despite the fact that only a portion of them were deposited in Vienna after the General's assassination in 1634, whereas the bulk remained in Prague. The Viennese archivists took over for the War Archives documents concerning Valdštejn's campaigns (*Feldacta*), whereas records concerning the administration of his domains were left. Handed over also were such documents as, during the period 1868–1918, emanated

from the activities of the Viennese Ministry of the Interior and other central authorities; these had been taken over after the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy by the corresponding Czech authorities to ensure continuity of administration, and in 1939 were claimed again by the Austrians, though they pertained to Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia

To complete the picture, it is necessary to say that other Czechoslovak archives were also obliged to give up whatever they received from Vienna in 1920. The Bohemian Provincial Archives were requested to send to the Imperial Archives at Vienna 146 charters, a part of which collection was unquestionably of Czech origin. The Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, liquidated by the Germans as an independent department, lost to the Imperial Archives at Vienna a valuable collection of state treaties. In addition to this, they lost a collection of records illustrating the activities of the Bohemian representative at the Electoral College in Ratisbon. It goes without saying that from these archives also any document was taken back to Vienna which in 1920 had been handed over to the Czech authorities from the Imperial and Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Cabinet Council. Those parts of the Archives of the Imperial Exchequer (*Camera Aulica*) which prior to 1918 were deposited in Vienna, though they formed a unit, having emanated from the activities of the Bohemian Department of the Exchequer, were transferred after the First World War to the Prague Castle. They were kept there, pending decision concerning the establishment of the Czechoslovak Central Record Office. These too were claimed by the Viennese archivists, together with records of the Master of the Court (*Magister Curiae*) from 1792 to 1918, as well as those of the Supreme Bohemian Comptroller. The Archives of the Ministry of Agriculture were to yield their share, viz. records of the Imperial and Royal Ministry of Agriculture from 1848 to 1918 relating to Czech lands, and corresponding material from the collections of the Administrator of State Domains and Forests. In a similar way files were taken from such Czechoslovak Ministries as had taken over in 1920 documents from the years 1868 to 1918 from the dissolved Imperial Ministries in Vienna.

Here it is well to pause for a while to explain matters to those readers who are not familiar with the complicated state machinery of the defunct Monarchy. When it collapsed the Succession States claimed records relating to their territories. As regards Czechoslovakia, a treaty was negotiated in Prague on 18 May, 1920, specifying what should be handed over to Czechoslovakia from the common

inheritance. The original and drastic plan, providing for the separation of all records relating to Czech lands, was largely modified. From collections concentrated in Vienna during the long period of the Habsburg rule, those were claimed which formed organic units and contained material up to 1748. Files from the centralistic period of the Monarchy were left almost untouched in Vienna. Again, current records (in some cases from 1868, in others from 1888) were transferred to Prague, if they related to the Czech lands, evidently for a practical purpose, as mentioned above. The decisive factor was the principle of "provenance" (*Provenienzprinzip*), strongly advocated by the Austrian delegation, headed by Chancellor Dr. K. Renner. That materials relating to the years 1748-1868, or 1888, were exempted from this rule and left entirely in Vienna was a cause of deep regret, because many of these were irretrievably lost in 1927, when in street riots the palace of the Ministries of the Interior and of Justice was set on fire by the mob. In 1939 the Austrian members of the commission gave preference to a less noble principle, taking simply everything that before 1918 the imperial authorities had collected from Czech lands and deposited in Vienna. At this moment it is impossible to say how much of the above-mentioned collections escaped destruction in the period of heavy air-raids, and subsequently during the fighting in the Austrian capital.

German opposition to the transfer to Vienna of the Archives of the Bohemian Court Chancellery was not motivated by any special regard for Czech susceptibilities. If the occupation had lasted longer, that valuable collection would have probably shared the lot of many other records. At a given moment, when victory seemed to be secured, the Germans raised claims on all documents preserved in Czechoſlovak archives which related to territories within the frontiers of the Third Reich. To get an idea of the extent of this project we must bear in mind that Munich was not to be considered as a starting-point. The Germans bluntly requested also the transfer of documents relating to both Upper and Lower Silesia from the period when these provinces belonged to the Bohemian Crown—the Lusatias down to 1635, Silesia down to 1742. As a result of this measure, a collection of Silesian records from 1526 to 1693 and of Lusatian records from 1526 to 1619 was transported from the Archives of the Ministry of the Interior to Germany, partly to Breslau, partly to Bautzen—altogether about 500 bundles, 19 boxes and 9 codices. The searching eye discovered 10 bundles of documents relating to Mecklenburg from 1620 to 1625, brought over to

Prague probably during the Thirty Years War by Valdštejn's army, and these were promptly removed to Schwerin. About the same time, from the collection of charters 21 were sent to Dresden and 2 to Vienna. From the Provincial Archives of Bohemia the Imperial Archives at Dresden received 129 charters, formerly deposited in the Archives of the Bohemian Crown.

Into the third group fall archives in various administrative centres of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. It was mentioned above that the delivery of contemporary material was enforced soon after Munich. The transfer of historical documents (*archivalia*) could not be effected within a short period owing to many complications, and in some cases to successful manœuvring of Czech archivists. Let us bear in mind that the territory occupied by the Germans after Munich was not constituted as a unit, but divided: the southern districts of Moravia and Bohemia were attached to the Nieder and Ober Donau *Gaus*, with archives at Vienna and Linz; the south-western districts of Bohemia went to Bavaria, with archives at Landshut; whereas the rest was constituted as a monstrous *Südetengau*, with centres at Liberec (Reichenberg) and Opava (Troppau). Whatever was extorted from the Czech record-keepers went to any of the five places. The biggest profit fell to Liberec, the seat of Gauleiter Konrad Henlein and the capital of the *Südetengau*. It would take too long to enumerate the collections which thus changed hands. Fortunately enough, the newly created Record Office at Liberec escaped damage in 1945, and whatever was amassed there could be restored to the original owners. The fate of documents at Vienna, Linz and Landshut is not yet certain; the case of Opava will be referred to later.

Soon after the establishment of the "Protectorate," German commissars were appointed to administer the archives in the rump of Bohemia and Moravia. Coming from the Reich they were not acquainted with the Czech administrative system. To save prestige, and to make harder the predicament of Czech record-keepers they constantly interfered with the agenda, changing their instructions before a project, once undertaken, could be brought to an end. Their favourite hobby was the installation of store-rooms for records in castles and country-houses so as to protect them against air-raids. What might have been correct in principle, in the hands of the commissars was changed into a thoughtless removal of archives from the capital to the country, as it was hardly ever clearly stated what should be moved first and where a delay would not involve too much risk. As the war went on and the Allied air forces began

to shower bombs on cities in Bohemia and Moravia, not only historical documents from Prague or Brno but also current records from provincial towns were included in the vast programme of storage in castles or country *caches*, often to the benefit, though occasionally to the detriment of the owners.

To make it easier for the reader to evaluate the damage caused in various ways to Czechoslovak archives, we may add some more details. There is no doubt that central institutions like the Archives of the Ministry of the Interior, or the Provincial Archives of Bohemia, contributed the largest share; but even smaller institutions were not safe from German interference. A special department in the National Museum at Prague contained charters and records, mostly saved by antiquarians from destruction, and either purchased or received as gifts. Out of this private collection 25 charters were confiscated for the archives at Dresden, 60 for Vienna, 43 for Linz—all on parchment. The collections of the Caroline University were thoroughly searched on various occasions. Soon after Hitler's march into Prague the foundation charter of the University of 1348 was "borrowed" by the Führer's *trabants* from among the German professors anxious to present him with a copy of the document. Many charters from the 14th to 17th centuries, as well as students' registers, disappeared subsequently on various occasions, often without a trace. On the other hand, many collections of military records, such as those deposited in the War Memorial, remained almost intact. A particular mention should be made of a very valuable collection of documents illustrating the Czechoslovak struggle for independence in 1914-1918. No other group from among the Czech population was subject to such a systematic persecution as the so-called "legionaries," i.e. members of Czechoslovak fighting units of 1914-1918 in Russia, France and Italy, and their families. It was to be feared that documents relating to the struggle for independence would be destroyed, or at least transferred deep into Germany. The damage which they suffered was relatively small, partly because much was hidden by the Czech archivists in charge of these records during the turmoil of March, 1939, partly because the Germans hoped to find in the files evidence against victims of persecution.

To pass from Prague eastwards, special mention must be made of Moravian Provincial Archives at Brno. The position of the Czech element there was far more awkward than that of the Prague population. The putatively *urdeutsch* character of the Moravian capital was stressed on many occasions, and it was no small wonder

that the city escaped incorporation into the Reich with all its consequence for the Czech inhabitants. The Provincial Archives experienced German visitations on many occasions. It should be remembered that the southern Moravian districts were incorporated in the *Niederdonau Gau*, whereas territories adjacent to Silesia formed a part of the eastern wing of the *Sudetengau*, with Opava (Troppau) as a centre. The disintegration of the Moravian territory after Munich presaged the fate of the Provincial Archives of the country. To avoid repetition of details given in connection with Prague archives we quote only a few figures: in fulfilment of Austrian demands about 1,000 land registers from the 16th to 19th centuries, supplemented by 359 land survey maps, went to Vienna, accompanied or soon followed by 509 charters on parchment from the 13th to 18th centuries, over 3,000 bundles of records, and indices mostly originating from the convents in Moravia closed by Joseph II. To the Imperial Archives at Katowice 13 parchments and 49 bundles of miscellaneous records were to be handed over, these again having originated in convents in Silesia. A share in the spoils was allotted to the Imperial Archives at Breslau—52 parchments and 62 bundles, mostly from the 16th century. But the biggest portion were seized by the Imperial Archives at Opava, formerly Provincial Archives of Silesia: 4,174 land registers, 882 survey maps, 260 codices, 344 parchments and about 3,000 bundles of documents of all kinds. It has still not been possible to recover much of this booty, as its larger part never reached Opava, but was sent to various store-rooms, whether in Silesian or Bohemian castles.

On the other hand, those records which originally belonged to the Provincial Archives of Silesia for the most part miraculously escaped destruction, since during the battle which raged in the town and in the surrounding country, Opava was almost completely destroyed. That part of the building, formerly a Franciscan convent, in which the most important and precious documents were kept, resisted bombing and fire, although the wing collapsed and fire easily penetrated within its walls. Thus were destroyed only some modern records of secondary importance.

The documentary treasures in Slovakia were not subjected to German interference. Slovakia before Munich did not have a large provincial archive of the type current in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. Records were scattered all over the country, some being kept in the centres of pre-1918 counties, in town halls of Slovak towns, in church buildings or in community centres. High decentralisation would have proved a protection had the Germans or Magyars in-

augured the same policy as prevailed in regard to Czech archives. On the other hand, local Slovak archives were more exposed to destruction in the course of the military operations which began in 1944 in the easternmost districts. Father Tiso's Government decided on the evacuation of all archives from Eastern Slovakia, and at the end of November a decree was issued providing for transfer of archives from Bardejov, Prešov, Levoča, Spišská Nová Ves, Podolinec, Geľnica, Dobšiná, Poprad, to the Slovak National Museum at Turčanský Sv. Martin. In the confusion created by the Russian offensive the train overshot the town of destination and all trace of it was lost, to be recovered only after the end of hostilities. It was discovered near Opava. Some damage was caused to the contents, but the larger part could be sorted out and returned to the places of origin.

We must come back to Prague, for the most serious damage inflicted directly by war is to be found there, in the Municipal Archives. They were located in the ground floor of the ancient Town Hall. During the street-fighting of May, 1945, German tanks appeared all of a sudden near the Town Hall, obviously with definite instructions to destroy that unique building. Having preponderance over the Czech patriots, fighting from behind the barricades, the guns opened fire. Soon the Town Hall was in flames, and as nobody was able to break the cordon of German tanks and get nearer to the building, the roofs soon collapsed. The crumbling walls precipitated complete destruction of the documents. We must mention at least a few items. A collection of 82 City registers from the 14th to 18th centuries has been irreparably lost, including such precious volumes as the Golden Book of sentences of the municipal court in the New Town from 1389 to 1418, the register of transfers of property from 1400 to 1404, the *Liber memorabilium* from the first half of the 15th century, etc. In addition to many modern records the flames consumed a large collection of engravings, views of the city, photographs, newspapers, and above all a library of 70,000 carefully selected volumes, having special reference to Prague and to the history of European cities in general. An ingeniously devised catalogue of this library—indices, notes of former archivists, and copies of documents from archives at home and abroad were also reduced to ashes. Such was the end of the German rule over the Czech lands!

It would be difficult to give an estimate of damage done all over the Czechoslovak territories. Figures would be deceptive. Only slight hope still persists that some collections taken by force from

Czechoslovakia to either the Reich or Austria may be traced, and restored to their homes. For the rest compensation will be sought in such collections in Germany or Austria as were not claimed after 1918, though they are unquestionably of Czech origin and illustrate various aspects of Czech life in the past.

Keepers of records in Czechoslovakia have been confronted with manifold tasks. It is no small programme to bring back to archive buildings treasures scattered by the Germans all over the country and put them again on their shelves. Yet another task is to search carefully for any deposits which changed place so many times that eventually evidence of them was lost. The most complicated enterprise is still to be essayed, viz a thorough search of archives in Germany and Austria for documents transferred there in the early phase of the war. Those who are acquainted with the problems of modern archives will, without doubt, instantly visualise the dimensions of the tasks ahead of us all.

VÁCLAV ŽAČEK.

PRAGUE.

SLAVIC STUDIES IN AMERICA,

1939-1946

SINCE Professor Coleman's article on Slavic Studies in America appeared,¹ the conditions in that field have undergone a great change. The number of institutions offering courses in Slavic has radically changed, as have the personnel in American Slavic studies, the curriculum itself, and the methods of teaching.

In 1939, a curriculum in Slavic Studies was regarded as a luxury, in which few colleges and universities were willing to indulge. Prior to that date, such institutions as California, Columbia, Harvard, or Stanford, universities that offered a broad course in Slavic languages and literatures, were few. More numerous were institutions of higher education that listed courses, limited to one or at most two Slavic languages. Russian was the mainstay of most Slavic curricula as maintained at Boston University, College of the City of New York, Dartmouth College, Johns Hopkins University, University of Michigan, University of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State College, University of Washington. Such universities as Nebraska, Texas, and Wisconsin found support for courses in Czech and Polish among the population of Slavic extraction, and for that reason were able to support courses in Russian as well. Such institutions as Coe College, Columbia College (Dubuque, Iowa), Creighton University, International Baptist Seminary, St. Prokopius' College, St. Basil's College, offering Czech, or—in the case of St. Basil's—Ukrainian, found their demand coming almost exclusively from a second-generation Slavic population. A few Catholic institutions, such as Notre Dame, found a special demand for Polish. If, however, the criterion for judging academic training in Slavic languages and literatures is graduate study, during the period 1934-1939, only two departments of Slavic, the one at California, the other at Columbia, had rewarded research in Slavic letters and philology with the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the American equivalent of the European *venia legendi*. In 1939 the University of Illinois had also awarded one degree on a subject dealing with Slavic literature (J. Allan Smith, *Tolstoy's Fiction in England and America*). In the social sciences, especially in history, advanced research in Slavic was more prevalent, with a number of universities training young scholars. One of the explanations for the variance in interest is that the field of Slavic history was better developed and offered, therefore, greater opportunity for a career than did the Slavic languages and literature.

During the period preceding World War II, several American institu-

¹ "Slavonic Studies in the United States, 1918-1938," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XVII, 50, pp. 372-88.

tions—California, Chicago, Harvard, and to a lesser degree, Illinois and Yale, had enjoyed a steady demand for advanced graduate study in history and other social studies. Professor Robert J. Kerner's seminar at the University of California, and the late Professor Samuel N. Harper's, at Chicago, were outstanding in this respect. Other universities, where sociological studies were fostered, include Catholic University, Cornell, and the University of Virginia.

In all, during the six years preceding the war, 43 doctoral degrees had been granted for work in the various phases of Slavic studies: of these ten at California, six at Chicago, six at Columbia, three each at Harvard and Yale. Since 1939, almost an identical number of doctorates have been awarded, 44. of them, however, the great majority prior to 1944, because enlistment in the armed services as well as government work drained the number of graduate students.

After 1939, dissertations in Slavic languages and literature were distributed as follows: At Columbia: Mrs. Elizabeth Judas, *Russian Influences on Estonian Literature* (1941); Nikander Strelsky, *Saltykov and the Russian Squire* (1941); Peter P. Zouboff, *Godmanhood as the Main Idea of the Philosophy of Vladimir Solovyov* (1944); André von Gronicka, *Henry von Heisler, a Russo-German Writer* (1945), in the Dept. of German; Mrs. Fan Parker, *Vsevolod Garshin; an Analysis of Russian Conscience* (1946); Misha Fayer, *André Gide and Dostoyevsky* (1946); at Harvard: F. C. Barghoorn, *D. I. Pisarev and the Russian Intellectual Movement* (1941); Edmund I. Zawacki, *Stefan Zeromski; The Struggle of a Spirit* (1942); Charles E. Passage, *The Influence of Goethe, Schiller, and E. T. A. Hoffman in Russia, 1800-1840* (1942); Francis J. Whitfield, *The Inflection of Modern Literary Russian* (1944); at California: Oleg A. Maslenikov, *The Young Andrei Bely and the Symbolist Movement in Russian Literature 1901-1909* (1942); at Ohio: Ina Telberg, *Personality Types of the Soviet Drama* (1942). As can be seen from the titles, many of the dissertations listed above were actually in comparative literature.

Typical among other dissertations connected with Slavic culture were: Milan G. Popovich, *The Religion of the Ancient Slavs and the Features of It which survived in the Christianity of the Serbs* (Pittsburgh, 1940); John Tobrok, *The Sources of Canon Law of the Eastern Orthodox Church* (Pittsburgh, 1940); Sister M. Neomisla Rutkowska, *Bishop Adam Naruszewicz and His History of the Polish Nation* (Catholic University, 1941); Alexander Stacey, *The Life of Nikon, the Patriarch of All Russia* (Hartford University, 1941); David I. Hecht, *Russian Radicals in America* (Harvard, 1945); James Bakst, *A Comparative Study of Philosophy of Music in the Works of Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and Tolstoy* (New York University, 1942); Charles G. Kegley, *A Critical Examination of the Philosophy of N. O. Lossky* (Northwestern University 1943).

In the Social Sciences, representative titles include the following: At California: Alice Hotchkiss, *Concert of Europe, 1813-1823; Its Evolution and Development as an Experiment in Collective Action* (1940);

Wayne S. Vucinich, *Serbian Foreign Policy, 1903-1908* (1942); C. Bickford O'Brien, *Russia Prior to Peter the Great: The Regency of Tsarevna Sofia* (1943), at Chicago; Janet MacDonald, *Russo-German Relations, 1909-1914* (1940), Thomas R. Hall, *The Petersburg Soviet of Workmen Deputies in the Revolution of 1905* (1942); Norval L. Slobin, *Soviet Disarmament Proposals* (1943); Edward H. Zabriskie, *American-Russian Rivalry in the Far East from 1895 to 1914* (1943), at Columbia; D. D. Feodoroff-White, *The Growth of the Red Army* (1944); Sula Benet-Tygel, *The Paleolithic Period in Poland* (1941), at Georgetown; Shan Youi Leung, *Chinese-Soviet Relations, 1919-1929* (1943); Charles Prince, *Economic, Legal, and Political Factors Affecting Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy* (1944), at Harvard; Cyril E. Black, *The Beginnings of Constitutional Government in Bulgaria, 1878-1885* (1941); Herbert S. Dinerstein, *Soviet Foreign Policy in the Near and Middle East* (1943), James Harvey Gaul, *The Neolithic Period in Bulgaria* (1940); at Pennsylvania: Rosalin Goldin, *The Chief of Staff in Diplomacy: Russo-French Conferences, 1892-1914* (1940); Sophia R. Pelzel, *American Intervention in Siberia* (1943); at Yale: Louis Greenberg, *Jewish Emancipation in the Reign of Alexander II of Russia* (1941); Andrew Efron, *The Russian Constitution* (1941); Stephen W. Mamchur, *Nationalism, Religion, and the Problem of Assimilation among the Ukrainians in the U.S.* (1942); George S. Queen, *The U.S. and the Material Advance in Russia, 1881-1906* (Illinois, 1942); Mehmet Kutsi Begdes, *Balkan Economic Problems* (Indiana, 1944); David S. Crist, *Russia's Manchurian Policy, 1895-1905* (Michigan, 1941); Paul H. Anderson, *The Attitude of the American Leftist Leaders toward the Russian Revolution, 1917-1923* (Notre Dame, 1943); Mary B. Fuchs, *The Problem of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak Frontier, November 3, 1918-November 15, 1920* (St. John's University, 1942).

On the undergraduate level, at the outbreak of the war in Europe, Slavic studies in the United States were in a decline that continued into 1942. Only after the Russians had proved that their resistance to the Nazis would not collapse, did widespread interest in things Russian arise. The rise was so precipitous that the field of Russian studies found itself overrun with students and woefully undermanned in personnel.

Beginning with the spring of 1943, the interest in Russian language study reached a hitherto unequalled degree. On the one hand, scientists, engineers, professional men, realised that Russian technological and scientific progress had reached a stage where it had something new to contribute. They therefore became determined to obtain a working knowledge of Russian in order to read Soviet publications and keep abreast of the developments in Russia, and thus aid the war effort of the United States. In order to satisfy their demand overnight, new courses in scientific Russian sprang up in a number of leading technological centres. These courses stressed the rapid acquisition of a reading vocabulary and the passive recognition of grammatical forms.

Coincidentally with the rise of interest in scientific Russian, came also

a demand for conversational Russian. Students and non-university adults alike rapidly developed a desire to learn something about Russia, the Russians and their language. Since most of them had little linguistic background and, therefore, found grammar difficult, many an instructor—now less and less a man of academic training—attempted to introduce courses in purely practical phraseology, at a college level. Soon, however, students and instructors alike became convinced that one could not properly learn to speak the language without some formal training in Russian grammar. The aim now seemed to be to combine the classical analytic method of instruction with that of the conversational approach. Some were able even to expound to their classes literary and cultural values.

During the year 1943, two branches of the U.S. armed services, the Navy and the Army, added to the growing interest in Slavic studies. In the summer of 1943, the Navy Language School in Boulder, Colorado, announced that a curriculum in Russian was added to those in Chinese and Japanese, which had begun at the University of California in October 1941, and later transferred to Boulder. Here with an enormous staff, often of varying competency (as many as fifty teachers were employed at one time in the Russian programme), the language instruction was given to very small groups, often comprising less than five students. The students spent their entire time, eleven hours daily, on learning the language, and the entire course comprised nine months' training.

Almost simultaneously with the opening of the Navy programme in Russian, the United States Army announced the opening of its Army Specialized Training Programme (A.S.T.P.). While the Navy programme taught almost exclusively the language, the Army programme was broader in scope. Here, the trainees were prepared not only to be fluent in at least one modern language of Europe or Asia, but to acquire information about the geography, history, institutions, and culture of the various peoples. In all, more than thirty American universities and colleges co-operated in the programme, and lent members of their staff to supervise the instruction. Nineteen universities participated in the A.S.T.P. curricula dealing with Slavic countries: California, Chicago, Cornell, Denver, Georgetown, Harvard, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa State, Missouri, New York, Oregon, Oregon State College, Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Stanford, Syracuse, Wisconsin, and Yale. All but Denver University gave courses in Russian. Denver offered Bulgarian. Cornell and Iowa State instructed in Russian and Czech. Indiana and Wisconsin taught Polish and Russian. California, Indiana, and Pittsburgh offered Russian and Serbo-Croatian.

In its area approach to the study of a given country, the Army Programme was following a course already in operation at various institutions. For example, the University of California had a "regional group major" on Russia and Eastern Europe operating well before 1943; it enabled students, during their last two years of college, to take a well-integrated course combining studies in history, political science, geography, and

literature, with that of language. By the summer of 1943, Cornell University was offering a similar but more specialised curriculum in contemporary Russian studies. Here, students were permitted to enrol in courses dealing with such diverse aspects of present-day Russia as Economics, Government, History, International Relations, Literature, and also to attend seminars on Soviet culture, where Agriculture, Anthropology, Art, Education, Jurisprudence, Medicine, Music, Public Health, Science, and Theatre were discussed by a corps of experts. The present Graduate Institute in Russian studies at Columbia University is patterned much after this manner.

In its language instruction the A.S.T.P. adopted a pattern also already developed at several American universities. The intensive type of course, at least in the case of Russian, had been in use since 1934, when Professor George Z. Patrick, with the co-operation of Professor Samuel H. Cross, inaugurated the first of a series of Intensive Language Institutes. They were offered under the sponsorship and with the support of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. The army *method* of presenting the subject was based on the method developed at Yale. Since the A.S.T.P. was concerned primarily with conversational fluency, the instructors were directed to keep grammatical exposition to a minimum. Eventually, however, many institutions found it necessary to modify these original ideas, and to encourage also learning grammar and reading. The method of teaching employed native informants, who taught under direct supervision of a trained "linguist," to use the Yale term. The Senior Instructor (the academically trained linguistic expert) would lecture daily to the entire group of trainees on the structure of a given language, and discuss its phonetics, morphology, syntax, and etymology. After the lecture, the trainees would be taken in small groups, usually seven or eight to a group, where the "Junior Instructors" ("informants" or "drillmasters"), would drill them orally on the elements on which the lecture had been based. The programme, originally intended to run nine months for each course, did not always run out its full course. Trainees who had successfully completed the curriculum were often given the opportunity to make use of their training in interrogating Displaced Persons, in serving in liaison work, and other similar capacities. A direct result of the Army Specialised Training Programme was the publication of various manuals especially designed for the course. In 1945, the Linguistic Society of America and the Intensive Language Programme of the American Council of Learned Societies first released *Spoken Russian*, *Spoken Polish*, and other similar language manuals, designed for use in the A.S.T.P. At present, Henry Holt & Co. has placed *Spoken Russian* (Part I, by I. M. Lesnin and Luba Petrova; Part II, by Leonard Bloomfield and Miss Petrova) on the market in a commercial edition. Phonograph records to accompany the books are now also available. A *Guide Manual* and a student's dictionary complete the materials. The other Slavic language manuals are to follow.

One of the results of the A.S.T.P. may be seen in the large number of veterans now enrolling in the classes in Russian. Those who enrol in the elementary classes do so without fear of the Russian alphabet, grammar, and even pronunciation, a bugbear that had once seemed most formidable to the average student. What, however, is even more important is the fact that a number of the veterans who had studied Russian (or Polish, or Czech, or even Serbian) in the A.S.T.R. are now enrolling in advanced courses in the regular university curricula. One may safely assume that the present interest in Russian, especially among the veteran students, will continue.

Since 1943, the number of American colleges and universities offering instruction in Slavic languages, particularly Russian, has been increasing almost geometrically. The increase can be attributed in part to the war and Russia's subsequent rise to the position of the dominant power on the Eurasian continent. In part, the credit must also be given to the successful popularisation of the language through the army and navy programmes. Many a student prefaces his enrolling into a course of Russian with the remark, "A friend of mine took Russian in the A.S.T.P. and . . ." The curricula in Russian at the major American universities may now be regarded as a permanent addition. The new enthusiasm for studying Russian, nevertheless, has worked its hardships, for it has strained to the limit the teaching resources of American Slavistics.

Prior to 1939, perhaps some fifty instructors—not all scholars by training—in some thirty institutions offered courses in the Slavic languages, primarily in Russian. During the two years directly preceding Pearl Harbour, the small initial number of American Slavic scholars was augmented by several European refugees. Among these one may mention such men as Roman Jakobson, Manfred Kridl, Wacław Lednicki, Karl Menges, Otakar Odložilík, René Wellek. They added considerable prestige to the field of Slavic studies in America. Yet the initial gain was soon to be offset by grave losses. After 1943, the older generation of American scholars dwindled rapidly, as the strain of the war years began to tell.

In 1943, George R. Noyes, dean of American Slavists and founder of the Department of Slavic Languages at the University of California, retired from active service. Within a period of three years, most of the older generation of Slavists, men who had taught in the American colleges since the early 'twenties, had passed away. Professor Samuel N. Harper, of the University of Chicago, died in January 1943; Alexander S. Kaun, of California, in June 1944; Henry Lanz, of Stanford, November 1945; George Z. Patrick, of California, February 1946; and Samuel H. Cross, of Harvard, October 1946. When one adds to the above list the name of Nikander Strelsky of Vassar, one can readily see the gravity of the losses. Yet the tempo of Slavic studies has not subsided at all.

Where in 1942, according to one of the published surveys of Slavic in

America,² the total number of universities that maintained instruction in Russian was under twenty, by 1945³ their number had increased to over 100, and according to the latest report⁴ nearly 180 American colleges and universities now carry instruction in Russian. The above figures show how critical is the problem of personnel. Many colleges now feel that they would be safe in adding Russian to their curricula, yet hesitate to do so, because adequately trained persons in the field are not to be found. Many of the smaller colleges, and some of the larger ones, have been forced to disregard academic training and to accept either qualified practical language teachers, or simply men and women of refinement and knowledge of Russian. Most, even among the younger of American-trained Slavists, lack training in both philology and literature, useful to a person who expects to do work in teaching both the language and literature. Since the field is new, most of the institutions would prefer to have, not a narrow specialist, but a person with the broader background and therefore greater general utility.

Realising the seriousness of the situation in the Slavic field, the Rockefeller Foundation of New York during the past few years has made grants upward of a million dollars to such schools as California, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Pomona, Stanford, and Washington, for the promotion of Slavic studies. Some of the funds were given in conjunction with Oriental studies. Some of the money was to support graduate fellowships, some to maintain a Russian Institute (at Columbia), and some to provide for additional instruction in Slavic, and to facilitate travel and exchange of professors.

The American Council of Learned Societies of Washington, D.C., has also aided in fostering Slavic studies. In addition to its supporting various language programmes, the American Council of Learned Societies sponsored a Russian Translation Project. Dr. W. Chapin Huntington has, since 1943, been directing the project. By 1946, twelve works in the humanities and social sciences, originally published in Russian, had been translated. The total project called for some fifty works. Among translations already completed and awaiting publication are: Menshutkin, *Life of Lomonosov*; Kaidanova-Bervy, *History of Public Education in Russia*; L. S. Berg, *The Natural Regions of the U.S.S.R.*; Balzak, Vasyutin, and Feigin, *Economic Geography of the U.S.S.R.*; Gudzii, *History of Early Russian Literature*; Zenkovsky, *Russian Thinkers and the West*; Vyshinsky, *Soviet State Law*; Grabar, *History of Russian Art* (6 vols.); Findeisen, *Russian Music*; etc.

The end of the war saw also one of the ambitions of American Slavists realised. In the autumn of 1946, the first endowed chair for Slavic studies

² Joseph Brozek, "Slavic Studies in America," *The Journal of Higher Education*, XIV, 6 (1943), pp. 293-97.

³ Arthur P. Coleman, "The Teaching of Area and Language Courses in the Field of Slavic," *American Slavic and East European Review*, IV, 8-9 (1945), pp. 185-208.

⁴ Arthur P. Coleman, "The teaching of . . . Slavic," *American Slavic and East European Review*, V, 14-15 (1946), pp. 162-92.

was founded, when, through the aid of the Czechoslovak government, the Thomas G. Masaryk Professorship of Czechoslovak Studies was established at Columbia University. The distinguished Slavic philologist, Dr. Roman O. Jakobson, was appointed the first professor to hold that chair. One may hope that the stimulus of this appointment may attract more young scholars to the much-neglected field.

The war years developed a stronger bond among the men in the field of Slavic studies. The foundation of the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and Eastern European Languages (the A.A.T.S.E.E.L.) has played a leading rôle in unifying the profession. The Association, founded in December 1941 by a handful of members of the Slavic section of the Modern Language Association, has now grown to over 400 members from all sections of the United States. The A.A.T.S.E.E.L. has such autonomous chapters as the California, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Illinois, Michigan, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. The *Bulletin* of the A.A.T.S.E.E.L., published by its secretary, Professor Arthur P. Coleman of Columbia University, plays a vital rôle in keeping the membership well informed on the developments in Slavic studies.

Another active task that was undertaken in the United States during the war, has been that of publishing the American Series of the *Slavonic and East European Review* (1941-1945). When the war conditions in London made publication of the journal in England impossible, a group of American scholars took over the responsibility for its continuation. When, in 1945, the *Slavonic Review* returned to London, the American publication continued under the title *The American Slavic and East European Review*. Its first number appeared as vol. IV, 8-9. In November 1941, also for the first time, appeared the *Russian Review*, thus establishing on American soil two scholarly periodicals devoted to Slavic studies.

In 1943, with publications of Russian texts abroad practically unavailable, the first large wave of students in Russian quickly denuded the existing supply of textbooks. Therefore, a series of readers, grammars, and miscellaneous language aids had to be quickly produced. Most of such materials appeared either in mimeograph form (the Cornell series, for example) or in photographic offset (University of California Russian Readers), because proper press facilities were lacking. In press facilities, the situation in the United States still leaves a great deal to be desired.

Despite the strain of the war years, the American Slavic scholars have produced also a number of scholarly works that bear mention. Here, in history, literature and, to a lesser extent, linguistics, the University of California maintained its pre-eminent position. In history, Professor R. J. Kerner and his former students published a series of monographs dealing with the Slavic countries: Robert J. Kerner (ed.), *Northeast Asia; Selected Bibliography*, 2 vols. (University of California Press, 1939); A. G. Mazour, *Russian Historiography* (1939); R. J. Kerner (ed.), *Czechoslovakia* (1940), the first of the "United Nations Series"

of which he is general editor; V. J. Puryear, *France and the Levant* (1941); R. J. Kerner, *The Russian Adventure* (Faculty Research Lecture, 1943), and *Urge to the Sea* (1942); R. H. Fisher, *The Russian Fur Trade* (1943)⁵; G. V. Lantzeff, *Siberia in the XVII Century* (1943); the last-named three volumes, devoted to Russian eastward expansion, have already received recognition abroad.⁶ To the "United Nations Series" also belong the volumes on *Poland*, edited by B. E. Schmidt (1945), and on *Yugoslavia*, now in the press. In Slavic languages and literature, one ought to mention: the first *Festschrift* published in honour of an American Slavist, the volume *Slavic Studies*, dedicated to Professor George R. Noyes, edited jointly by A. S. Kaun and E. J. Simmons (published by the Cornell University Press, 1942); R. H. Ruzic, *The Aspects of the Verb in Serbo-Croatian* (1943); A. S. Kaun, *Soviet Russian Poetry* (1943); and George R. Noyes's large volume of collected translations from Adam Mickiewicz (published by the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1944). Wacław Lednicki, now at the University of California, published during his stay at Harvard his Lowell lectures, *Polish Life and Culture* (1944).

Also connected with Harvard are a number of works in the social sciences: M. M. Karpovich's three-volume translation of part of P. N. Mil'yukov's famous *Outlines of Russian Culture* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942); A. Bergson, *Soviet Wages* (1944); T. A. Taracouzio, *War and Peace in Soviet Diplomacy* (1940). Other monographs in Slavic social studies are D. J. Dallin's four volumes: *The Real Soviet Russia* (Yale University Press, 1944), *Russia and Postwar Europe* (1944); *Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy, 1939-42* (1943), *The Big Three* (1945); M. T. Florinsky, *Toward Understanding of the U.S.S.R.* (1939); C. E. Black, *Establishment of Constitutional Government in Bulgaria* (Princeton University Press, 1944); R. L. Buell, *Poland, Key to Russia* (1939); V. I. Gurko, *Features and Figures in the Past* (Stanford University Press, 1939); O. Halecki, *History of Poland* (1942); S. N. Harper, *Documents on the Government of the Soviet Union* (Van Nostrand, 1939); A. Levin, *The Second Duma* (Yale, 1940); N. S. Timashev, *Religion in Soviet Russia* (Sheed, 1942); S. R. Tompkins, *Russia Through the Ages* (McClelland, 1940); S. H. Thomson, *Czechoslovakia in European History* (Princeton, 1943); G. H. Rupp, *Wavering Friendship: Russia and Austria, 1876-1878* (Harvard, 1941); G. V. Vernadsky, *History of Russia* (new ed., Oxford, 1944), his *Bohdan, Hetman of Ukraine* (Yale, 1941), and *Ancient Russia* (Yale, 1943); B. Ward, *Russian Foreign Policy* (Oxford, 1940); D. F. White, *Survival through the War and Revolution in Russia* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939); E. H. Zabriskie, *American-Russian Rivalry in the Far East* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1946).

⁵ Awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize of the American Historical Association for 1944.

⁶ See article by V. Yatsunsky in the *Voprosy Istori*, 1945. 5-6, 186-200.

Research publications in the field of Slavic literature and linguistics were less plentiful. In addition to the publications already listed, one must mention Manfred Kridl's *Literatura Polska* (1944); V. Nabokov's *Nikolai Gogol* (New Directions, 1944), Ernest J. Simmons's *Outline of Russian Literature* (Cornell University Press, 1943), also his *Dostoyevsky; The Making of a Novelist* (Oxford University Press, 1942), and his *Tolstoy* (Appleton, 1946), Nikander Strelsky, *Saltykov and the Russian Squire* (Columbia University Press, 1940), recently have appeared also, Misha Fayer, *Guide, Freedom and Dostoyevsky* (1944), and Fan Parker, *Vsevolod Garshin* (Columbia, 1946).

Thus, during the past war, Slavic studies in America have reached unprecedented proportions, and at least Russian studies bid fair to establish themselves permanently in the American college curricula. The greatest shortage at present lies in teaching personnel, with only two universities, California and Columbia, at present actively training graduate students in language and literature. Yet, with an ever-increasing number of graduate students entering the field, even this problem may well be solved within the next decade. The expansion of Russian studies has overshadowed other phases of the development of American Slavistics; thanks to the A S T P., the broader integrated Area approach has been popularised to the extent that it is growing rapidly in the favour of students and university administrators alike. One can hope that in the near future the students will develop a broader interest also toward the languages, literatures, and culture of the other Slavic peoples.

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UNPRINTED DOCUMENTS : RUSSO-BRITISH RELATIONS DURING THE EASTERN CRISIS

2ND SERIES. VIII. ON THE EDGE OF WAR.

316. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, LONDON, 19/31 JAN. 1878 (LETTRE PARTICULIÈRE)

Mon courrier d'hier quittait à peine Londres lorsque le Gouv't de la Reine s'est laissé saisir d'une nouvelle panique. L'armistice n'étant toujours pas signé et les télégrammes ministériels de Constantinople faisant savoir que notre avant-garde s'était emparée d'une station de chemin de fer distante de 25 milles de Constantinople, les Ministres de la Reine ont sonné le tocsin une fois de plus.

En effet, disaient-ils, puisque Layard nous annonce que la Porte a télégraphié sous la date du 11/28 Janvier l'ordre aux délégués turcs de signer les bases de paix, puisque le télégraphe de Kazanlyk fonctionne et apporte journellement aux familles des plénipotentiaires des renseignements sur leur santé, comment expliquer le fait de la non-conclusion de l'armistice au 18/30 Janvier, autrement que par la politique à double face de la Russie, qui tient les Turcs en suspens et s'avance entre temps à grands pas vers Constantinople.

Le Cabinet Anglais qui aurait dû se rendre compte du tort immense qu'il s'est fait, avec sa première tentative de forcer les Détroits, n'en est pas moins prêt à retomber pour une seconde fois dans les mêmes errements.

Lord Derby est le seul qui le retienne ; il prévoit que la présence de la flotte dans les eaux de Bosphore serait un événement plus grave encore dans ses conséquences lointaines que dans ses conséquences immédiates, embossée devant la capitale, côte à côte avec les navires de guerre turcs, la flotte anglaise devra naturellement, ou bien empêcher notre apparition à Constantinople ou en être le témoin passif, ce qui la couvrirait de ridicule. Or, n'ayant pas de troupes de descente et ne trouvant même pas aux abords de la ville une défense suffisamment préparée, comment la flotte pourrait-elle s'opposer à une attaque russe ? De plus un coup de fusil maladroitement tiré de part ou d'autre engagerait l'honneur national de la Russie ou de l'Angleterre. Il est vrai que la mesure pourrait être prise sous le prétexte de veiller à la sûreté des résidents Anglais, mais alors pour atteindre ce but, l'Amiral Anglais se verrait obligé de faire cause commune avec nous et ce serait là une singulière issue de la démonstration navale, telle que les Anglais l'intendent.

Le Conseil de Cabinet a décidé d'user une fois de plus du grand moyen, celui de temporiser. Il s'est borné à me remettre en grande hâte un

nouveau memorandum ; j'ai eu l'honneur de Vous en télégraphier immédiatement le contenu.

Je suis toujours rassuré, quand les Ministres Anglais soulagent leur bile en produisant quelques petits documents de cette espèce, et d'autant plus anodins qu'ils ne sont que la répétition de ce qu'ils nous ont déjà dit et de ce que nous savons. Ces memorandums sont ordinairement suivis de quelques jours de calme et cela est d'autant plus important à un moment où nous pourrions apprendre d'une heure à l'autre la cessation des hostilités. Je regrette le retard survenu dans les négociations, car il est à l'avantage du Gouvernement qui discute actuellement les crédits supplémentaires. La nouvelle de la conclusion de l'armistice eut été un grand appoint pour la résistance que l'opposition fait à ces crédits : aussi veille-t-elle, pour ainsi dire, à ma porte, pour recueillir au plus tôt la bonne nouvelle.

Le Gouvernement profite de ce délai pour obtenir le vote de crédit à une plus grande majorité, il s'en prévaut pour montrer à l'Europe qu'il représente en effet la volonté nationale et qu'elle lui demande d'entrer en Conférence armé de cappe et de pied.

J'ai maintes fois écrit à V.A. que dans sa Hulflosigkeit actuelle, l'Angleterre ne pouvant s'opposer au résultat de la campagne, quelque onéreux qu'il soit, saurait se préparer pour l'éventualité d'une seconde campagne. A l'heure qu'il est, c'est la conférence qui remplacera la seconde campagne et c'est sur ce terrain que le Gouvernement de la Reine cherchera à reparer ses désastres politiques.

La prochaine Conférence est sur toutes les lèvres, mais s'il est vrai qu'on n'en veule pas à Berlin, (et je comprendrais que Bismarck ne voulut pas se mettre dans la situation d'opter entre les vues de Pétersbourg et de Londres),—quelle bonne chance pour éviter, si possible, cette nouvelle complication. Combien il serait préférable de revenir aux traditions du commencement de la crise actuelle, c'est à dire de s'entendre préalablement à trois sur les conditions de la paix et de les soumettre ensuite isolément à chacune des Grandes Puissances. Si nous ne parvenions pas en définitive à nous entendre avec Londres sur quelque point, même alors, combien meilleure serait la situation, si la Conférence n'était réunie que pour discuter ce seul point de désaccord. Dans le cas contraire cela serait à recommencer avec tous les ennuis que nous avons déjà subis en 1876. Les Turcs seront-ils admis à participer ? L'indépendance du Sultan, l'intégrité du territoire Ottoman seront-elles encore les bases de la conférence ainsi que les traités de 1856 et 1871 ? En un mot, autant de causes de brouille avant même de s'être réunis autour du tapis vert.

Je Vous demande pardon de la digression et je reprends ma narration.

Voyant le parti que l'on peut tirer des dispositions actuelles de Lord Derby, j'ai voulu, à tout hazard et dans une forme académique, préparer le Pr. Secr. d'État à l'éventualité d'une apparition de notre armée à Constantinople et lui démontrer qu'elle n'affectait en rien les " British Interests ".

La tâche que je m'étais imposée n'était pas facile car en vrai Ministre parlementaire Derby tient beaucoup plus de compte de l'impression produite sur l'opinion publique par tel ou autre événement que de sa valeur réelle. J'ai fait dans cet entretien la part des méfiances anglaises qui doivent néanmoins cesser devant l'engagement de ne pas garder Constantinople, contracté non envers l'Angleterre seule, mais devant l'Europe entière,—le danger écarté, quel mal en résulterait-il, si quelques divisions russes occupaient provisoirement la ville ? La sécurité des résidents anglais ne serait-elle pas mieux garantie par la présence de russes *intra muros* que par l'agitation que produirait leur proche voisinage *extra muros*. Le Pr Secr d'État s'est maintenu de son côté sur le terrain de nos promesses—"Sa Majesté L'Empereur," a-t-il dit, "avait déclaré qu'Il n'occuperait la ville de Constantinople que si les Turcs L'y obligeaient par leur résistance à conclure la paix. Comme ils la demandent à cor et à cris, il n'y a plus lieu d'entrer dans la capitale et de provoquer la bourrasque que cette éventualité soulèverait en Angleterre."—Autrement dit, l'honneur britannique serait engagé à ce que le sol de Constantinople ne soit pas foulé par l'étranger au même degré que si Constantinople était Portsmouth ou n'importe quelle autre ville anglaise. Je suis parvenu néanmoins, dans l'attente de la réponse que Vous ferez au dernier memorandum, de faire convenir Lord Derby "qu'il était difficile d'arrêter une armée victorieuse aux portes d'une capitale sans défense".

J'espère, mon Prince, que cette conversation avec Lord Derby restera académique et que je n'aurai pas à lui faire accepter l'éventualité comme une réalité, néanmoins la suspicion de notre entrée à Constantinople s'est propagée ces derniers jours à un tel degré que j'ai vu utile de préparer Lord Derby à cette possibilité, quitte à ce qu'elle ne se présente pas.

Le 21 Janvier.

La discussion des crédits militaires se prolonge grâce aux efforts de l'opposition pour en suspendre la solution, les discours sont véhéments de part et d'autre.

C'est le Ministre de l'intérieur—Cray¹—qui a répondu aux attaques des libéraux.

Il faut noter que ce Ministre, l'un des plus pacifiques, s'est départi, lui aussi, de sa modération habituelle en dressant une sorte d'acte d'accusation contre la Russie. La tendance du Cabinet Anglais est d'attribuer à la nouvelle et soi-disante énergique attitude de l'Angleterre les quelques assurances données par le Cabinet Impérial et qui visaient bien plus le Cabinet de Vienne que celui de Londres.

Je me suis fait un plaisir de relever cette circonstance dans un entretien avec Cray¹ le lendemain de ses déclarations au Parlement.

Pas de confirmations jusqu'à présent de la signature de l'armistice, malgré le télégramme officiel reçu par Mussurus² portant qu'il serait conclu à Andrinople le 19/31 Janvier, la tension des esprits est extrême et je

¹ Misprint for Cross.

² Mussurus Pasha, Turkish Ambassador in London.

ne puis me montrer sans être assailli de questions et de soupçons, même de la part des amis.

Le 22 Janvier, 3 Février

La grande nouvelle que V.A. m'a communiquée hier soir n'est pas encore proclamée par le seul journal qui paraisse le Dimanche à Londres : il faudra attendre la journée de demain pour apprécier l'étendue assurément immense de l'effet que la cessation des hostilités produira en Angleterre.

Qu'en résultera-t-il pour la question des crédits et des armements ? Elle doit être résolue demain et le Gouvernement semble décidé à ne point s'en désister, il reste aussi fidèle à sa politique et continue à maintenir l'agitation au moment où tout semble présager l'accalmie.

Notre valeureuse armée a accompli son œuvre, mais il reste encore à conquérir sur un autre champ de bataille ce qu'elle a acheté avec son sang.

317. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 22 JAN./3 FEBR. 1878 (encloses wires between Gorchakov and Novikov re conference)

1. Wire of Novikov to Gorchakov, 20 Jan./1 Feb.

Question de Conférence traitée en détail dans mon rapport particulier d'hier. Andrassy a espoir en effet que l'initiative réservée à l'Autriche de proposer Conférence aux Grandes Cours en impliquait siège à Vienne avec Plénipotentiaires comme celle de Constantinople. Il a fait valoir qu'ici pouvait être plus coulant envers nous que partout ailleurs. Peut-être pourrions nous au prix de cette concession de forme, en obtenir de lui sur le fond, avant tout le séparer de l'Angleterre, tandis que notre refus le blesserait et le rapprocherait de Londres par similitude d'exclusion. Dois-je tout de même pressentir ce refus ?

2. Wire of Gorchakov to Novikov, 20 Jan./1 Feb.

Vous savez qu'avons consenti à Conférence européenne suggérée par Autriche et lui avons réservé de s'entendre à ce sujet avec Grandes Puissances.

J'ignore encore sous quelle forme Andrassy* s'acquittera de cette mission, mais je Vous préviens que n'accepterons ni Londres ni Vienne pour siège de Conférence. Débarrassez de cette idée si elle surgit.

3. Wire of Gorchakov to Novikov, 21 Jan./2 Feb

Si Conférence est adoptée en principe par Grandes Puissances, maintenons notre ancienne combinaison, c'est-à-dire réunion non dans une capitale de Grande Puissance, mais dans une ville neutrale avec présence du Chef du Cabinet.

318. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 18/30 JANUARY

(ch) Derby m'a remis memorandum suivant. Le Gouvernement voit avec grande anxiété que nous approchons Constantinople. Porte ayant accepté bases de paix les nécessités militaires cessent d'exister. Gouvernement réitère avertissement amical mais sérieux contre un acte

qui peut avoir les plus graves conséquences. Mettez-moi en mesure de répondre quelque chose, car agitation est grande et pourrait provoquer décisions regrettables.

319. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 19/31 JANUARY

(ch) Passions très excitées. Veuillez indiquer quel langage tenir sur avance sur Constantinople. Mon silence aggrave situation.

320. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 19/31 JANUARY 1878

(ch) Sous date d'hier Sultan a télégraphié à S.M. l'Empereur, renouvelant demande armistice, vu qu'il avait déjà accepté nos bases de paix. N.A.M. a répondu que dès que cette acceptation aurait été notifiée au Quartier-Général par les plénipotentiaires turcs, ce qui n'avait pas encore eu lieu probablement à cause de la difficulté des communications, le Grand Duc en vertu de ses instructions accorderait l'armistice.

321. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 20 JAN./1 FEB.

(ch) Secret. Layard télégraphe que nous négocions sous main entrée de nos troupes à Constantinople. Si cette nouvelle est fausse et calculée pour produire agitation, faites-le moi savoir.

322. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 23 JAN./4 FEBRUARY

(ch) Berby m'a dit que selon lui, le seul point qui soulèverait des difficultés c'est, l'extension que nous donnons à la Bulgarie. Conférence l'a séparée en deux Provinces pour éviter autonomie aux portes de Constantinople.

323. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 24 JAN./5 FEBRUARY

(ch) Andrassy nous convie à Conférence de plénipotentiaires à Vienne. Répondons qu'acceptons pourparlers préalables à trois à Vienne, mais objections à Conférence formelle à Vienne. La Russie a fait la guerre seule, a droit d'attendre qu'aucune Grande Puissance n'y ayant pas pris part n'acquière ascendant inséparable de siège et présidence de Conférence. Cela froisserait justement sentiment national russe au détriment de bonne entente. Maintenons accorde préalable à trois dans pourparlers à Vienne, puis réunion Conférence formelle pour la paix définitive dans localité inoffensive comme Baden-Baden ou Dresde désirable de Chefs de Cabinets celle-ci impossible de plénipotentiaires spéciaux, bien que cela rendrait œuvre imparfaite.

324. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 25 JAN./6 FEBRUARY

(ch) Secret. C'est à la suggestion du Cabinet anglais qu'Andrassy a proposé la Conférence à Vienne.

325. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 26 JAN./7 FEBRUARY

(ch) La nouvelle de notre avance sur Constantinople et la prise d'un fort produit une impression immense. Je crains qu'on ne décide des mesures extrêmes. Est ce vrai?

326. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 26 JAN. /7 FEBRUARY 1878

(ch) On négocie arrivée des flottes européennes devant Constantinople. France aurait accepté en principe. Les Anglais veulent en surplus occuper quelque port sur la côte, sans avoir décidé où.

327. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV 26 JAN. 7 FEBRUARY

(cl) J'ai immédiatement communiqué teneur de Votre télégramme de ce jour à Lord Derby, (ch) afin d'arrêter aujourd'hui vote des crédits par acclamation, ce qui aurait produit impression fâcheuse en Europe.

328. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 26 JAN. /7 FEBRUARY

(ch) Ordre est donné à nos Commandeurs militaires d'arrêter les hostilités sur toute la ligne en Europe et Asie. Il n'y a pas un mot de vrai dans les rumeurs anglaises.

329. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 28 JAN. /9 FEBRUARY

(cl) Crédits votés à très grande majorité.

(ch) Derby m'a demandé de Vous réitérer assurances pacifiques de Loftus. J'ai refusé, disant que ne pouvais Vous induire en erreur après langage des autres Ministres au Parlement et surtout dehors. Derby dit que six vaisseaux ne sont pas flotte : je réponds que six ou douze ne changent rien : c'est mesure en elle-même qui est mauvaise après conclusion armistice et veille de Conférence. J'ai insisté sur cessation de tout engagement concernant Constantinople et Gallipoli. Nous, les vainqueurs, ne pouvant être les seuls exclus du droit d'entrée. Ceci les effroye. Il faut espérer que les autres Puissances ne sanctionneront pas mesure en coopérant et laisseront Angleterre se fourvoyer impuissante et seule.

330. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 29 JAN. /10 FEBRUARY.

(ch) On est très fier de la démonstration navale dirigée contre nous. Il serait je pense de bonne politique de montrer de l'énergie en déclarant qu'entrée de la flotte nous dégage de promesses antérieures et que si Angleterre débarquait un seul homme, serions obliger d'entrer à Constantinople comme elle. Je crois que cette attitude décidée loin d'amener rupture la préviendrait en arrêtant les anglais sur pente dangereuse des provocations qui continueraient si elles restaient sans effet.

331. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 29 JAN. /10 FEB. (DESPATCH)

Opposition n'a pas cru pouvoir attaquer le Gouvernement, elle est pour ainsi dire réduite à néant.

Beaucoup de ses membres influents ont franchement tourné casaque en emboitant le pas du Gouvernement. Les autres nous soupçonnent d'avoir fait un Traité secret avec la Turquie et nous accusent d'avoir renversé nos amis anglais en faisant un mystère aussi prolongé des bases de la paix et celles de la Conférence.

Inutile de dépeindre les sentiments de la Reine et de la famille royale,

elles sont grisées par le succès du Gouvernement et la majorité immense qu'il a obtenue au Parlement. elles saluent l'envoi de la flotte comme un premier pas vers la collision. Si j'étais susceptible, je trouverais qu'un des Princes parle à trop haute voix de rupture et de guerre dans mon voisinage mais de l'Héritier du Trône d'Angleterre au représentant de la Russie il y a la distance du dépit de l'impuissance au calme de la force.

332. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV 29 JAN./10 FEBRUARY 1878

. . . j'appuie sur utilité (ch) de déclaration amicale mais ferme. Anglais croient avoir sauvé Constantinople: il faut leur prouver qu'ils l'ont compromis et arrêter cas échéant des débarquements partiels sous prétexte protéger nationaux. Nous rétablirions aussi l'opposition qui actuellement n'existe plus, en démontrant que mesure prise par Gouvernement a résultat contraire à attente générale.

333. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 30 JAN./11 FEBRUARY

(ch) Notre décision a produit impression profonde. Derby continue protestations pacifiques, fait surtout ressortir différence entre présence inoffensive de quelques navires anglais dans eaux de Bosphore et occupation militaire par nous de Constantinople. Me demande, en vue de conciliation, dans quelle alternative entrions à Constantinople, notamment à l'approche seule des navires ou en cas de débarquement partiel. Prie instructions. J'ajoute mon opinion. Dans premier cas, cela serait probablement rupture avec l'Angleterre, dont l'orgueil ne permet pas seconde reculée dans l'espace de quinze jours. Dans second cas, but proposé dans mes deux télégrammes d'hier est atteint. La leçon donnée, Anglais confinés navires et je présume, pas rupture. Prie réponse, car têtes très échauffées. Flotte provisoirement arrêtée à l'entrée des Dardanelles, mais Anglais décidés à passer outre malgré refus de firman.

334. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 31 JAN./12 FEB.

(cl) Reçu télégramme d'hier.

(ch) Le Gouvernement britannique nous avait annoncé qu'il allait expédier une partie de sa flotte à Constantinople pour la protection de la vie et de la propriété de ses nationaux dont la sécurité serait menacée, d'après les renseignements qui lui parviennent. Avons répondu que ferions entrer temporairement une partie de nos troupes à Constantinople, exactement pour le même but, avec la nuance que notre protection, s'il y avait lieu, s'étendrait à tous les Chrétiens. Les deux Gouvernements rempliraient donc un devoir commun d'humanité. Dès lors il nous paraît difficile de comprendre comment cette œuvre, pacifique de sa nature, pourrait prendre une caractère quelconque d'hostilité. Nuance entre seule entrée vaisseaux dans Bosphore, ou avec débarquement, ne change pas ce point de vue.

335. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 1/13 FEBRUARY

(ch) Layard télégraphie que Porte demande conseil si doit opposer force à notre entrée. Derby sans consulter collègues a répondu que résistance impossible et serait nuisible, en créant nouvelles complications. Attitude de Derby très correcte, mais sa situation compromise pend à un fil.

336. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 1/13 FEBRUARY

(ch) Derby m'a exprimé sérieuse espérance que nous n'exécuterons aucun mouvement vers Gallipoli, ou de nature à menacer communications de flotte. Un pareil mouvement serait considéré en Angleterre comme compromettant la sécurité de la flotte, et dans état actuel d'opinion publique pourrait amener sérieuses conséquences. C'est une nouvelle soupape pour éviter explosion ne pouvant se maintenir, vu leur propre présence à Constantinople, sur le terrain d'interdiction pour nos troupes d'y entrer, Ministres anglais adoptent l'interdiction de Gallipoli. Si voulez empêcher chute Derby, donnez réponse satisfaisante.

337. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 2/14 FEBRUARY

(ch) La flotte est entrée dans Mer Marmora hier à trois heures après midi sans rencontrer résistance.

338. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 2/14 FEBRUARY

(cl) Reçu télégramme d'hier

(ch) Sultan télégraphie à l'Empereur qu'il a supplié la Reine d'Angleterre de révoquer ordre d'entrer d'escadre britannique. Layard par contre télégraphie que Porte demande conseil si doit opposer force à notre entrée. Si possible, éclairez ces faits. Notre attitude Vous est connue et ne changera pas.

339. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 2/14 FEBRUARY

En réponse de Votre télégramme de ce jour :—

(ch) Je tiens le renseignement de Derby, qui est strictement véridique : il est possible que Layard ait menti. Éclaircirai. Reine n'a rien reçu du Sultan à moins qu'Elle ne cache pour atteindre Son but, qui est la rupture avec nous.

340. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, LONDON, LE 2/14 FEB. 1878 (LETTRE PARTICULIÈRE)

Confusion générale, totale, absolue !—c'est le mot de la situation et l'on pourrait se demander si nous sommes à Londres sous un Gouvernement régulier ou une " convention ". La Reine et ses princes interviennent dans les affaires publiques ; ils crient bien haut que si l'humiliation de l'Angleterre devait durer quelques jours de plus, ils pendraient Lord Derby au premier arbre de Hyde Park. Les clubs signent des pétitions pour que le Comte soit renvoyé de son poste ; l'on se croirait vraiment à Constantinople !

Entre temps la faute ou plus encore la bêtise de l'envoi de l'escadre

éclate dans toute son étendue. Constantinople était définitivement préservé d'une occupation russe et voilà que nous allons y entrer.

La flotte est partie et l'orgueil britannique empêche de lui faire rebrousser chemin.

Le Sultan supplie que l'on s'arrête, mais il est trop tard. La Conférence, attendue comme une libération, semble ajournée et l'on n'en parle plus.

Il ne manquerait plus, pour couronner l'édifice, que l'apparition du pavillon anglais au Bosphore ne provoque les désordres qu'il devait soi-disant, prévenir.

L'Angleterre doit vraiment être bien forte et bien puissante pour se permettre le luxe d'un Cabinet qui lui a valu une pareille situation.

Dans les grandes crises les nations ont besoin de victimes expiatriques, c'est le Comte Derby qui a été choisi à cet effet,—c'est à lui que s'adressent les malédictions, c'est lui qu'on rend responsable de . . . n'être pas en guerre depuis six mois ! C'est lui qui s'est laissé tromper et dont je surprends l'imbécile confiance depuis le début de la crise,—c'est sa sourde résistance qui a exposé l'Angleterre désarmée et impuissante aux insultes de la Russie.

Gladstone ne peut plus se montrer et réclame la protection de la police pour sauvegarder sa " life and property ".

L'opposition, comme je l'ai déjà dit à V.A. a cessé devant la haine générale qu'évoque le nom de " russe ". C'est là le tableau peu consolant de la situation. Au milieu de ces circonstances Lord Derby m'apparaît, je dois le dire, sous un jour nouveau. Plus d'hésitations, de défaillances chez lui ; il est calme, résiste aux incitations passionnées de l'opinion publique et croit encore à la possibilité de voir les choses s'arranger.

Je dois ajouter que bien peu de monde partage à Londres cet espoir et que mes collègues mêmes qualifient le calme du Pr. Secr. d'État d'un tout autre nom. Il n'en reste pas moins avéré que par son attitude présente Lord Derby rend de grandes services à la cause de la paix. La suivra-t-il encore longtemps ou bien ses heures au ministère sont-elles comptées ? C'est la " the question ".

Comme V.A. l'aura vu par mes télégrammes Lord Derby s'est efforcé d'établir la nuance entre la présence de l'escadre au Bosphore et son intervention, s'il y avait lieu, au moyen d'un débarquement partiel.

Il s'appuyait sur les paroles que je lui avais adressées à ce sujet lorsque je m'étais appliqué avant à lui indiquer les conséquences probables du passage des navires anglais par les détroits. Je lui ai observé que mes paroles d'alors n'avaient été que l'expression de mes impressions personnelles, tandis que les télégrammes que je lui ai communiqués étaient l'expression des vues de Sa Majesté l'Empereur.

Il m'a expliqué ensuite que notre entrée à Constantinople, sans prendre à ses yeux le caractère d'une rupture entre nous, ne pourrait cependant se passer sans protestation de la part de l'Angleterre. J'ai mis le Comte au défi de formuler une protestation qui eut une base logique—il aura

beau tourner et retourner la question, il devra toujours finir par dire : Nous Anglais nous sommes à Constantinople, nous y convions les autres Puissances, mais que l'une d'elles, la Russie, accepte notre invitation et nous sommes insultés.

C'est resserré dans ce cercle vicieux pour la politique anglaise que se prolongea et se termina notre premier entretien, et je quittai Lord Derby en lui exprimant mon "earnest hope", c'est le terme consacré, qu'il n'exposerait pas les relations des deux Empires dans la poursuite d'un but chimérique ; il était impossible d'empêcher une occupation partielle de Constantinople par nos troupes d'autant plus que c'est le Cabinet Anglais seul qui l'avait rendue inévitable.

Ce jour là, c'est à dire avanthier, la rupture était dans l'air,—les Ambassadeurs la croyaient imminente et je m'attendais à quelque communication du Gouvernement dont les conséquences m'eussent été que trop évidentes.

Je me rendis au Foreign Office le lendemain—la nouvelle de la démission du Comte était criée dans les rues, elle était fausse, je trouvais Lord Derby dans son cabinet officiel.

"J'ai beaucoup réfléchi à ce que Vous m'avez dit hier,"—c'est ainsi que Lord Derby entra en matière,—"et je pense comme Vous que ce serait une faute gratuite que de vouloir s'opposer à un état de choses désormais inévitable. J'avoue même que nous avons en quelque sorte contribué à Vous amener à Constantinople, mais Vous avez rendu la démonstration de notre flotte nécessaire en soulevant les passions du pays par le silence si regrettable que Vous avez fait autour des bases de la paix et de l'armistice."

"Je relève Vos paroles,"—ai-je répondu,—"car je Vous entends pour la première fois appeler Votre décision par son vrai nom une démonstration".

"Oui,"—me dit-il,—"une soupape de sûreté, pour répondre au "vœu général que le Gouvernement fasse quelque chose."

Le Pr. Secr. d'État se mit ensuite à m'expliquer la situation précaire dans laquelle se trouverait l'escadre anglaise du Bosphore si ses lignes de communication étaient menacées—une avance de nos troupes vers Gallipoli ou tout autre mouvement de nature à compromettre le passage des Dardanelles serait considéré en Angleterre comme une menace à la sécurité de la flotte anglaise et dirigé contre elle.

"Vous êtes témoin,"—ajoutait-il,—"de l'état actuel de l'opinion publique en Angleterre et à même de 'point out' au Prince Gortchakov les conséquences d'une pareille éventualité";—pour sa part "il ne pourrait plus répondre de rien".

Agréablement surpris de voir que l'objectif de la querelle se déplaçait de Constantinople à Gallipoli, terrain plus avantageux pour éviter la rupture, je prétendis néanmoins ne pas comprendre en quoi des mouvements de troupes de terre non appuyés par une flotte pouvaient couper la retraite de l'escadre britannique, mais j'assurai en même temps le Comte que je

ne manquerai pas de Vous transmettre immédiatement la teneur de notre entretien.

Je sortis de chez le Premier Secrétaire d'État sous l'empire d'impressions moins pénibles, il était évident que Lord Derby cherchait un nouveau mode de conciliation ou au moins un terrain plus propice qui ajournait la rupture. Saura-t-il faire accepter ce point de vue par le Premier Ministre et calmera-t-il l'irritation des esprits ?

C'est la question que je me pose en écrivant ces lignes.

2/14 Feb

Les télégrammes du Sultan à notre Auguste Maître et Sa réponse me sont parvenues hier soir. Je les ai immédiatement communiqués à Lord Derby. Ils aggravent la situation du Cabinet Anglais, mais ne pourront plus rien arrêter, car l'escadre doit se trouver à l'heure qu'il est à la Corne d'Or.

La fourmilière anglaise se remue depuis deux jours ; il règne une grande activité dans les établissements de l'amirauté et du ministère de la guerre. L'on s'occupe principalement d'achat de chevaux pour l'artillerie, la cavalerie et le train. Un terme d'au moins quinze jours devra s'écouler avant qu'on ne puisse embarquer des forces de terre un peu sérieuses.

Je reiens de chez Lord Derby. Sa situation personnelle demeure précaire. Il espérait que je serai à même de lui communiquer Votre réponse sur Gallipoli, mais je ne l'ai pas encore reçu. Le Comte m'a fait comprendre que sa démarche d'hier auprès du Cabinet Impérial offrait la dernière chance de conciliation et qu'elle constituait la dernière limite que le Gouvernement anglais pouvait accepter pour éviter la guerre.

Je dois dire en conscience que sans me laisser alarmer le moins du monde par le tumulte qui se fait autour de moi, je crois le danger imminent.

341. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 3/15 FEBRUARY

(ch) Escadre anglais ayant franchi Dardanelles malgré protestation de Porte, entrée temporaire d'une partie de nos troupes est inévitable. Comme dernière concession pouvez dire que maintenons promesse de ne pas occuper Gallipoli à condition que pas un seul soldat anglais ne soit débarqué sur la côte asiatique ni sur celle d'Europe.

342. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 5/17 FEB. (LETTER)

La seule chose dont je me suis occupé depuis trois jours, c'est d'ajourner une explosion de la part des Ministres anglais. Gagner un jour, une heure, c'est peut-être prévenir la rupture entre les deux pays.

L'attitude de Lord Derby, le rapprochement personnel qui s'est opéré de lui à moi dans les dernières et graves circonstances, sont les seuls moyens dont je dispose et dont j'use dans la mesure la plus large. Faisant la part de son tempérament méticuleux et hésitant, je tâche de le voir journellement plutôt deux fois qu'une ; je relève son courage abattu, soutiens sa force de résistance presque épuisée et l'assure qu'une solution

pacifique est encore possible. Il y a même quelque chose d'enfantin dans la promesse que je lui prends toutes les fois que je le quitte, celle de ne rien faire, ou plutôt de ne rien laisser faire jusqu'à notre suivant revoir. Depuis trois jours aussi je ne sors pas de chez Lord Derby sans avoir reçu une sorte de "casus belli", bien amical, il est vrai, et qui dépeint l'angoisse, plus qu'il ne respire la détermination. Le langage du Comte varie peu.

"Votre Cabinet se rend-il bien compte de l'exaspération des esprits en Angleterre?"

"Votre Cabinet veut-il décidément nous pousser à bout, calcule-t-il les malheurs immenses qu'il appelle sur les deux pays?"

"Que voulez-Vous de plus? Nous Vous laissons entrer à Constantinople, nous refuserez-Vous à Votre tour la sécurité de notre flotte, la promesse de ne pas occuper les lignes de Boulair? Pensez-Vous que dans ce cas des Ministres anglais pourraient résister au courant et prévenir la guerre? Ne récriminons pas sur les faits accomplis; faute ou non, nos vaisseaux ont passé les Détroits, voulez-Vous donc menacer leur retraite? Sinon, donnez nous des assurances positives."

Il serait inutile, mon Prince, de Vous fatiguer par l'énumération des arguments que j'oppose à ce langage; la preuve que j'argumente et que je ne reste pas inactif, c'est que je suis encore à Londres.

Voici à présent dans quel ordre se sont succédés les événements.

Le télégramme de V.A. annonçant l'occupation éventuelle provisoire et partielle de Constantinople par nos troupes, a failli nous valoir un ultimatum.

Ma lettre précédente du 2/14, et dont je prie V.A. de m'accuser réception, relate ma controverse avec Lord Derby au sujet du manque absolu de bases logiques qu'aurait eu un ultimatum exprimant ceci:

"Nous, Anglais, ne souffrirons pas que Vous, Russes, fassiez ce que nous avons fait."

Je demandai aussi au Comte pourquoi le Gouvernement de la Reine n'envisageait pas notre présence simultanée à Constantinople sous un aspect amical, au lieu de le considérer comme une hostilité.

Lui.—Parce que nos vaisseaux sont en péril.

Moi.—De quelle façon?

Lui.—Leur retraite peut être coupée.

Moi.—Où, comment?

Lui.—A Boulair et Gallipoli.

Moi.—Alors mettons Constantinople de côté et parlons de Gallipoli etc. etc.

Le Comte a réussi auprès de ses collègues. On a renoncé à l'ultimatum et déplacé le "casus belli" de Constantinople à la presqu'île de Gallipoli.

Lord Derby me fit Jeudi le 2/14 la communication verbale concernant Gallipoli; je Vous en ai aussitôt informé par télégraphe. Le Comte me marchandait une réponse pour le lendemain matin, je lui en prouvai l'impossibilité.

Le jour suivant, Vendredi 3/15, les Ministres Anglais, se figurant que je délayais la réponse pour gagner du temps et pour donner à nos troupes la facilité d'avancer vers Gallipoli, accentuèrent la démarche verbale de Lord Derby par la remise en toute hâte du Memorandum dont je Vous ai immédiatement télégraphié la teneur.

Dans la nuit du même jour je recevais la réponse de V.A. Elle disait : " Comme dernière concession, pouvez dire que maintenons promesse de ne pas occuper Gallipoli, à condition que etc."

Cette réponse ne suffisait plus aux exigences du moment, elle aurait fait éclater la bombe ; le mot *maintenons* disait clairement que cela se rapportait à une promesse antérieure. Or, j'ai eu beaucoup de peine à faire accepter les mots de " ville de Gallipoli ", (que Vous avez employés) et dont le Grand Duc ne devait pas approcher, au lieu des mots " presque de Gallipoli " que les Anglais demandaient. De plus la promesse antérieure était subordonnée à la présence de troupes régulières turques à Gallipoli, or Suleiman s'y trouve actuellement. Le passage des vaisseaux anglais par les Dardanelles a tellement augmenté l'importance de ce point aux yeux des Anglais, qu'ils ne se seraient pas contentés des paroles de Votre télégramme. C'était un Samedi, jour où le Parlement ne se rassemble pas ; je pouvais ajourner ma réponse jusqu'à Lundi et en ai profité pour Vous demander l'autorisation de faire une déclaration plus précise et qui n'affecte en rien notre dignité

Entre temps Loftus a failli tout compromettre, et voici comment.

Lord Derby avait communiqué à Loftus l'entretien qu'il avait eu avec moi au sujet de Gallipoli, mais sans le charger d'une démarche auprès de Vous. Il paraît néanmoins que Loftus l'a tentée ; le fait est que Lord Derby a reçu Samedi matin le 4/16 un télégramme de son Ambassadeur à St. Pétersbourg portant que V.A. *n'avait plus rien à lui dire au sujet de Gallipoli*. (Réponse semblable à celle du Roi de Prusse à Benedetti à Ems.)

Grand émoi, convocation immédiate du Conseil, et je reçus l'avis que les choses tournaient, au plus mal.

Je me rendis aussitôt chez le Pr. Secr. d'État et lui annonçai que j'avais reçu la réponse de V.A., mais je prétendis que le télégramme était indéchiffrable. J'en avais compris assez pour savoir que nous n'avions pas l'intention d'aller à Gallipoli en tant qu'il n'y aurait pas de troupes anglaises quelconques débarquées sur la côte d'Asie ou d'Europe. Mais je ne pouvais néanmoins lui en faire la communication officielle, car dans un document de pareille importance je ne voulais pas rétablir de mon propre chef les mots tronqués par le télégraphe.

Cette démarche de la dernière heure a donné au Comte la possibilité d'arrêter une fois de plus les décisions violentes et nous avons conclu avec lui un nouvel armistice jusqu'à demain matin. J'insistai sur le point que la dignité de l'Angleterre n'exigeait pas que les Ministres prisent des résolutions hâtives ; les événements de la dernière semaine l'on suffisamment prouvé.

Je dois mentionner deux circonstances de plus. V.A. se souviendra à la lecture de ma lettre précédente, que Lord Derby avait abandonné l'idée de protester contre la parité des deux mesures, la présence de vaisseaux anglais à l'île des Princes et l'occupation militaire quoique partielle de la ville de Constantinople. Il l'a fait néanmoins sur les exigences de ses collègues. Le Comte s'est également prévalu du fait que l'île des Princes ne faisait pas partie de la ville de Constantinople pour me demander de faire une dernière tentative afin de prévenir l'entrée de nos troupes. Je m'y refusai *absolument*, en lui disant que l'occupation provisoire de Constantinople devait être considérée comme un fait accompli. La déclaration même du Pr. Secr. d'État m'obligeait de m'abstenir de toute démarche ultérieure puisqu'il avait dit à la Chambre des Lords

" Les navires expédiés sont à Constantinople, ou pour être plus exact, à l'île des Princes à deux milles en dessous de cette ville "

Hier, Lord Derby est revenu à la charge ; il m'a annoncé que l'escadre anglaise s'étant retirée dans la baie de Moudania, il espérait que Sa Majesté l'Empereur n'occuperait plus Constantinople. Je me refusai également à me faire le portevoix de cet espoir et répondis à Lord Derby, que puisque ce mouvement de recul était expliqué à Londres par un meilleur mouillage et la proximité d'une station télégraphique qui n'existait pas à l'île des Princes, la situation restait la même. Le vrai mobile de mes refus était la conviction que notre présence à Constantinople n'amènerait point de rupture avec l'Angleterre et que tout le danger actuel se concentrerait dans nos assurances quant à la presqu'île de Gallipoli.

Je dois mentionner pour terminer un autre incident de la journée d'hier.

Les Ambassadeurs se rendent ordinairement au Foreign Office à 3 heures. Il faut quelque circonstance grave pour que Lord Derby les reçoive avant cette heure. Or, j'appris que le Comte de Beust y avait été à 2 heures et qu'il y était resté plus longtemps qu'à l'ordinaire. Lorsque mon entrevue avec Lord Derby arriva à sa fin, le Comte me prit la main et m'adressa les paroles suivantes : " Je Vous conjure, faites Votre " possible pour éviter une guerre européenne. Je puis Vous le dire " *aujourd'hui*, ne Vous fiez pas à l'Autriche, car dans le cas d'une guerre, " elle sera contre Vous."

Ces paroles me firent impression. Si d'une part Lord Derby est facile à tromper, de l'autre il est strictement véridique et il n'aurait pas prononcer ces paroles, si elles n'exprimaient pas sa conviction.

Je répondis à Lord Derby qu'il serait inutile de nier les différences d'opinion qui existent entre les Cabinets de St. Pétersbourg et de Vienne, mais que je pouvais néanmoins lui renvoyer la balle et lui dire à mon tour, " ne Vous fiez pas trop à l'Autriche ". Ses intérêts sont loin d'être identiques avec les intérêts anglais ; la Bulgarie n'est point un intérêt commun, mais un terrain factice sur lequel l'Angleterre cherche à réaliser une entente factice. Il restera toujours à la Russie la faculté d'isoler

le Cabinet de Vienne de celui de Londres comme de séparer ce dernier de l'Autriche-Hongrie. Il suffit pour atteindre ce but de faire quelques concessions, soit aux intérêts britanniques, soit aux intérêts hongrois.

Le 6/18 Février.

M Gennadius, le Chargé d'affaires de Grèce, déploie depuis quelque temps une grande activité et je le rencontre constamment au Foreign Office, sortant tantôt d'une entrevue avec Lord Derby, tantôt de chez les Sous Secrétaires d'État.

Ces fréquentes visites au Foreign Office, où, il y a quelques semaines encore, il obtenait à peine accès, s'expliquent en partie par les événements donc la Grèce est le théâtre, mais il est également permis de supposer, et plus d'un symptôme le confirme, que M. Gennadius fournit des données à l'étude de la question hellénique. Je me suis attendu de tout temps et j'en ai prévenu V.A. qu'à l'heure de solution le Gouvernement Britannique chercherait à opposer l'élément grec au bulgare au détriment de cette dernière nationalité. En agissant dans cette voie, le soutien de l'opposition lui serait acquis.

L'un des Ministres de la Reine me disait il y a quelques jours qu'on ne saurait inclure dans les limites de la future Bulgarie les localités où la population est mixte, c'est à dire grèque [*sic*] et bulgare. La première étant sous tous les rapports supérieure à la seconde, il serait rationnel de faire de ces localités un territoire grec.

J'ai eu l'honneur de recevoir le télégramme de V.A. m'autorisant d'ordre de l'Empereur à faire à Lord Derby la déclaration concernant Gallipoli et les lignes de Boulair. Je l'ai transmises dans la même forme que le memorandum anglais m'a été communiqué à ce sujet, c'est-à-dire signés de la lettre initiale de mon nom de Famille. Je joins ci-près les deux pièces.

Le Comte, se réservant de me répondre au nom du Gouvernement de la Reine après qu'il aurait soumis cette déclaration au Conseil des Ministres, me témoignait néanmoins son contentement personnel de ce que Sa Majesté l'Empereur offrait une voie de solution pacifique en écartant toutes les craintes que le Gouvernement avait conçues pour la sûreté de l'escadre Britannique. Il ajouta que la condition de ne point débarquer de troupes Anglaises sur les deux côtes d'Asie et d'Europe était pour lui une clause nouvelle. Il ne s'attendait pas au reste à ce qu'elle puisse soulever des objections de la part de ses collègues. La flotte ne possède pas de troupes de débarquement : en aurait-elle, qu'elle ne se déciderait à une pareille extrémité que pour sauvegarder la retraite de l'escadre qui semble assurée par notre déclaration.

"Si nous avions voulu occuper Gallipoli,"—me dit Lord Derby,— " nous l'aurions fait depuis longtemps ou à l'heure où vous aviez des difficultés militaires."

Le diapason du Gouvernement et de public est beaucoup plus calme aujourd'hui, mais cela tient à l'opinion erronée que nous aurions renoncer

à occuper Constantinople depuis que l'escadre Britannique s'est retirée à Moudania. Il faut donc s'attendre à une réaction de l'opinion publique dans un sens défavorable lorsqu'elle apprendra le contraire ; Je reste néanmoins de l'avis que notre entrée dans la capitale Turque ne provoquera pas de rupture, à moins qu'il ne survienne à la dernière heure quelques événements imprévus, ce qui a été si souvent le cas depuis le début de la crise en Orient

Je Vous ai télégraphié les négociations secrètes entamées par le Cabinet de Vienne à l'effet de conclure un emprunt. J'hésite à Vous donner ces sortes d'information depuis que Vous m'avez fait remarquer qu'elles diffèrent de celles que Vous transmet Novikoff. Je maintiens néanmoins l'authenticité de mes renseignements. Il se peut que les communications faites par des Ambassadeurs comportent certaine exagération et grossissent les circonstances qu'elles mentionnent. Ceci est évidemment en dehors de mon contrôle. Je Vous transmet la teneur exacte de ces sortes de communications ; à Vous d'en apprécier la valeur et la portée.

Le renseignement que je Vous ai télégraphié toute à l'heure a une grande importance. Si l'Autriche réussit à conclure à Londres un emprunt sous la garantie de l'Angleterre, elle se trouvera définitivement engagée, il n'est pas probable que les Anglais consentent à donner cette garantie sans demander en échange des engagements irrévocables.

La chose néanmoins est loin d'être conclue, je sais que le Cabinet Anglais hésite et cela pour deux raisons. Il se figure, primo, qu'Andrassy agit derrière le dos de l'Empereur François Joseph qui ne veut pas d'alliance avec l'Angleterre, secondo, les opérations financières se font ici du consentement de la Chambre des Communes ; or, l'Angleterre n'étant pas en guerre avec nous, le Gouvernement est embarrassé vu le caractère clandestin de la proposition viennoise.

Je porte l'attention de V.A. sur les "blue book" parus hier et dont je joins ci près un exemplaire. Ils se rapportent principalement à mes négociations du Juin dernier et contiennent des dépêches curieuses de Layard—elles sont le reflet des sentiments de cet Ambassadeur et de l'influence qu'il a du exercer à Constantinople.

Le 8/20 Février.

J'ai élucidé les deux points qui font l'objet de Votre télégramme secret d'hier notamment :

- 1) le projet d'achat par l'Angleterre des meilleurs cuirassés turcs,
- 2) les prétendues démarches de Layard pour permettre aux Anglais l'occupation de possessions fortifiées sur la côte asiatique du Détroit des Dardanelles.

Ces renseignements sont erronés.

Mes relations actuelles avec Lord Derby m'ont donné le moyen de les vérifier sans dévoiler qu'ils me sont transmis par Votre Excellence.

Le Comte m'a assuré avec sa franchise ordinaire que je ne saurai mettre en doute—(car je le réitère, tant peu communicatif qu'il soit, il

se tait ou dit la vérité) que Layard n'avait reçu aucune instruction l'autorisant à négocier l'achat d'une partie de la flotte turque. " Il est vrai ", —ajouta-t-il,—" que nous avons fait l'acquisition des trois cuirassés turcs actuellement dans les chantiers anglais et à la livraison desquels vous avez fait opposition après la déclaration de notre neutralité. Nous n'avons pris aucune décision ultérieure, car nous ne voudrions pas priver le Sultan d'une flotte qui peut lui être utile dans l'avenir. La question de l'achat d'une partie de la flotte turque a fait, il est vrai, l'objet de discussions aux seins du Cabinet, mais rien n'a été résolu. Je ne vous garantis pas que si vous alliez demander à la Turquie une partie de sa flotte nous ne tacherions pas de l'acquiescer préalablement,—mais rien n'a été décidé jusqu'à ce moment et Layard n'a pas pu entamer de négociations à ce sujet."

En ce qui concerne le second point, l'occupation de forts sur la côte asiatique de Dardanelles, Lord Derby m'a également assuré avec un ton décisif que Layard n'en avait pas fait l'objet de pourparlers avec la Porte, —n'ayant pas de troupes de débarquement, une pareille tentative semblait impossible. Il ne m'a pas caché cependant que Layard avait été autorisé de pressentir la Porte sur les mesures qu'elle comptait prendre pour défendre les Dardanelles s'il y avait lieu—une démarche pareille, ajouta le Comte, n'était que très naturelle au milieu des craintes qui avaient agité le Gouvernement pendant ces derniers jours, mais c'est à cela que se bornent les instructions données à Layard et il semblait à Lord Derby que les assurances que le Cabinet Impérial venait de donner par mon entremise écartaient entièrement cette éventualité. Je le réitère, mon Prince, je n'ai aucune raison de douter de la véracité du Comte, il est aussi généralement reconnu que les défauts qui l'ont mis récemment aux abois de l'opinion publique.

En ce qui concerne Votre seconde communication télégraphique par rapport aux négociations secrètes que le Sultan poursuivait avec le Cabinet de Londres, j'ai peine à y croire. Le Foreign Office Anglais n'est pas à ce moment une persona grata à Constantinople. Les télégrammes de ces derniers jours n'ont porté que sur le désir, les supplications du Sultan de voir rappeler l'escadre anglaise afin de prévenir une occupation russe de la ville de Constantinople,—mais cela même lui a été refusé et je donne pour le moment une dénégation positive aux prétendues négociations qui se poursuivraient entre la Porte et le Cabinet de Londres. Il voudrait se rapprocher de la Porte, mais n'y réussit pas.

Le Comte Andrassy vient de faire une nouvelle évolution dont mieux que moi Vous aurez la clef,—j'ai parlé plus haut des négociations qu'il a entamées à Londres pour conclure un emprunt sous garantie du Gouvernement Anglais. Celui-ci a fait ses conditions et a demandé en échange des engagements écrits et signés.—Le Gouvernement de la Reine a été pas mal surpris en recevant aujourd'hui du Comte de Beust une réponse que j'ai lue et qui disait que le Cabinet de Vienne " se refusait à signer une convention avant la fin de la conférence ".

Lord Derby m'a transmis un nouveau memorandum dont je Vous ai télégraphié la substance.

La clause nouvelle de ne pas occuper à notre tour la côte asiatique des détroits m'a surpris et j'ai cherché à y découvrir des sous-entendus.

Je m'en suis longuement expliqué avec le Comte, qui semblait trouver cette clause aussi oiseuse qu'elle le paraissait à moi, mais il s'est retranché derrière l'importance que ses collègues y attachaient. "Que craignez-Vous ?"—demandai-je au Comte,—“et comment pourrions nous occuper la côte asiatique des détroits sans flotte à notre disposition et ayant contre nous les flottes Anglaise et Turque ?”

Je remarquai aux réticences du Comte que le Cabinet admettait l'éventualité de cette occupation avec le consentement et l'aide même de la Turquie.

"Cette clause a-t-elle un sens caché ?,—continuai-je,—“et dans ce cas n'est-elle pas inventée pour soulever des difficultés ultérieures ?”

"Aucune," me répondit le Comte.

"Si nous occupions Batoum ou quelque autre point du littoral de la mer Noire, ne diriez-Vous pas que nous avons enfreint nos promesses ?”

"Certainement non", me répondit le Comte,—“puisque'il est dit expressément qu'il s'agit de la côte asiatique des détroits seule.”

"Dans ce cas,"—répondis-je,—“je consens à transmettre le memorandum sans commentaires.”

"Faites-le,"—me dit Lord Derby,—“mais si la réponse de Votre Gouvernement est favorable, je considère that all would be settled between us”.

Cet entretien m'a confirmé dans l'opinion que le Gouvernement Anglais est si dérayé et se sent si impuissant devant la force irrésistible des événements, qu'il ne sait plus ce qu'il dit, ni ce qu'il demande. Il m'a paru d'autre part que l'Angleterre ayant ouvert les portes de Constantinople à l'entrée triomphale de nos armées, il n'y avait pas lieu au moment de planter notre drapeau sur les murs de Constantinople de lui refuser l'assurance “que nous n'occuperions pas la côte asiatique des Détroits !”

Le Gouvernement vient de répondre par l'entremise de Sir H. Elliot qu'il accepte la réunion d'une conférence pour les derniers jours de la première semaine de Mars.

Je dirige ma lettre sur Berlin par le paquebot de se soir. J'y ajoute les dernières nouvelles.

Des entretiens avec plusieurs membres du Gouvernement m'ont donné l'explication du memorandum d'hier. Ces messieurs ont été unanimes à me dire qu'ils ne croyaient pas sérieusement à une tentative des Russes de s'emparer de la côte asiatique des Détroits, mais, dans la crainte des attaques de l'Opposition, il était nécessaire d'avoir cette assurance. Les ennemis du Gouvernement n'auraient pas manqué de se prévaloir du fait qu'en s'engageant ne pas descendre de troupes sur la côte asiatique des Détroits, le Gouvernement la laisse exposée aux entreprises de la Russie et qu'il a fait un marché de dupes.

Le Cabinet Anglais joue de malheur et tout ce qu'il fait pour sa justification tourne contre lui. La publication des Blue Books se rapportant aux conditions éventuelles de la paix pour le cas où les armées Russes ne traverseraient pas les Balkans, a été fait en ce moment dans le but évident de signaler nos vues ambitieuses avant d'avoir obtenu les succès qui en sont la justification. Eh bien !, mon Prince, depuis que mes négociations de Juin ont été connus du public, il condamne le Gouvernement de les avoir pour ainsi dire repoussées. J'entends dire autour de moi que c'est à tort que l'on a signalé la duplicité de la politique Russe, les Ministres Anglais ne peuvent plus prétendre qu'ils ont été dupés, puisque la Russie leur a dévoilé ses plans dès le début de la guerre. Le Premier Ministre n'avait pas été en droit de parler comme il l'a fait au banquet de Guildhall après que le Cabinet Impérial lui avait signalé son intention de rechercher des compensations territoriales.

J'ai obtenu toute à l'heure, par voie *très confidentielle*, quelques informations additionnelles au sujet des intrigues anglo-turques. Elles confirment que Layard n'a point été autorisé à négocier l'achat de vaisseaux turcs. C'est lui, au contraire, qui a pris l'initiative d'une proposition pour le cas où la Russie en exigerait la cession. Il engageait son Gouvernement à mettre l'interdit sur la flotte turque, ou, comme Layard s'exprime, à la prendre sous tutelle jusqu'à la conclusion définitive de la paix.

L'Ambassadeur ajoutait que ce serait le seul moyen de la préserver, car il ne saurait être question de son acquisition contre finances. La Porte n'accepterait jamais un pareil marché.

Pour ce qui est de l'occupation par les Anglais de la côte asiatique des Détroits, elle perd pour le moment toute son importance, le Gouvernement Anglais allant s'engager d'une heure à l'autre à n'y débarquer aucune troupe.

J'ouvre au dernier moment le télégramme de V.A. du 8/20 courant qui confirme les faits que j'ai partiellement refutes, notamment les intrigues anglo-turques. En présence de Votre certitude d'une part et des explications de Lord Derby corroborées par mes autres renseignements confidentiels de l'autre, j'incline à croire que l'Ambassadeur Britannique à Constantinople poursuit une politique personnelle et entame des négociations de son propre chef ; il se pourrait aussi qu'il soit en correspondance secrète avec le Premier Ministre et reçoive ses inspirations. On a prétendu plus d'une fois que cela avait été ainsi du temps de Sir H. Elliot. Si tel était le cas, ces intrigues se passent à l'insu du Lord Derby et de la majorité des membres du Gouvernement.

Un mot encore, mon Prince ; Votre télégramme du 31 Janvier et qui est vieux de 8 jours me faisant savoir au sujet de l'occupation de Constantinople que :

“ la nuance entre seule entrée des vaisseaux ou avec débarquement ne change pas le point de vue du Cabinet Impérial ”, je me suis refusé jusqu'à ce moment à discuter avec les Ministres Anglais les moyens tardifs

de la prévenir, je les avais habitués à considérer l'entrée de nos troupes comme un fait accompli et me félicitais de la résignation avec laquelle ils l'acceptaient.

L'action n'ayant pas suivi la menace, le Gouvernement et le public ont supposé que nous y avions renoncé. Aujourd'hui enfin le Gouvernement a reçu un télégramme secret de Layard disant que la population de Constantinople étant trop nombreuse [! ?] les troupes Russes avaient abandonné le projet d'y entrer.

N'ayant pas reçu de V.A. l'indication d'un changement de vues à l'égard de Constantinople, je continue à maintenir mon dire.

343. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 5/17 FEBRUARY

(ch) L'Empereur Vous autorise formuler déclaration dans termes que indiquez.

344. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 5/17 FEBRUARY

(cl) Je Vous prie instamment de m'envoyer aujourd'hui réponse à mon télégramme d'hier.

(ch) Réponse satisfaisante améliorerait situation très tendue, autrement je crains pour demain quelque déclaration au Parlement, dont les conséquences deviendraient irréparables. Gallipoli est devenu pour les Anglais question de sécurité et d'honneur pour leur pavillon.

345. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 6/18 FEBRUARY

(ch) Très secret. Autriche négocie avec Gouvernement britannique un emprunt garanti par Angleterre. En échange elle offre coopération en cas de guerre.

346. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 6/18 FEBRUARY

(ch) Secret. Porte supplie Gouvernement Anglais de rappeler escadre et de demander Empereur pas entrer Constantinople. Décision sera prise au Conseil demain.

347. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 6/18 FEBRUARY 1878, ST. PETERSBURG
Mon cher Comte,

(Sends a dossier and acknowledges Shuvalov's despatches of 30 January/11 February.)

L'Empereur l'a lu avec un vif intérêt. Les résolutions de N.A.M. qui Vous ont été transmises par le télégraphe Vous auront fait connaître le jugement que S.M. en a porté.

Malgré les faux semblants humanitaires qu'elle arbore l'Angleterre s'est placée sur une pente dangereuse. Il reste à déterminer la portée de ses résolutions ou plutôt la résultante probable entre les vues du Cabinet qui entraîne et celles du parti modéré qui résiste.

Dans Vos prévisions de l'été dernier Vous attribuez au Comte de Beaconsfield la pensée de tourner l'obstacle suscité à ses velléités belliqueuses par l'opposition libérale et les sentiments pacifiques du pays n'en

créant sous prétexte de dignité et d'intérêts anglais une de ces situations fausses où les fusils partent tout seuls et où chaque coup tiré engage l'honneur de deux pays.

Si tel était son but, il l'a atteint. Ira-t-il plus loin ? Réussira-t-il à entraîner le sentiment du pays jusqu'à la guerre ouverte ? Ou se bornera-t-il à devenir le pivot d'une coalition morale et matérielle à laquelle se joindra l'Autriche, pour réduire à néant les conséquences de la guerre ?

Telle est la question que nous devons nous poser.

Quelle que soit l'ardeur guerrière qui anime Lord Beaconsfield et ceux qui le poussent, nous croyons que la deuxième de ces alternatives est la plus probable.

L'Angleterre a trouvé un terrain restreint et qui n'est même pas anglais, ou elle peut rencontrer un allié. Ce terrain est celui auquel se borne l'opposition du Cabinet de Vienne, c'est-à-dire la grande Bulgarie autonome et l'occupation temporaire. C'est autour de ces deux points que se sont réunies ces deux Puissances et si leur résistance commune réussit à ramener la paix à conclure dans les limites du programme de la Conférence de Constantinople ou à peu près, elles seront satisfaites. Lord Beaconsfield aura démontré la sagesse de la politique qu'il a suivie avec persévérance depuis le rejet du Memorandum de Berlin et constaté l'ascendant décisif de l'Angleterre malgré nos efforts et nos succès militaires. Il y aurait là de quoi contenter son amour propre.

Mais cette satisfaction se heurte à un obstacle inévitable. La demi-victoire remportée par la politique anglaise, serait un échec réel pour celle de la Russie qui n'obtiendrait même pas pour prix de ses victoires et de ses sacrifices le repos et la sécurité à venir garantis par la création d'autonomies chrétiennes viables.

C'est là à notre avis qu'est le danger le plus sérieux de la situation et c'est sur ce point, ce nous semble, que devront porter votre action sur les hommes d'état qui en Angleterre veulent résister à l'impulsion belliqueuse du Cabinet. De fait, nos conditions de paix ne vont à l'encontre d'aucun des intérêts avoués de l'Angleterre. L'occupation même temporaire de Constantinople eut été écartée par l'armistice sans l'arrivée de la flotte anglaise. Les détroits sont réservés à une entente européenne.

Les modifications nécessitées par la guerre dans l'organisme intérieur de la Turquie et notamment les autonomies des populations chrétiennes ont été reconnues inévitables non seulement par les membres de l'opposition libérale, mais encore par les ministres eux-mêmes.

On se demande donc ce qui pourrait justifier l'attitude hostile de l'Angleterre, si non le désir d'arriver en conférence appuyée sur la présence de ses escadres et son accord avec l'Autriche, pour réduire les conséquences de la guerre à un minimum aux dépens des autonomies chrétiennes.

Mr. Gladstone paraît l'avoir compris et a adopté sur ce point une attitude tout à fait correcte. Il sera de notre intérêt de l'y seconder.

Vous trouverez dans le dossier copie des instructions que nous avons

données à M. de Novikov en vue des pourparlers à trois, que nous avons proposé d'établir à Vienne. Vous y trouverez également copie d'une lettre que le courrier du jour porte à M. d'Oubril.

Ces pièces Vous mettront au fait de notre situation du moment vis-à-vis de l'Allemagne et de l'Autriche.

348. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 6/18 FEBRUARY 1878

(ch) Apprenons par voies les plus secrètes que le Gouvernement Britannique négocie achat d'une partie de la flotte turque faisant choix des meilleurs cuirasses construits en Angleterre. Layard espère réussir. Le 16 Derby a dit au même Ambassadeur qu'il espère que commandants turcs sauront défendre Gallipoli si attaqués, mais qu'il déclare au Sultan si position forte de rive asiatique devait (pouvait) être occupé par l'Angleterre sans nouvelle protestation de la Porte, ce fort serait rendu à la Turquie après conclusion de la paix.

349. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 7/19 FEBRUARY

(ch) Par voies très secrètes apprenons que le Sultan négocie contre nous avec l'Angleterre et que sa courtoisie apparente n'est qu'une manœuvre pour gagner du temps.

350. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 7/19 FEBRUARY

(cl) Sending courier 20th. British Government has communicated following (ch) Il accepte avec grande satisfaction nos assurances sur Gallipoli. Est prêt à les rencontrer par engagement correspondant de ne pas débarquer troupes sur côte européen des Détroits il est disposé à étendre cet engagement sur côte asiatique des Dardanelles à la réception du Gouvernement russe de l'assurance que Gouvernement de Reine ne doute pas être incluse en principe dans ce qui a été déjà déclaré, que Russie pour sa part n'occupera pas côte asiatique des Détroits. Derby a ajouté que réponse favorable détendrait entièrement situation. J'ai appréhendé sous-entendre ou sens caché. Derby assure que non et que cela ne concerne en rien occupation par nous de Batum ou autre point litoral Mer Noire. Demande Angleterre me paraît anodine même niaise.

351. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 7/19 FEBRUARY

(cl) En réponse à Votre télégramme d'hier et celui d'aujourd'hui, concernant (ch) intrigues anglo-turques, Vous assure positivement que Layard pas chargé négocier achat de vaisseaux turcs. Gouvernement anglais s'est borné à acheter les trois cuirasses qui étaient dans les chantiers anglais et dont j'ai interdit le départ. Prétendue offre à la Turquie d'occuper les forts sur rive asiatique est également fausse. Layard a été seulement chargé de pressentir les moyens que la Porte emploieraient pour défendre Dardanelles s'il y avait lieu. Tout cela m'a été positivement affirmé par Derby. En général, relations anglaises avec le Sultan sont provisoirement froides et mauvaises. Je mets Vos renseignements en doute.

(cl) Détails par courrier.

352. SHUVALOV, 8/20 FÉVRIER

(ch) Nouveau recul d'Andrassy. Il refuse signer engagements avant fin de Conférence. Question de l'emprunt reste donc suspendue

353. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 8/20 FEBRUARY

(cl) Reçu Vos deux télégrammes du 7/19. Hier diacre Speransky parti en courrier pour Londres. (ch) Les faits que Vous refusez d'après assertions Derby si (?) positivement, reposent non sur des ouï-dire mais sur preuves incontestables qui avons eu entre nos mains. De même quant à duplicité du Sultan à notre égard.

354. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 21 FEBRUARY

Je Vous renvoie Votre courrier Berg.

Toutes Vos expéditions jusqu'à celle dont il était porteur nous sont parvenues et ont été lues par S.M. avec un vif intérêt.

Celle du jour Vous mettra au fait de tous les détails de la situation.

La signature de la paix préliminaire et l'acceptation de Berlin comme siège du Congrès en sont les points culminants.

Nous croyons y voir des indices sérieux en faveur d'une solution pacifique de la présente crise et il est probable que cette impression réagira également sur la situation à Londres. On a dû y acquiescer la conviction de l'inanité des calculs qu'on avait fondé sur une alliance active de l'Autriche contre nous. Vous trouverez à ce sujet dans le présent dossier des données significatives.

Il reste à savoir si cette conviction et l'ensemble des circonstances en présent desquelles se prépare le Congrès de Berlin, viendront à l'appui des vues pacifiques de Lord Derby ou au secours des résolutions extrêmes que la conscience de l'impasse où il s'est fourvoyé peut suggérer à Lord Beaconsfield. Nous attendrons avec un vif intérêt Vos appréciations à ce sujet.

Vous releverez dans les rapports de Berlin, joints au dossier du jour, les sentiments belliqueux manifestés par le Prince de Galles et le peu d'encouragement qu'y a donné le Prince de Bismarck.

Si la nécessité de relever son prestige aux Indes domine le Gouvernement anglais au point de l'aveugler, on devrait s'attendre de sa part à des coups de tête plutôt qu'aux dispositions conciliantes que le Congrès de Berlin aura pour mission de faire prévaloir.

Ainsi que je Vous l'ai mandé par télégraphe, nous nous attendons au refus de Lord Derby d'y prendre personnellement part, et nous accepterons tout Plénipotentiaire désigné pour le remplacer.

Nous aurions voulu Vous venir en aide en faisant cesser, un moment plus tôt, l'irritation produite en Angleterre par l'incertitude et les faux renseignements sur les conditions de la paix. Mais nous n'en connaissons pas encore les termes définitifs et il eût été dangereux de Vous transmettre des renseignements incomplets et prématurés.

Le Comte Ignatiev va se mettre en route par voie de mer, pour nous

apporter l'instrument de la paix préliminaire, dont les ratifications seront échangées ici. Le texte en sera aussitôt publié.

Il est probable que l'effet de cette publication sera plutôt calmant en raison même des conjectures exagérées qui l'auront précédée.

Lorsqu'il a été question d'une réunion de Plénipotentiaires à Baden-Baden, le choix de S.M. l'Empereur s'était fixé sur Vous pour y représenter la Russie, malgré l'inconvénient sérieux qu'eût entraîné Votre absence de Londres dans un moment aussi important, et la nécessité de Vous y remplacer provisoirement par un Envoyé en mission extraordinaire.

N.A.M. s'était plu à reconnaître par cette marque de confiance le zèle et l'habileté qui ont caractérisé Votre activité dans le cours de toute cette crise.

Le choix de Berlin rendant ma présence possible, il n'y a plus lieu de Vous déplacer. Mais j'ai tenu à Vous faire connaître ces intentions éventuelles de S.M. comme un auguste suffrage à Votre égard.

En restant à Londres, Vous aurez d'ailleurs une tâche essentielle à remplir, celle de maintenir le Cabinet de Londres dans les voies où Votre influence personnelle a réussi à le placer jusqu'à présent, en le préservant des résolutions violentes et des mauvaises inspirations de l'orgueil blessé. Je suis persuadé que Vous l'accomplirez avec la même habileté.

OBITUARY

METROPOLITAN EULOGIUS

THE death of His Beatitude Metropolitan Eulogius, head of the Russian Orthodox Church in Western Europe, brought to a close the career of one of the most influential Russian bishops of this century. He had been in failing health for several years and died on 8th August, 1946, at his residence in Paris. Born the son of a poor parish priest in Central Russia, he advanced steadily through the usual stages of the monastic career until he became bishop, then archbishop, a member of the Third State Duma, one of the leading figures at the Great Sobor of the Russian Church in Moscow in 1917, and finally the outstanding figure and head of the Russian Church in Western Europe.

His name before he took the monastic name of Eulogius was Vassily Semenovitch Georgievsky, and he was born on 10th-23rd April, 1868. Four children born to his parents died in infancy, and his mother rejoiced when the revered staretz Ambrosius at Optina Pustina, to whom she had gone for comfort, looked at the child Vassily and said simply, "He will live." Indeed it was a hard life, his father borrowing money even for the daily needs and even more to start the boy in school. The whole future seemed erased when their simple village house burned. Yet such were the common circumstances of village priests in those days and they did not lose courage. By diligence and good humour, rather than by brilliance of intellect, the young Vassily passed through the Seminary and Academy, being ordained to the priesthood on 12th-25th February, 1895.

After a period of pastoral service he was nominated to the episcopate of the diocese of Kholm, located in the territory which historically has been disputed between Poland and Russia. The consecration took place in January, 1903, at Kholm, instead of at St Petersburg. This decision was taken by the Holy Synod, possibly at the suggestion of the Ober-Procurator, as a means of attracting public attention to the task of regaining loyalty to the Russian State and to the Orthodox Church on the part of the population of this province which had been lost to Uniatism and Polish nationality. The young Bishop entered this field with a sense of mission, both as a Russian patriot and as a servant of the Orthodox Church. As a result, he was praised by some and castigated by others. Even Lenin referred to his work as typical of the dastardly hand of the Church in deluding the people. On the other hand, having been elected to the State Duma, when he set out for the capital he was met at the stations *en route* by delegations of these very people, who presented him with petitions as their friend and advocate, hoping through his intervention to secure legislation

which would relieve them of their hard and apparently hopeless lot under the landowners of the region. I recall conversations with some of these people when I visited this territory a quarter of a century later, and learned of their deep affection and appreciation for "Vladika Evlogij." He may perhaps justly be both condemned and praised. He was convinced that the future of this people lay in their regaining Russian language, Russian customs, and the Orthodox faith. To this end he urged the children to speak Russian and sing Orthodox hymns, and he strengthened the position of the Orthodox clergy. Yet Kholm was in the territory acquired by Russia in the partition of Poland, and the Bishop's actions were in fulfilment of the Tsar's decree of 1887 abolishing Uniatism. Kholm was the very centre of the conflict between Polish and Russian nationality, between Roman and Moscow obedience.

The struggle had been intense in the 16th and 17th centuries, and reached a climax with the capitulation of the Orthodox bishops in this territory to Rome in the year 1695, by which act the Uniat movement was installed among the Slav people. Two centuries is long enough to assume permanence and Eulogius' plea for "return to Orthodoxy" had no meaning for many. On the other hand, the Orthodox tradition had been kept alive by brotherhoods, led chiefly by laymen who carried on both a religious and a social programme among the people. The Kholm Orthodox Brotherhood was the strongest organisation in the hands of Bishop Eulogius in carrying out his programme. It is fateful to note that in 1945, after the Soviet incorporation of this territory, the Unia was again formally dissolved, after the removal of the Uniat bishops incumbent at that time.

Apart from the religious question stood the problem of the economic and social conditions of the peasants. Eulogius was himself well acquainted with poverty and took a deep interest in efforts to improve the lot of individuals both directly and by supporting reform measures at the Duma. In so doing he encountered the opposition of conservatives, both in the Kholm diocese and in Russia. While attacked for his conservatism in religion, he at the same time earned the appellation of a liberal in social and economic matters. This contradictory reputation lasted until his death.

The first revolution caught Eulogius as Archbishop of Volhynia, with his cathedral at Zhitomir. There were the usual disturbances, but the Archbishop suffered no real hardships until the following year. In June, 1917, he participated in the work of the pre-Sobor Commissions, and attended the Sobor itself when it opened on 15th August in Moscow. He was chairman of the Commission on Worship Services, Preaching and Religious Art. He took part in the election of Patriarch Tikhon, whom he considered the best man for this high office in the critical years of the revolution.

Returning to Volhynia at Christmas-time, he lived through the hard-

ships which were customary to such a period of violence. He was arrested first by the Soviets, then by the Poles. The latter evacuated him, together with Archbishop Anthony Khrapovitzky, under guard to Lwow, where they were for several days sheltered in the palace of the Uniat Metropolitan Sheptitzky—a striking episode in light of Eulogius' experience in Kholm. Release from imprisonment took place finally in Krakow, at the instance of the French Government, through whom appeal had been sent. Archbishop Eulogius desired to return to his post, and took the route via Roumania, Constantinople and the Black Sea to Novosibirsk and Rostov on the Don. He got no further because of the advance of the Bolshevik troops, and again was evacuated to Constantinople. While in Rostov, however, he took part in the organisation of the Supreme Church Administration of the Russian Church in territories lacking communication with the Patriarchate.

Travelling by way of Constantinople and Saloniki, he arrived in Belgrade, where he was warmly received by the Serbian bishops, and took an active part in calling the Supreme Church Administration from Constantinople to Belgrade, as well as in the organising of the new functions of this body to meet the needs of the great population of Russian Orthodox emigrating or exiled by the revolution.

At a meeting of the Supreme Church Administration under the presidency of Metropolitan Anthony Khrapovitzky on 2nd-15th of April, 1921, Archbishop Eulogius was officially appointed to have charge of the Russian Orthodox parishes in Western Europe, pending restoration of communication with the all-Russian Patriarchate in Moscow. From this appointment follows the story of conflict over authority in the Russian Church abroad. Archbishop Eulogius notified the leading parishes of his new arch-diocese, and received from the Rector in Paris, Jacob Smirnov, a reply expressing uncertainty regarding the validity of the Archbishop's appointment. When Eulogius wrote him again, Father Smirnov turned to Archbishop Seraphim of Finland, asking him to secure instructions from the Patriarchate. In reply the Patriarchate addressed Ukaz No. 423, dated 26th March-8 April, 1921, to Archbishop Eulogius ("of Volynia and Žitomir") reading in part "in view of the decision of the Supreme Russian Church Administration abroad, to consider the Orthodox Russian Churches in Western Europe as being temporarily, pending the restoration of rightful and unhindered communications between the above-named Churches with Petrograd, under the administration of Your Grace," . . . This Ukaz has been a basic reference in the period of confusion. It is to be noted that the action taken by the Supreme Church Administration had already given this post to Eulogius temporarily "pending the restoration of communications with the all-Russian Orthodox Patriarchate."

The Supreme Church Administration met in November, 1921, and Eulogius found the temper of the body to be highly political. They voted to send a protest to Geneva against the Soviet régime in Russia,

while Eulogius objected on the grounds that this was a political action and might lead to serious consequences for the Church in Russia. His judgment was sound, for the decision was reported in the Russian press abroad, and became known in Moscow to both the Patriarch and the Government. It became one of the most serious charges against the Metropolitan Benjamin of Petrograd as well as Patriarch Tikhon. The Holy Synod sent a new Ukaz to Archbishop Eulogius ("formerly Archbishop of Volynia and Žitomir"), dated May 22-June 5, 1922, in which the decision is announced: "the Supreme Church Administration to be abolished, retaining temporarily the administration of the Russian parishes abroad in the hands of Your Grace, and instructing you to present proposals regarding the manner of administering the above-named churches."

In later years, the Metropolitan Eulogius (raised to this title by patriarchal Ukaz dated 17th-30th January, 1922) expressed regret that he did not proceed definitely and immediately to the execution of this Ukaz, but instead agreed to the Administration continuing to function, in line with their decision, "to postpone execution until clarification of the condition under which it (Ukaz) was issued." The Metropolitan Eulogius continued his administration of church affairs in Western Europe, while the Administration, commonly called the Karlovtsi Bishops because of their headquarters at Karlovtsi in Synmia, Yugoslavia administered the Russian churches in the Balkans. In 1927 the Metropolitan refused to join in a plan whereby his province, the Balkan province, the Russians in the Far East, and the Russian Church in America should form four provinces under the Supreme Church Administration in Karlovtsi. In consequence the latter claimed authority over the Russians in Western Europe, appointing as head the Metropolitan Seraphim, formerly Archbishop of Finland. Metropolitan Eulogius suffered greatly from this action.

When the Orthodox Church in Soviet Russia was passing through a period which can hardly be called by any other name than persecution, in 1930 and 1931, Metropolitan Eulogius took part in protest, and was thereupon requested by the Patriarchate in Moscow to give a promise of loyalty not only to the Russian Church but to the Soviet Government on behalf of himself and his province. He was prepared to go part way, but could not accede to the second demand, and was suspended. Meanwhile he was accepted temporarily by the Ecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople with the title of Exarch for the Russian parishes in Europe. This breach with the Russian Church was not healed until 1945, when the mood of the Russian emigration was strongly patriotic and the Metropolitan Eulogius himself was indeed foremost in his desire to return to complete harmony with the Moscow Patriarchate and the Russian homeland. He accepted the new certificate of Soviet citizenship granted by the Soviet decree of 14 June, 1946. It was of deepest regret to him that the Patriarchate of Moscow and that of Constantinople

were unable to find an agreement in regard to authority for administering the Russians in Western Europe, and the problem is still open.

His administration in Western Europe was marked by extraordinary development in the internal and external life of the Church. The number of parishes in France and neighbouring countries rose to nearly eighty. To provide these parishes with priests and, particularly, to carry on the work of theological education and theological research left undone in the Soviet Union because of the closing of all seminaries and academies, the Metropolitan created the Institute of Orthodox Theology at Paris, commonly known as the Russian Academy. In doing so he revealed wisdom in gathering together the forward-looking elements in the emigration, from among students and other youth, the liberal intelligentsia, the former members of the Great Russian Sobor, and the group of theologians and Orthodox scholars, such as the late Rev. Sergius Bulgakov, who have made the Institute and indeed Russian Orthodoxy a reality instead of a myth to the peoples of Western Europe and Great Britain.

His support of the Russian Student Christian Movement and the Russian undertakings of the Young Men's Christian Association, together with the work of the Institute, brought him into the swing of the œcumenic movement. Indeed his first contact was at the meeting of theologians under Bishop Gore and Bishop Brent in Geneva in 1921. Later he attended the celebration at Lambeth in 1925, commemorating the Council of Nicæa. From that time on he participated in many meetings of the Faith and Order and the Life and Work movements and finally at the meeting at Utrecht which drew up the proposed constitution for the World Council of Churches, now in process of formation. It was my privilege to interpret for him at the latter gathering, and I recall the earnestness with which he followed details in the discussion and spoke with clarity in making certain that the Orthodox position would be given its proper place in the fundamental conceptions as well as the organisation of the Council.

The Metropolitan wrote no books or articles. He did not lecture, and his sermons were more like conversations with his people than prepared addresses. His simple working room was open to callers of high or low degree, for he was at home with all of them and they with him. It was not in his character to condemn his opponents; he felt sorry for them but particularly sorry that division should occur in the Church which he so dearly loved. He found great comfort in the understanding and sympathy of Archbishops Davidson, Lang and Temple, and particularly of Dr. John R. Mott. He knew no foreign language well enough to converse in it, but quickly made himself at home in any situation. Wherever he went he carried with him a certain spiritual authority, for it was clear to all that he desired nothing for himself but only the welfare of God's Church and the work of Christ's salvation. Shortly before he died he told me again of his deep regret that owing

to failing health he would not be able to return to Russia for his last days. To the end he remained what he had been as a young priest and bishop—a servant of the Church and a patriot among his people.

PAUL B. ANDERSON.

Paris, February 11, 1947.

SAMUEL H. CROSS

PROFESSOR SAMUEL H. CROSS's sudden death on 15 October has further sadly depleted the American ranks of scholars in the humanities division of the Slavic field—Professors Patrick and Kaun of California, Lanz of Stanford, and Strelsky of Vassar have all died within the last three years. The latest loss has been a particularly severe one, because Professor Cross has played a prominent part in developing Slavic studies.

Born in 1891 of solid American stock, Cross graduated from Harvard in 1912 and took his Ph D. at the same institution in 1916. He completed his studies abroad at the universities of Graz, Freiburg, Berlin and Leningrad. During the First World War he served with distinction in the United States Army (1917–1920), interrupting his first teaching position at Western Reserve University. While abroad he was detailed to serve with the American Commission to Negotiate Peace (1919–1920); became trade commissioner of the United States Department of Commerce (1920), commercial attaché of the American Embassy at Brussels (1921–1925); served with the American Legation at the Hague (1923–1925); and became chief of the European Division of the Department of Commerce (1925–1926). Meanwhile, he had married Constance Curtis (28 June, 1918), from which marriage were born three daughters.

Cross resumed his teaching career as an instructor in German at Harvard in 1928, and from that time on his rise was rapid, for he became a Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures at Harvard in 1930 and Chairman of his Department. Recognition of his efforts in the field soon followed here and abroad, for he was named fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the Mediæval Academy of America; delegate of the American Council of Learned Societies and Chairman of its Committee on Slavic Studies, member of the Seminarium Kondakovianum (Belgrade), Institut d' Études Slaves (University of Paris), Slavonic Institute (Prague), School of Slavonic Studies (University of London), Académie Diplomatique Internationale (Paris), and of the Circle Gaulois (Brussels).

A great deal of Professor Cross's academic efforts went into editorial work, for he was editor of *Speculum*, the *American Slavonic Review* and *Byzantium*, and consulting editor of the *Journal of Central European Affairs*.

All who knew Cross were impressed by his unusual acquisitive powers, his brilliant memory, and linguistic ability. He was as much at home in Latin and Greek as in the modern languages of Western and Eastern Europe. His peculiar gifts in comparative philology and mediæval lore

made one regret that his busy existence and editorial work left him no time to produce the kind of scholarly publications in these fields of which he was thoroughly capable. With academic training and abilities that were the envy of his colleagues, he nevertheless preferred the active life of contemporary affairs to the cloistered existence of the scholar. He came to the field of Slavic studies when it was at a low ebb in America, and he worked tirelessly up and down the country in his efforts to encourage development in the field.

In my many years of intimate association with Cross, I remember him as a boon companion and clever wit, a kind of Elizabethan figure in his large capacity for the stuff of life. His vigorous, dominating personality will be missed in the circle of Slavic scholars.

ERNEST J. SIMMONS.

PROFESSOR CROSS—AN APPRECIATION

It is with a special feeling of personal loss that we have to record the sudden death from heart failure of Professor Samuel H. Cross, head of the Slavic Department of Harvard University.

He carried on the work so brilliantly organised in Harvard by Archibald Cary Coolidge, who was the real founder of university Slavic studies in the United States and did much to maintain the eminence of Harvard in these studies. In this vitally important cause Professor Cross took a leading place in America, furthering it through various national institutions, and he also maintained, like Coolidge before him, that contact with the responsible agencies of diplomacy which it is so desirable that the universities should not leave entirely to columnists or other writers without any academic background of knowledge.

Professor Cross was one of the American Contributing Editors of this *Review*. In 1940, apart from all the war difficulties in Great Britain, the three British Editors were all in government service which precluded publication work. Professor Cross, with a number of other American Slavic scholars, chivalrously undertook to carry on the *Review* for us during the war years, continuing under our own title and thus averting any break in the sequence. It was always understood between us that when we resumed our work later, as we have since done, the American publication would continue separately, as it has done under the title of the *American Slavic Review*. To emphasise the friendly co-operation of the two, an exchange of editorial representation was made between them.

His loss will leave a big blank in American Slavic scholarship. In recent years death has stricken down so many of the leaders—George Patrick and Alexander Kaun of California, Henry Lanz of Stanford, Nikander Strelsky of Vassar. Yet a number of young and keen scholars are pressing forward to occupy the empty places, and since Pearl Harbour the number of colleges and institutions offering Russian studies has risen from 19 to 110.

BERNARD PARES.

BOOK REVIEWS

History of Diplomacy. Edited by V. P. Potyomkin, Member of the Academy of Sciences. Moscow, 1941-1945, 3 volumes.

THE foreword to this composite work of more than 1,700 pages (not counting the bibliography) stresses the fact that it is just a "History of Diplomacy" and not a "History of International Relations." In point of fact, however, it is just what is technically—and quite adequately—known as History of International Relations, with a tendency to depart from the main subject into the internal history of one country or another. Particular prominence is occasionally given to certain individual statesmen or diplomats—but this is usual in all works on the history of international relations. The two last chapters contain an essay on the ways of "bourgeois" diplomacy, and a rather elementary outline of the rules of International Law governing the work of diplomacy as well as of its forms and technique—but then this is not history.

The "History of Diplomacy" differs from other historical works on the subject in that it claims to be the first attempt at a Marxist approach. However, apart from the period 1917-1939, the account of which is given not so much from a Marxist as simply from the official viewpoint of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, the authors of the various parts of the work do indeed try to interpolate now and then general Marxist remarks and, still more often, to put in quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin; yet the connection of those quotations with the exposition of events is for the most part purely mechanical and, fortunately, with the exception of the period 1917-1939, Marxist and Communist phraseology is not too frequent and does not prevent the reader's following the thread of the historical narrative.

Volume I (528 pages) embraces ancient, mediæval and modern history up to the Franco-Prussian war and the Treaty of Frankfort; volume II (394 pages) covers the period from 1872 to 1918; and volume III (816 pages) brings the narrative down to the outbreak of war in 1939. Not counting the chapter on the working of diplomacy already referred to, eleven historians took part in the work. The events of the years 1917-1939 are dealt with by three authors, one of whom was Mr. Potyomkin, the late Assistant Foreign Commissar, who is also the general editor of the whole work. As is seldom avoidable in composite works, not all the parts are equally balanced, the exposition in the first two volumes being as a rule concise, or even at times too concise, whereas in volume III it is detailed and now and then diluted by irrelevant material. The work is of unequal quality, while the chapters beginning with the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 are, as will be shown, of a special character.

The chapters by Professor V. S. Sergeev on international relations in the ancient world, by Professor V. A. Kosminsky on the Middle Ages,

by Professor S. D. Skazkin on the 16th–18th centuries, and by Professor S. V. Bakhrushin on the diplomatic relations of Russia since the foundation of the State of Kiev up to the end of the 18th century—give at every stage a short but clear survey of the subject. These surveys, based on serious knowledge of the facts, are well written. The survey by Professor Bakhrushin marks an obvious progress when compared with what was written forty years ago on the beginnings of Russian diplomacy for the official History of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The period from the outbreak of the French Revolution till the *Brumaire* is covered in outline by A. L. Narochnitsky. His exposition of the international aspect of that stormy decade is on the whole correct. Its accuracy is slightly impaired by occasional coarseness of phrase ("Instead of waging war against France, Catherine was going to *be bothered* with the Poles" or "The overturn in Poland and *bother* with the Poles"—I, 334) and by a certain tendency to simplification by means of the bogey of the "bourgeoisie." It is a pity that in what is on the whole a fairly full account of the principal events in the international field Narochnitsky did not give adequate space and just consideration to the Treaty of Campo-Formio, which is undoubtedly of very great importance for the understanding not only of the policy of the Directory, but also of subsequent events. The exposition of the contents of this treaty (I, 357) is cursory, and some highly important parts of it are ignored.

Beginning with the Consulate, the diplomatic history of the 19th century is written by two distinguished historians—Professor E. V. Tarle, whose work embraces the period from 1799 to 1870, and Professor V. M. Khvostov, who deals with the years 1871–1917.

Professor Tarle's high qualifications are based on many years' research in the archives of the period, particularly the French. He wields a skilful pen, and treats his material with the ease of an expert. It is disappointing, therefore, that in his much too cursory outline of the Napoleonic period diplomacy is just the subject to which he pays the least attention. The intricate diplomatic work which preceded the formation of the Third Coalition is disregarded, the famous diplomatic documents—the Novossiltzeff Instructions of 1804 and Pitt's reply to them—are not even mentioned by Tarle. Nor does he give any account of the important Treaty of Pressburg. When speaking of Napoleon's Continental System, the author omits to mention either the British counterstroke—the famous Orders in Council of 1807—or the sharp friction which thereafter arose between Britain and the United States. Passing to the end of this period, Tarle does not mention Castlereagh's significant programme Instructions of April, 1813, nor the so-called "bases de Francfort" of November of the same year; and although he mentions the Congress of Chatillon, he fails to explain the true sense of that diplomatic *mise en scène*. Finally—and this seems quite incomprehensible—Tarle completely ignores the first and the second Treaties of Paris of 1814 and 1815.

Moreover, it is disappointing to find in his work a certain amount of carelessness, which gives one the impression that the author relied too much on his memory. Now and then his exposition of facts lacks precision, his characterisation is simplified, his formulations and conclusions hasty, while dubious versions or contestable conjectures are presented as established facts. A few examples may not be superfluous.

It is not correct to affirm that Bonaparte negotiated in Campo-Formio without any authority, or that he "negotiated" with the Sultan of Mysore (I, 360). The fact is that not only was Bonaparte invested with the Directory's full power to negotiate with the Austrians and to conclude the important peace treaty known as that of Campo-Formio, but the Directory gave him instructions to that effect—which, it is true, Bonaparte did not follow in full. As to "negotiations" with the Sultan of Mysore (another example of Bonaparte's self-styled actions), they never took place: there was nothing but a letter to Tippoo Sahib in which Bonaparte informed the Indian ruler of the arrival of French troops on the shores of the Red Sea, troops "filled with the desire of delivering you from the iron yoke of England"—but this letter, designed to keep the British busy in India, was not answered by the Sultan and did not lead to any action whatsoever.

Tarle is not the first who tells, as if it were fact, the very doubtful story of the beginning of the *tête-à-tête* negotiations in Tilsit between Alexander and Napoleon. According to this story, the first interview of the two Emperors on the raft in midstream on the Niemen started with the following dialogue. "To Napoleon's words 'Why are we waging war, Sire?'—Alexander hastened to reply, 'I hate the English as much as you do and I will assist Your Majesty in everything you undertake against them'; 'If so,' said Napoleon, 'peace is made'" (I, 368). The story is based on no trustworthy evidence. What is more, whoever has studied or considered the personality of Alexander (Tarle treats him unfavourably, but calls him a man "of supple and resourceful intellect," "unyielding, trusting nobody," "knowing how to control himself") cannot help being sure that this story is invented. It is impossible to believe that Alexander, entering into negotiations, began by admitting his own isolation (which, in fact, did not then exist), thus hopelessly weakening his position and compromising his relations with Britain, of whose assistance he might still be in need. Furthermore, it is impossible to believe that, should the alleged dialogue have been true, Napoleon would have failed to make use of Alexander's words in his struggle against Britain.

Speaking of the Peace of Schonbrunn and the cession of Galicia to the Duchy of Warsaw, Tarle remarks that by doing this Napoleon "disclosed his secret dream of restoring Poland" (I, 371). This allegation is surprising, coming from such a historian, especially from a student of 1812. For it is just the events of 1812, as well as the whole history of the Duchy of Warsaw, which show clearly that Napoleon never seriously

intended to re-establish an independent Polish State. The recently published Memoirs of Caulaincourt disclose Napoleon's real feelings and designs as regards Poland. His "dreams" never went beyond creating satellites which would serve his own aims, and he never "dreamt" of restoring the independence of any foreign nation.

Tarle's treatment of the great diplomatic theme of Talleyrand is also surprising. He pays little attention to this incomparable master of diplomacy, beyond a few complimentary words on Talleyrand's "brilliant intelligence, inimitable skill, resourcefulness, knowledge of men." But the reader will find neither an exposition of Talleyrand's own political views nor of his attempts to influence Napoleon and to oppose his policy of conquest. His description of Talleyrand's work at the Congress of Vienna, work which brought him so much admiration, is not altogether adequate. He remarks that "France was not so much interested in preventing the strengthening of Russia as in preventing the strengthening of Prussia, her immediate neighbour" (I, 380). That is undoubtedly true. Talleyrand did, therefore, oppose the absorption of Saxony by Prussia (though, contrary to Tarle's statement, in the end Prussia got a not inconsiderable part of Saxony, the so-called Province of Saxony); but—and this was and remains incomprehensible—he agreed to Prussia's establishing herself, on Castlereagh's insistence, on the left bank of the Rhine. This means that the beginning of what became fatal to the security of France took place with the agreement of Talleyrand, or at any rate without his opposition—a fact which seems to Louis Madelin, the latest biographer of Talleyrand, inexplicable. It is a pity that Tarle does not deal with this aspect of the Vienna Congress either as regards Talleyrand's or Castlereagh's policy.

Speaking of the same Congress of Vienna, Tarle makes a mistake, probably a slip of the pen, when he states that the Emperor Alexander got all he wanted as regards Poland (I, 381). The truth is that in Vienna Alexander, subjected to the united pressure of Great Britain, Austria and France, was forced to content himself with the greater part of the Duchy of Warsaw and to yield considerable parts of Poland to Prussia and Austria. A century later, the well-known Polish historian, Szymon Askenazy, regarded Alexander's failure to gain the whole country as a misfortune for Poland, which was in consequence condemned to another hundred years of partition.

Tarle covers the diplomatic history of the subsequent fifty-five years—up to the Franco-Prussian war and the Treaty of Frankfort, with fewer shortcomings or slips and with more sense of proportion than in his account of the Napoleonic period. However, his exposition of the events which led to the conclusion of the famous Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi (I, 417) is not altogether accurate; the sequence of events is not quite correctly given, and the exposition of the contents of the Treaty is not fully exact. Tarle states positively that the Treaty provided for the opening of the Bosphorus to the Russian Navy, whereas this is merely

the most probably correct interpretation of the famous secret article concerning the closing of the Dardanelles. Tarle is also inaccurate in his account of Lord John Russell's note to the Russian Government, which concluded the British intervention during the Polish insurrection of 1863 (I, 487) : in fact, the famous note was, contrary to Tarle, delivered to Prince Gortchakov, but only after one sentence in the note was crossed out at the latter's demand by Lord Russell.

These—and other—shortcomings call for a careful revision when a new edition of the work is prepared. But apart from these probably accidental errors and omissions, some sections of Professor Tarle's historical narrative—such, for instance, as that on the origins of the Crimean war and on the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris—are very well written. Speaking generally and taking into consideration the fact that in the space of about 150 pages Tarle had to cover a period so immensely rich in events as the first seventy years of the 19th century, we are bound to acknowledge that many parts of his work could hardly have been better done. Nevertheless, it should be revised and improved.

In Volume II, Professor V. M. Khvostov's survey embraces almost half a century—full of intricate and often very knotty events in the field of international policy: the tension of Franco-German relations in 1874 and 1875, the Eastern crisis of 1875-1877, the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, and the Congress of Berlin; the German-Austrian alliance and the "Three Emperors' " Treaty, the end of Bismarck's foreign policy; the colonial expansion of the Great Powers at the end of the 19th century; the conclusion of the Russo-French alliance; the acuteness of the situation in the Far East; the beginnings of Anglo-German antagonism, the events at the turn of the century—the Spanish-American and the Boer wars, the first Hague Conference, the construction of the Panama Canal, the Boxer rising in China, the Russo-Japanese war, the foundation of the Anglo-French Entente and the events which followed it—the attempts of Germany to dissociate Russia from France and England, the Moroccan crises, the Conference of Algeciras, the Anglo-Russian agreement on Persia; the struggle between the two Coalitions—Casablanca, Potsdam, Agadir; the Italo-Turkish war, the Balkan wars of 1912-1913; and finally the outbreak of the first World War, and diplomatic activities during the war until November, 1917.

Professor Khvostov's exposition is of a peculiarly concise nature, so that the reader especially interested in one or other short period or event may be sometimes vexed by omissions of important facts or details. On the other hand, the compression is partly—though rather stingily—compensated for by the use the author has made of Russian documents. Some subjects and events might have been—and have been by others—related differently or shown in another light; but then history is controversial.

Still, there are some lapses in Khvostov's survey, and a few of them ought to be indicated.

It is too much to assert (II, 127) that in 1898 Lord Salisbury offered the Russian Government "a grandiose scheme for the partition of China and of the Ottoman Empire"—an offer which was declined by Russia. What we in fact know of the British overture to Russia in January-March, 1898; surely does not warrant such a categorical statement. We know that in a secret telegram to Sir N. O'Connor of 25 January, 1898, Salisbury wrote: "We would not admit the violation of any existing treaties, or impair the integrity of the present Empires of either China or Turkey. These two conditions are vital. We aim at no partition of territory, but only a partition of preponderance." Three weeks later, after the British overture was the subject of conversations with the Emperor Nicholas II and the Russian Foreign Minister, O'Connor in his note to Count Muraviev dated 12 February, 1898, reproduced Salisbury's first formulation: "Under the proposed arrangement no infraction of existing rights and treaties, and no violation of the integrity of the Empires of either Turkey or China was contemplated by H.M. Government, and that their idea was a partition of preponderating political influence and not a partition of territory." It may perhaps be asserted that Salisbury's own ideas, particularly as regards Turkey, went further; but so far there is no evidence for the statement that Salisbury offered Russia the real partition of Turkey and China. It is a great pity that just at this juncture Professor Khvostov did not take the opportunity to disclose what the Russian archives have to say about this very important and interesting chapter in the history of British-Russian relations, a chapter of which our knowledge is so far much too incomplete.

The reader may also regret the incomplete manner in which, speaking of the events of 1905, Khvostov tells the story of how Delcassé lost his post of Minister of Foreign Affairs (II, 170). He omits here the important fact that the elimination of the eminent French statesman was the result of almost undisguised German pressure, for the success of which Bülow was rewarded by a principedom.

Further, Professor Khvostov is incautiously inclined to attribute to Lord Lansdowne the promise to France of military aid against Germany (II, 176), in spite of the unequivocal evidence against this in the *British Documents on the Origins of the War* (Vol. 3, Nos. 99 and 105—a letter by Lord Lansdowne to Sir F. Lascelles of 16 June, 1905, and the opinion by Lord Sanderson with a comment by Lord Lansdowne).

Finally, Professor Khvostov's suggestion that in 1917 the Government of Nicholas II came near to concluding effectively a separate peace with Germany and Austria-Hungary (II, 293, 295) is undoubtedly wrong.¹

¹ Professor Mintz, the author of the part of the *History of Diplomacy* embracing the years 1917-1923, writes bluntly in the same Volume II (p. 310): "It is established by documents in the archives that the Tsar's Government itself was negotiating with Germany for the conclusion of a separate peace in order to intensify the fight against Russian workers and toiling people. It is also known that the Provisional Government, too, did not mind making peace with Germany, and some of its members, like the former Minister of Foreign Affairs Miliukov, straightway

Apart from these and a few other minor lapses Professor Khvostov's outline is marked by a scholarly endeavour to be as accurate as possible and by a sense of proportion. It is well done and well written.

The last part of Volume II and almost the whole of Volume III are devoted to events during the period from the October Revolution of 1917 to the outbreak of the recent war. Here we have to do with a quite peculiar kind of historical literature.

The period 1917-1923 is treated by Professor I. I. Mintz, that from 1922 to 1938 by Professor A. M. Pankratov, and that from 1938 to 1939 by Mrs. Pankratov and the Assistant Foreign Commissar, V. P. Potyomkin. All these authors give much space to the activities of Soviet diplomacy, and there is a common background against which all events in the field of international policy are related and commented on.

International relations from 1917 to 1939 consisted entirely, according to Mr. Mintz and Mrs. Pankratov, of two fundamental components. The policy of all the Great Powers except the Soviet Union was directed by imperialist aims which resulted in a collision of interests. One group of these Powers aimed at aggression as the means of realising their craving for conquest, the other group, the democratic Great Powers, connived at aggression until they themselves became its object. As to the policy of the Soviet Union, its only persistent aim was peace and its actions were based solely on principles of democratic international peace and on the method of the integration and organisation of all forces which would be capable of resisting aggression. One of the most vigorous motives of the Democratic states was, until Hitler's ascent to power, that of hostility towards Soviet Russia, and after 1932—the desire to avert Germany's coming aggression from themselves and direct it against the Soviet Union. Only in the very last months before Germany's aggression did the Governments of Great Britain and France, pressed by democratic elements in those countries, try to obtain the co-operation of the Soviet Union in order to stop Hitler. But they did this *à contre-cœur*, regardless of the interests of the Soviet Union, for whose security they refused to provide. They declined the Soviet Union's demands for securing her strategical defence and even evaded discussion of and agreement on comprehensive strategic measures. This made negotiations pointless and prevented the formation of a democratic front against coming aggression. Thereafter the Soviet Government was not in a position to decline Germany's offer of a non-aggression pact, which was concluded on 23 August, 1939. By this pact the Soviet Union gained about two years of peace.

That is the background. Mr. Mintz and Mrs. Pankratov fill in the picture with details and partly unverified stories, the great portion of which have nothing to do with diplomatic history. What is worse—they too often betray a lack of objectivity.

Mr. Mintz deals at some length with the Civil War in Russia, Allied put forward a plan of obtaining German support in order to suppress the Revolution."—*Nothing* of the kind is "established" by the archives.

intervention, and the peace negotiations of Brest-Litovsk. According to that historian, Germany asked for an armistice only after "the front-line had moved into German territory" (II, 369). Woodrow Wilson's fourteen points "concealed patently predatory designs" (II, 367). The Treaty of Versailles—which, as Mr. Mintz declares twice, did not impose any burden of occupation on Germany (III, 51, 54)—not only "insured for a long period a collision between the victors and the vanquished," not only "dissociated by profound gulf the Slav peoples" by putting Poland in the position "to serve as a base for an assault on Russia," but also intensified the collisions of interests between the victorious Powers themselves (III, 53-54). The Treaty of Rappallo intensified still more the collisions of interests "in the camp of the Imperialists" (III, 184).

According to Mrs. Pankratov, the Locarno Agreements contained "an anti-Soviet point"; the so-called Locarno policy "provided for the formation of an anti-Soviet *bloc*" and "in fact meant simply the arrangement of forces for a new war" (III, 338, 346, 348). Even Briand's scheme of a European federation was based on the idea of creating an anti-Soviet coalition. To confirm this version, Mrs. Pankratov quotes Mr. Molotov, who said at the time that this plan of Briand's aimed "at transforming the planned organisation into a general staff for anti-Soviet aggression" (III, 414). Mrs. Pankratov asserts quite seriously that a military intervention against Soviet Russia was prepared for the spring of 1930, that it was then postponed to 1931 and thereafter to 1932 (III, 410, 442-43). And, she writes, "in these circumstances of anti-Soviet provocations and of direct preparation for a new war and intervention, the Soviet Union has shown not only vigilance, firmness and diplomatic skill, but also a profound fidelity to principle in all questions of international policy" (III, 443). When Japan launched her aggression against China, the Soviet Union declared herself neutral—and on this policy Mrs. Pankratov does not comment (III, 442). Meanwhile, dissension between the victorious Powers continued to grow and was accompanied by an increase of armaments; in particular, Ramsay MacDonald, when he became Prime Minister, "tried further to reinforce the English Army and Navy" (III, 276). The Disarmament Conference aimed at "camouflaging" the armaments of the victorious Powers, and "only the Soviet Delegation put the disarmament question upon the ground of principle, which caused the utmost irritation amidst the 'Imperialists,' who tried by means of long and fruitless discussions to screen their preparation for war" (III, 397, 400).

Hitler's ascent to power was met with reserve in the diplomatic world. In France public opinion perceived in the new German régime "an instrument of war"; however, in France too, as in Britain, there were influential circles which counted on a *rapprochement* and co-operation with Germany. "Soviet diplomacy, which saw clearly the aggressive character of Fascism, tried with all its might to rouse the vigilance of the democratic countries and to organise anti-Fascist forces" (III, 467); and from these

endeavours emerged the offer of a convention on the definition of an aggressor, which convention was thereafter concluded by Russia with her neighbours. Poland was the first country which accomplished a *rapprochement* with Hitler. Mrs. Pankratov gives once more the repeatedly published version of a proposal, made by Pilsudski to the French Government, to launch a preventive attack against Germany, which proposal was allegedly rejected by France—a story for which there is no evidence whatsoever and which is told by Mrs. Pankratov apparently in order to comment on it by another story for which there is also no evidence. This is that the alleged proposal was made because Pilsudski decided on an alliance with Germany and, knowing that France would reject his proposal, wanted to prove to opponents of the alliance with Germany that France was not to be relied on (III, 471-72). In the events which led to the decisions of Munich Mrs. Pankratov sees “a general panic, desertion and treachery” (III, 646). But on the German-Soviet Agreement of 23 August, 1939—an account, obviously incomplete, of this Agreement is given in the last chapter written by Mrs. Pankratov in co-operation with Mr. Potyomkin—the authors write that this Agreement “overthrew the designs of those reactionary English and French diplomats who planned, after having isolated the Soviet Union and not having secured her by obligations of mutual assistance, to direct German aggression against her” (III, 690).

Soviet foreign policy, according to Mr. Mintz, Mrs. Pankratov and Mr. Potyomkin, has never made a mistake and has never acted otherwise than in full accordance with “the principles.” It was unerring and infallible. Thence the great impression it invariably made on other countries and their Governments. Mr. Mintz even goes so far as to call the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk “an outstanding achievement of Soviet diplomacy” (II, 347)²—and Mrs. Pankratov echoes her colleague when she states that the German-Soviet Agreement of 23 August, 1939, was, too, “the greatest diplomatic achievement of the U.S.S.R. Government” (III, 690). Soviet diplomacy is “pertinacious and firm” (III, 337). The activity of the Soviet Delegation at the Hague Conference of 1922 “struck” the other members of that Conference (III, 197); and at the Lausanne Conference of 1922-1923 “the resolute activity of the Soviet Delegation made the strongest impression on the Conference and on the Press” (III, 220). The Soviet note in reply to Lord Curzon’s ultimatum of 1923 contained “annihilating irony” and was imbued with “particular dignity” (III, 234); while the Soviet reply to the accusations of Austin Chamberlain in 1927 “was imbued with composure, firmness and a sense of dignity” (III, 375). “The courageous, straightforward and consistent policy of the Soviet Government in questions concerning peace and collective security and its untiring activity in

² How is this judgment to be reconciled with Stalin’s words, publicly spoken in the ‘thirties and quoted in the same work, that “we experienced the dishonour of the Peace of Brest-Litovsk” (III, 491)?

exposing the aggressors and the war-mongers attracted to the U.S.S.R. the sympathies of progressive men all over the world " (III, 543). At the time of the dramatic Czechoslovak crisis of 1938 "the U.S.S.R. appeared before the world as the only country which, at the moment of general panic, desertion and treachery remained calm, proved its unalterable loyalty towards treaty obligations, and showed its firm determination to defend international peace and democracy against the war-mongers " (III, 646). Such monotonously recurrent eulogies, of which we have quoted only a few examples, culminate at the end of the survey by a kind of unversified ode in honour of Soviet foreign policy.

Mrs. Pankratov's study must have necessitated a great deal of hard work, and some parts of it contain history. But it is a pity that it contains rather too little of weighing and sifting of facts, and too many uncritical assertions, overstatements and verbal fireworks. It is rather disconcerting to find in a work claiming to be an historical study such absurd gossip as, for instance, that M. François-Poncet, the French Ambassador in Berlin, privately encouraged influential German personalities to re-militarise the Rhineland (III, 557); that Léon Blum is "a shrewd advocate who made a fortune by defending the interests of dubious clients and is a partner in one of the largest stores in Paris " (III, 580); that William Bullitt, the former American ambassador in Paris, "endeavoured to secure an alliance between France and Fascist Germany " and "became later an open German Fascist agent " (III, 610). What has been quoted above is sufficient to give the measure of the historical value of that large part of the *History of Diplomacy* which deals with diplomatic history since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

As it is shown above, the *History of Diplomacy* consists really of two works. One of them is history. The second is a mixture of history with what is the exact opposite.

B. ELKIN.

Krymskaya voina (The Crimean War). By E. V. Tarle; Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., Moscow, vol. 1, 1941, pp. 726; vol. 2, 1943, pp. 647.

THESE two squat, close-packed volumes are the most important contribution to the history of the Crimean War made by any Russian historian since the appearance between 1908 and 1912 of Zaionchkovsky's uncompleted work, which only reached the end of 1854. It is planned, in the first place, as a detailed specialist analysis of the diplomatic struggle before and during the war and at the Paris Congress, but the close of the first volume and the greater part of the second are devoted to the military and naval side of the war, above all of course in the Crimea, though including also the Danubian, Caucasus and Baltic campaigns, and the operations in the White Sea and the allied attack on Petropavlovsk in Kamchatka. Tarle intended to deal with the military and naval history only from the point of view of its interrelations with diplomacy—and

these are well brought out—but in fact he goes much beyond this and there is a great detail of military detail, especially on the heroic defence of Sebastopol and on the conditions and morale of the Russian fighting troops. Much of this is drawn from manuscript sources.

This new material does not, as far as I can judge, substantially alter the general picture as it is already known, but there are many vivid and interesting details and corroborations, particularly from the papers of Khrulev, Kornilov and Milyutin. Except for the final operations against Kars comparatively little attention is given to the Caucasus front, and there is hardly any reference to Shamil and the internal situation in the Caucasian lands. The overall dispositions of the Russians, the supply problems, Nicholas's military plans, and the precise effects of the threat from the side of Austria are not handled sufficiently comprehensively or with enough detail, presumably because much has already been written on them by previous Russian historians. The main emphasis is laid on the heroism of the Russian rank and file, and above all of the Black Sea Fleet sailors, in contrast with the ineptitude or worse of most of their leaders, especially Menshikov and M. D. Gorchakov, and in despite of the technical deficiencies of Russian armament and supply. Nakhimov, Kornilov, Todleben and a few others—well deserving of the highest praise—are written of in terms of glowing enthusiasm, bordering on hyperbole. The book was finished after the German invasion of the U.S.S.R. and this probably accounts for Tarle's concluding remarks, in which the defeat of Russia in the Crimean War is greatly minimised, and for the impression given in places that the Crimean War itself was a "war for the fatherland." Both these distortions of the structure of Nicholas I's Russia and of the results of the war have been sharply criticised by Soviet critics (as have also certain technical judgements on the operations). Tarle's glowing tributes to "Nakhimov's lions" in the defence of Sebastopol are amply justified, but it is, to say the least, misleading to couple Sebastopol with the expulsion of the Poles in 1612, Poltava and Borodino as another example of "what Russia is capable of in the hour of imminent danger" (II, 573).

The economic aspect of the struggle is not covered at any length, and Tarle roundly denounces as false Marxism any attempt to ascribe the outbreak of the war solely to the direct economic struggle of Russia with Great Britain and British for the Turkish market. On the other hand, the general setting of the war is thus described (I, 41-2): "Nicholas's aggressive plans of conquest clashed in conflict with the very broad programme of economic conquest that was already for a long time being imposed upon Turkey by the leading capitalistic powers of the West." "The eastern Padisha" agreed with Cobden that Islam was no longer compatible with the civilisation of the Balkan Christian peoples (II, 207; I, 340) and he is represented as determined to have control of the Straits, by varying means, and as bearing the guilt of aggression and a policy of ultimate conquest. But on the other side Napoleon III,

Stratford Canning and Palmerston are represented as successfully luring Nicholas on to blunder after blunder with the object of entrapping him into war under the most unfavourable conditions. Napoleon III, in particular, is held to have desired war with Russia, partly for internal reasons, especially because he held that through the Eastern Question he could best disrupt, or prevent, a general anti-French European alignment.

Tarle writes with great vigour, and some prolixity, and delights in pouring mordant contempt or sarcasm on his villains or time-serving flunkies—Nicholas, Menshikov, Nesselrode and all the aristocrats and corrupt jobbers that surrounded the court and infested the administration, Napoleon III, Buol, Stratford Canning (whom he castigates, in opposition to Temperley, as a deliberate and all-powerful warmonger), Palmerston, and Aberdeen (whom he specially berates for what he regards as his hypocritical double-dealing). Nicholas himself is allowed to have certain gifts in diplomacy, but his fundamental failing is justly characterised as ignorance, particularly ignorance of the politics and forces at work in western and central Europe. It is open to doubt whether he was so continuously misled, as Tarle holds, by the soothing syrup served up to him in the reports of Brunnow from London and Kiselev from Paris, but his initial misjudgement of Aberdeen as Prime Minister and his fatal reliance on Austria are without question among his major errors. Even more fatal, when it came to war, was his whole conception of autocracy: when the war began and it was reported to him that all classes in Russia, as it were aroused from sleep, were keenly interested to know the causes and object of the war and the intentions of the government, he remarked sourly, "That is not their business" (I, 489). The internal condition of Russia and its effect upon the war and politics do not form part of the plan of this book. As Tarle points out, here is a rich field of enquiry awaiting Soviet historians. He contents himself with stressing in general terms the vital importance of the internal front, with its ever-increasing *jacqueries*, on the military effort of Russia. After the fall of Sebastopol fears as to the peasantry made a continuation of the war almost impossible. Nor does the plan of the book include an analysis, or a sketch, of opinion among the educated classes; but the views of one wing of the Slavophiles are very well illustrated by frequent quotations from unpublished letters of the Aksakovs and Countess Bludova.

The background of the Eastern Question is interestingly presented, though unevenly; the Russian occupation of the Principalities and the Straits dispute of 1849, for instance, are passed over too lightly. From the beginning of 1853 onwards the diplomatic story is chronologically analysed, with frequent reference to the Russian foreign office papers, partly published, partly unpublished. The latter consist for the most part of the communications to and from Brunnow and Kiselev, Gorchakov in Vienna, and Orlov during the Paris Congress. (Some of these last have already been published in *Krasnyy Arkhiv* (1936, vol. 75), though not

marked as such in the footnotes.) Tarle is very widely read in the Western literature on the Crimean War, as well as of course in the Russian ; but writing as he does for readers already well acquainted with the main lines of the diplomatic struggle, he is over-inclined to portray it in the terms of his new material. This is instructive in detailed points, but for the most part does not make material additions to our knowledge. As a result too little attention is apt to be paid to evidence that is already known, for instance on the movement of the British and French fleets from Besika Bay to Constantinople, or the correspondence of Nicholas with Francis Joseph (to which one new letter is added), or on the leakage of the Russian interpretation of the Vienna note. The name of Labensky indeed is not even mentioned. Nesselrode (and by inference his subordinates) is written off as a mere quill-driver in French, and Nicholas is depicted as his own foreign minister. This is to a large extent true, but I think that Tarle exaggerates Nesselrode's unimportance, and it is disappointing that his researches do not contain anything on the personnel or inner working of the Russian foreign office, or of the Constantinople embassy, on which more light is badly needed for the time of the Meshikov mission. It is also disappointing that more attention is not paid to the activities of the Russian consuls and others in the Balkans. This omission has been, at any rate to a considerable extent, made up for by S. Nikitin's article in *Voprosy istorii*, 1946, No. 4, on "Russian policy in the Balkans and the beginning of the Crimean War," much of which is based on the archives of the Asiatic Department. Two other gaps may be noticed : Swedish relations are treated only for 1854, not for 1855 ; Sardinian not at all. The Sardinians in the Crimea are dismissed in a few lines of scathing contempt.

These criticisms do not prevent this weighty and combative book from ranking as a notable addition to the literature on the Crimean War, which it is much to be hoped will shortly appear in an American translation that is apparently being prepared. Besides its wealth of detail, it contains broad views, incisive summings-up, and elaborated character sketches,—that on Pashkevich is worth particular attention. It is well supplied with reference notes, an excellent bibliography and a good index ; but it does not contain a single map. One small, but often important, point has been overlooked : the dates of receipt of telegrams or despatches are not given. The knowledge displayed of the sources on the Eastern Question is exceptionally wide. A few additions could with advantage be made on the French and German side ; on the British the only important omission I have noticed is the late G. B. Henderson's articles. For the operations in the Baltic the life and letters of Admiral Sullivan seem to have been missed. Since Tarle wrote, three volumes of British Admiralty papers on the Baltic and Black Sea campaigns have been published by the Navy Records Society (vols. 83-85). In the last of these there is some interesting new material on relations with the Circassians and on the importance of Kerch and the Russian coasting trade,

a matter emphasised in passing by Tarle (I, 656), who considers that the Allies ought to have struck at Kerch at once in 1854. Another new collection of naval documents, *Admiral Nakhimov*, edited by M.V. Novikov and P. G. Sofinov, with a preface by Tarle himself (Moscow-Leningrad, 1945), adds very little except on the battle of Sinope and the transportation of the 13th infantry division to the Caucasus.

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CHAUCEER IN RUSSIAN

Джеффри Чосер, Кантерберийские Рассказы. Огиз; Государственное издательство художественной литературы; 1946, pp. 512, 20,000 copies.

THE adequate translation of any poem into another language usually involves a considerable degree of re-creation, but the translation of an old poem, archaic in the original language, is at the same time a work of modernisation. There is a double problem and a double interest. Such a double interest we find in the new Russian Chaucer, the work of Ivan Kashkin and O. B. Rumer. Therefore it is assumed that the main light of our criticism must be focused on this double interest, rather than on microscopic investigation of how this or that doubtful point is mastered. In the vast world of the *Tales* it is really rather unimportant to decide what feature of the Wife of Bath it was made her "gat-toothed." It would have been easy for Kashkin to accept the simple view that it meant having the teeth far apart, and being fated to travel, but to my knowledge that was never a Russian superstition, and so, introduced into the Russian version, would encumber the Prologue. It would be invidious too to quarrel with the rendering of the lines

"And by the gargat hente Chauntecleer,
And on his bak toward the wode him beer"

in the "Nonne Preesté's Tale" by

За шею хватъ — и на спину взвалил

and insist that the "his" in the second line refers not to the Fox, but Chauntecleer—for that is the way foxes carry poultry—slung over their shoulders. Chaucer was a precise observer. This detail is not quite precise in the Russian. In any case F. Konstantinov, in his wood engraving at the head of the Tale, gets it right. I repeat, in a work of this magnitude, such details are unimportant. The essential is to decide whether the Russian reader is able to get at Chaucer or not.

First a word about the book itself. This complete *Canterbury Tales*, long awaited since Mr. Rumer's first versions ("Хрестоматия западной литературы — Литература средних веков"; *Учпедгиз*; 1938, pp. 534-54) and Mr. Kashkin's "Nonne Preeste's Tale," which appeared in

Интернациональная Литература Nos. 5 and 6, 1940, is a well-prepared crown-octavo volume, of 512 pages, on a fairly good, white paper of about 55 lbs. weight. It is bound in boards drawn with a grey cloth, name and ornaments die-stamped in black and brown on front and spine, and illustrated throughout with wood engravings by F. Konstantinov. There is a 14,000-word introduction on Chaucer by Kashkin and a wood-engraving frontispiece of Chaucer himself. The edition was 20,000 copies, published by the State publishing house in 1946. There are very few copies in this country, but one may be obtained from the Society for Cultural Relations, another, I understand, being in the library of the Soviet Embassy—I give these details, since the book is naturally of some interest in itself.

One complaint—the text is rather small. No doubt psychological laboratories in the U.S.S.R. have not done the necessary research in legibility of print, or the information available has not reached printers. Otherwise it would be realised that, especially with an 8-pt. Bodoni face, it is better to use at least half leads, anyway not to print close

Now for the book itself. We can say at once, without fear of contradiction, that for him who wishes to *read* Chaucer, it is a miracle of achievement. For, though there are obviously losses, there is at the same time one positive gain. A tale in verse is built primarily on the æsthetic appeal to the ear. To this, with printing, we have added an appeal to the eye—a more direct appeal of the associations of words, conveyed through the printed symbol. In addition—all this quite apart from the human interest of the actual story—there is the appeal which results from the author's particular logic of ideas, action, images—what might be called the mental rhythm, or mental music of the verse. All of these cannot equally be conveyed, or substituted for, in a translation, yet if of these that which is essential is conveyed, we have success, and should satisfy the original author.

The direct ear music is that of which we first think in poetry; but it is by no means certain that it is the most important, even in the original poem. Were that so, a mellifluous language like Italian would always be superior to a language like Polish or Hungarian—in fact, the opposite may be the case. The extent, anyway, to which a translator succeeds in creating a substitute for this feature of the original depends on many imponderables, and these are conditioned by the whole tradition of verse of the language into which the translation is made. I shall return to this aspect in concluding.

More important, to my mind, is the simple eye music—the way in which, within the verse, words of special colour are disposed. Take these lines of Byron :

“The mountains look on Marathon,
And Marathon looks on the sea . . .”

These lines, providing a background for sentiments about Greek liberty

which follow, owe their magic, not to ear music, so much as eye music—the way in which “Marathon,” at its second appearance, cuts back against the metre, and embodies the relationship—*mountain height—Marathon—sea below*, which in turn produces what I call a mental rhythm, or mental music. Similarly, Kashkin in his “Nonne Preeste’s Tale,” gives us

“Тут соскочил петух с своей насести,
И все супруги с ним спорхнули вместе;
Их, чтоб не разбредались далско,
Он начал звать хрипучим ко-ко-ко . . .
Он выступил с осанкой горделивой . . .”

Here, he gives us a mental music by the contrast between the descent from the perch of Chauntecleer (соскочил—abstract verb) and the hens (спорхнули—concrete verb, picturesque)—and then the rhythmic reply to the latter word concerning Chauntecleer’s movements, which appears in the same metric position in its line as спорхнули—с осанкой торделивой.

This is a double music for the eye (direct *and* what I term here mental)—but it does not correspond in any way to Chaucer’s own eye music at this place. It is germane to Kashkin’s poem, not to Chaucer’s. For Chaucer has:

“And with that word he fley down fro the beme,
For it was day, and eke his hennes alle;
And with a chuk he gan hem for to calle,
For he has found a corn, lay in the yard.
Royal he was, he was namore aferd . . .”

This particular passage, in the original, is particularly poor in such “eye music” of the first order, though rich in the mental music which is a second order of eye music.

It is when we turn to Chaucer to find his “music for the eye” that we come upon a feature which, by the nature of things, we could not expect Kashkin and Rumer to reproduce—for with Chaucer the eye music of the first order is for us to-day largely conditioned by the antiquity of the language. It is an accidental accretion of time. In the passage above it is “eke” and “namore” which strike us:

“ . . . eke his hennes alle,
 . . . he was namore aferd.”

Break off, from after the cæsura, these portions of the particular lines, and omitting the two lines in between, we see revealed this fortuitous music—a “poetic” quality of which Chaucer was obviously both ignorant and innocent. He did not make it—time has made it; he probably would not even like it.

Going back to the Russian text, and pursuing this trail of argument,

we observe that willy-nilly (apart from any other losses) Kashkin and Rumer were bound to shed (disregarding it) that false, antiquarian eye music which for any serious English reader of Chaucer is a main obstacle to normal perusal.

In other words, a modern translation of Chaucer inevitably becomes a modernisation, *but without the disadvantages of English modernisation!* For when we examine all our own modernisations, from Dryden to Beddington, and from Beddington to the Victorians, we see that when they were not plainly *re-writing* Chaucer (an occupation both stupid and impudent), they were attempting something very difficult, if not impossible—to modernise the language alone, by stripping Chaucer of the archaic qualities (and their false eye music) without breaking up the verse lines.

Therefore we have to observe, in general theory, that, granted a sufficient degree of reproduction of the “story” of the original and also of the “mental music” (the peculiar logic and rhythm of image, idea, etc.) and a sufficiently high “substitute verse” level, a translation of an *ancient* poem may well make up on the swings what it must lose on the roundabouts.

This is clearly the case with the new Russian Chaucer. Concentrating on individual lines it might be possible here and there to make a case for negative criticism. For example, where have vanished those lovely contrasting lines

“For he had founde a corn, lay in the yerd.
Royal he was, he was namore aferd”

—lines which are so Anglo-French in their debunking attitude towards human grandeur?

Concentrating, however, on the tale as a whole, it is impossible not to read both Kashkin and Rumer, without being sure that one is reading Chaucer. The illusion is so intense that, in my experience, a few days browsing over this Russian re-creation had the alarming effect of wiping the original words from my mind. The detailed music became unimportant, against the broader music and sweep of story and poetic logic, revealed so clearly and truly in the modernisation. Take this from the very opening words:

“Когда Апрель обильными дождями
Разрыхлил землю, взрытую ростками.
И, мартовскую жажду утоля,
От корни до зеленого стебля
Пабухли жилин той весенной сплюй. . . .”

After getting to know those lines, I found it impossible exactly to recall the original *words*, they are in detail so different:

“When that Aprille with his shoures sote
The droghte of Marche hath pierced to the rote,

And bathed every veyne in such licour,
Of which vertu engendred is the flour. . . ."

But—here is the essential—from the Russian lines I smelled the April earth with the same physical clarity that I had once smelled it from the original.

If, turning back to the "Nonne Preeste's Tale," one feels in

"Звал Пертелот к себе нетерпеливо
И в шею ласково ее клевал,
И раз до двадцати пяти топтал"

a distinct weakness against

"He fettered Pertelote twenty tymes,
And trod as ofte, er that it was pryme,"

it is clear that this was not by false prudery, but rather for want of such a *trouvaille* of a word (now obsolete except to a countryman) as "fettered," in that particular sense; for when we turn to such a tale as the Miller's or the Reeve's, there is little wanting in vigour, and Chaucer would certainly cry

" . . . welcome be the cut, a Goddes name ! "

could he read Kashkin's truly Chaucerian conclusion to the Miller's tale :

"Так был красавчик юный Абсолом
В своей назойливости посрамлен :
Во тьме обლობызал ее 'глазок',
А Николасу задницу прижег.
Вам избежать такой судьбы желаю,
И с божьей помощью рассказ кончаю."

The main sequence of events is indeed most faithfully given ; the broader outline of ideas, comparisons, illustrations—the mental music—is there too. There is also satisfactory compensatory eye music. But what of the actual verse ? As far as this is possible, apart from the factors already examined here, will the Russian reader know the feel of Chaucer as *poet in the narrower sense* ? Chaucer's narrator's genius he will know ; Chaucer's narrator's humour too, which is dependent on the *sequence* and created logic of events. He, by and large, will get the same physical sensations dependent on the subject matter, that an English reader of the original may get. But what *sort* of *verse* will he feel he has been reading ?

Here we have to admit a tremendous—though, it seems to the present writer, an inevitable—loss. Chaucer laid the foundations of an English form of verse-story. He has entered the blood of some subsequent poets—too few, it would seem. He is in my opinion due to serve as foundation on which a coming generation of poets will build. But in order to fulfil

their task properly, Kashkin and Rumer were sorely tempted to do the very opposite. They were right in succumbing to their temptation. They made no great attempt to create a Russian Chaucerian verse—for that would have seemed peculiar to Russian readers and would have obscured the essential, on which they did concentrate, quite as badly as the false and accidental romanticism of Chaucer's antiquity obscures him for the generality of English readers. Being bold and wise, Kashkin and Rumer took a form of narrational verse which was ready to hand.

“Вблизи топкой рощи, на краю лощины,
В лачуге ветхой, вместе со скотиной
Жила вдова; ей было лет немало.
Она с тех пор, как мужа потеряла,
Вез ропота на горе и невзгоды
Двух дочерей растила долги годы.”

This is both Chaucer and Pushkin, a noble blend, and by adopting the Pushkin narrational verse, in which to convey the principal of Chaucer to their readers, Kashkin and Rumer have earned our gratitude, and the gratitude of millions of their fellow-countrymen, for the wisdom of their choice.

ALEC BROWN.

The Beginnings of Russian History. An Enquiry into Sources. By N. K. Chadwick; Cambridge University Press, 1946, pp. xi, 180.

THE title and sub-title of this outwardly modest little book suggest at once the importance of the work, and the name of the author speaks for itself plainly enough to preclude the necessity of any lengthy comments. All that is needed is to mention that the author's expert knowledge of folklore is here applied to the Scandinavian sagas in their bearing on the *Russian Primary Chronicle*, and that at the same time the work is also rich in references to other groups of sources—both European and Asiatic—which are commonly (though not always as lavishly) drawn into the discussion of early Russian things. Unfortunately the variety of material and the staggering wealth of conjectures displayed in an “attempt to present a clearer picture of Russia in the earliest period for which we have records”—are less easy to deal with in an ordinary short review. On closer examination, they call for a scrutiny of the methods applied in surmounting the tasks described in the preface (p. ix): (1) “to seek to ascertain with more precision the nature and extent of some of the oral elements, both Scandinavian and Russian”, (2) “to make a beginning (!) in the interpretation of early Russian historical records in the light of . . . external evidence from peripheral countries,” (3) “to bring the entries in the Russian chronicle into relationship with one another . . .”

In view of the subtle treatment of sources promised in the preface it is a bad omen to find at the outset a mistake in the title of the Russian chronicle (p. 5): *Povest' vremennykh let* means literally "The Story of Bygone Years," and not "The Chronicle of Contemporary Years." The difference in the translation of the word *Povest'* is of course just as irrelevant as the fact that it occasionally appears in the plural (*Povesti*). What I want to stress is that in the English translation of *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, by Samuel H. Cross, to which "for the convenience of English readers" Mrs. Chadwick has given her references "where possible" (p. 5, No. 1) the complete title is rendered quite accurately. "These are the narratives of bygone years regarding the origin of the land of Rus, who first began to rule in Kiev, and from what source the land had its beginnings." Why it was found impossible to leave here the correct word "bygone" is the more puzzling, since in addition to being wrong the adjective "contemporary" obviously does not fit into the context of the complete heading.

Fortunately this faulty translation does not serve as a basis for conjectures as is the case with the linguistic mistake on p. 47, where the author's chronological difficulties are increased by an imaginary "attack on the Severians" by Oleg, "mentioned in the same year before the expedition against the Greeks" which "took place in 904" (the year 907 is meant, but the chronological confusion can be discussed later). The corresponding entry in the *Povest'* states only that Oleg in addition to men from many other tribes "*poya*" i.e. "took" (in the sense of "took with him," as translated by Cross) also Severyans. The embarrassment which was caused to the author by the supposed "attack" seems particularly odd in view of the correct statement (apart from the wrong date) made earlier, on p. 23: "In this expedition he (i.e. Oleg) is said to have been accompanied by a large number of the tribes of Northern and Western Russia. . . ." Still odder is another case of a similar kind, again concerning the unlucky Severyans. On p. 47 it is stated: "the expeditions against the Severians referred to above took place in 884." This is in complete harmony with both the *Povest'* and the translation by Cross (with the only difference that there was only one victorious expedition). But "above," that is on the preceding page, will be found something quite different. After a lengthy discussion of a Khazar document dealing with the hostile relations between the Khazars and the "King of Russia" (whose name is thought to be Oleg), and in connection with strenuous but vain attempts to fit this document into the Russian chronology,—Mrs. Chadwick says: "It is tempting to see in the Khazar account of Helgu's expedition against the Khazars and Pesah's reprisals the Khazar version of two short annals in the *Povest'* (s.a. 6392, 6393: A.D. 884, 885), according to which Oleg attacked and conquered the stronghold of Tmutorakan and imposed a light tribute on its people, and forbade them to pay tribute to the Khazars because they were his enemies." These details

are quite accurately taken from the first of the "two short annals," except that in the *Povest'* all of them refer to the Severyans, and no mention whatever is made of "the stronghold of Tmutorakan."

This flagrant contradiction within a space of less than two pages becomes even more startling in the light of the footnote on p. 44, attached to the word "Tmutorakan" in the Khazar document:

"*Ib.*, p. 118, Note 4. Schechter read this word differently and interpreted it as referring to the Severians. 'See *Povest'*, s.a. 884."

While the first reference of this footnote refers to Kokovtsov's work on the Khazars, the second shows that the author was fully aware that the *Povest'* speaks of the Severyans. But at the same time the footnote gives a sufficient clue for guessing how the change of the theatre of war came about. Instead of leaving the old reading of the word in the Khazar document, which would have made it agree with the *Povest'*, and which would thus have upheld her conjecture without any application of force, Mrs. Chadwick accepted the reading backed by Kokovtsev, and altered likewise the text of the *Povest'* as well. The motives of this procedure must remain unexplained, for it is hardly possible to believe that the temptation to see a coincidence in the evidence of the disagreeing sources should have been strong enough to obscure two decisive considerations, (1) that Kokovtsev was only concerned with deciphering the correct reading of the word in Hebrew spelling in the Khazar document, and (2) that the unwarranted alteration of the Russian text must cause geographical complications, since Tmutorakan was not in the land of the Severyans, but moreover a considerable distance from it, and in an almost opposite direction from Kiev.

There is no possibility of suggesting that the slip might have been caused by two similarly sounding names as it could perhaps be said with regard to another case, namely on pp. 66-67. For simplicity's sake it is best to quote the whole passage at once:

"According to the *Povest'* (s.a. 6478, A.D. 970), Vladimir I was the son of Svyatoslav, Olga's son, and of a certain Malyusha, the Daughter of Mal, prince of the Drevlians . . . It is commonly stated in modern Russian histories that Vladimir's mother was a slave woman; but there is nothing in the text to suggest this. Malyusha's father was a prince, and though she herself was undoubtedly at the court of Olga in some kind of inferior or official capacity, probably as stewardess or bursar, her position was doubtless an honourable and highly responsible one. Moreover as the sister of Dobrynaya, Vladimir's *Voevoda* in Novgorod, she would probably be held in high esteem."

The sentence "there is nothing in the text to suggest this" can be taken as the best self-criticism not only with regard to this passage, but also in other cases of novel historical conjectures, some of which

we shall have occasion to note. In the *Povest'* there is not the faintest indication that "Malyusha's father was a prince" the only information available is that Malyusha's father was *Malk Lyubechanin*, i.e. "*Malk of Lyubech*" in the rendering of Cross (who did not distort the passage though some imperfections must be admitted). The only conclusion that can be drawn from the scanty evidence is that the father was almost a complete namesake but not even a fellow-countryman of Prince Mal of the Drevlyans (always duly called *Knyaz*), because Lyubech was a town of the Severyans and not of the Drevlyans. In view of all this it can be considered superfluous to argue about Malyusha's social position beyond voicing some doubts as to the "doubtless honourable" status of a *Klyuchnitsa* in the 10th century. There is also scarcely any need of refuting singly all the fascinating conclusions which are drawn from Malyusha's "royal" descent in support of various novel conjectures, since even the most subtle conjectures must obviously collapse automatically—both here and elsewhere—as soon as the initial facts turn out to be mere illusions. It is therefore more rational to proceed with the examination of plain facts, e.g. others found on p. 67.

This time we are concerned with Malyusha's brother Dobrynya :

"According to the *Povest'*, Vladimir I first comes into prominence as ruler of Novgorod. He is said to have owed his rule there to the invitation of his uncle Dobrynya, himself a Slav, and more exactly a Drevlian. Dobrynya in consequence was afterwards created, or more probably reinstated, as *voevoda* of the city by Vladimir himself."

How it is with Dobrynya's Drevlyan extraction we have already seen. But he also did not invite his nephew Vladimir to become ruler of Novgorod—quite apart from the fact that he had no qualification to do this. When emissaries from Novgorod came to Kiev "asking for themselves a prince" all Dobrynya did was (in the slightly modernised wording by Cross) "Dobrynya suggested that the post should be offered to Vladimir" after his two elder brothers had declined to accept the invitation: "The citizens of Novgorod thus requested Svyatoslav to designate Vladimir, and he granted their request." There is also not the slightest indication of Dobrynya ever having held a post in Novgorod before Vladimir instated him there as *voevoda*.

Not all of these slips can be called harmless. Dobrynya's "princely rank" in particular is stressed several times, and plays a conspicuous part in the speculations about "the position of *voevoda*" in general: "The position of *voevoda* is hereditary in the families of Dobrynya and Vyshata, and it can be shown (pp. 134 f. below) that while the former is of princely rank, the latter certainly belongs to one of the most important families in Russia" (p. 114), and: "The evidence would seem to suggest that the *voevodas* with their Slavonic names and titles, their hereditary rights and high, even princely rank, their paramount prestige

and heroic ideals, were, in fact, the native Russian hereditary aristocracy" (p. 117). Dobrynya being one of the mainstays, the truth about his "princely rank" deals a rather hard blow to the whole structure, particularly in view of the shaky support given by the rest of the meagre evidence, even though the three generations of Vyshata's family described on pp. 134 f. can undoubtedly serve as a solitary and therefore interesting example of "hereditary" beyond the second generation. The chain of wishful conclusions is—as in other cases—too long to be discussed link by link. Moreover, it is of lesser importance than the method of wishful treatment of basic facts an impressive example of which will be found in connection with the story of Olga's conversion. The evil seems again to be caused primarily by "temptation" as can be best seen from a lengthy quotation (pp. 30-31)

"The entire story of Olga's relations with the Drevlians reads exactly like a Norse saga. In view of this it is tempting to see in her journey to Tsargrad a device for evading suttee in some form or other. The journey as it stands in the *Povest'* follows hard upon her vengeance for her husband, but is wholly unmotivated in the *Povest'*. It is strongly to be suspected that the true object of the journey and of her zeal for baptism was to escape the old heathen observance of burial alive, if only temporarily, in the husband's barrow. . . . This is, of course, merely a suggested possibility. It is indeed not generally recognised that suttee was ever at all common in Scandinavia, though I think that there can be no doubt that, in Sweden at least, and probably in Norway also, it formed an important part of early ritual, and I have examined this subject more fully elsewhere. Even if it is admitted that suttee was a recognised duty of a wife, it cannot be said to be at all certain that Olga concerned herself in any way with the matter. Yet on the whole I think that the evidence seems to suggest that this was so."

So far as Scandinavia is concerned, the rather involved argumentation can be of interest only in so far as it proves the willingness of the author to erect pillars in support of the "Norse period of early Russian history" (p. 32), not only on rocks but even on the shifting sands of the "Norse background of the Viking age in Russia" (p. 4.). There can be no question that suttee as a motive for Olga's journey—for which no other reasons are known—is interesting and novel. But how does this conjecture agree with the text of the *Povest'*? A glance shows that it is only on paper that Olga's journey, as it stands in the *Povest'*, "follows hard upon her vengeance for her husband," and even this only if a whole paragraph is left out, in which a lot of things are described that Olga is said to have accomplished in 947. But chronologically the situation is very different and quite clear: the vengeance took place in the years 945 and 946, the journey in 955, and according to Greek sources

(which are mentioned in a footnote, but again without reference to dates) the visit to Tsargrad took place even two years later, i.e. in 957. Of course as soon as these dates are given there arises immediately the crucial question what need there was for Olga to bother going to Byzantium, after she had managed to escape suttee for at least ten years without, so far as we know, incurring any trouble whatsoever. By the time of her journey there was also no longer any particular need to worry about the "extreme youth of her son," which the author suggests might have been "an additional incentive, if any were needed, to evade suttee" in 955 Svyatoslav was at the least thirteen years of age.

Having touched upon chronology one cannot avoid adding that the treatment of dates in general is a sad matter. In spite of having mentioned the "roughly annalistic" form of the Russian chronicle on the very first page the author gives throughout the book the impression of not being aware that from 852 on all events in the *Povest'* are connected with quite definite years, and that in between some years are left blank. On p. 20 she says: "The annal relating the attack on Byzantium is entered as between 863 and 866", on p. 21: "We are told that on the death of Rurik, some time between the years 870 and 879, Oleg succeeded him as ruler of Novgorod", and on p. 48 the latter event is referred to in a similar way, but with a quite incredible comment: "Oleg is first mentioned in the *Povest'* s.a. 6378-6387 (A.D. 870-879). . . . Evidently the exact dates were not known to the chronicler." Whether the chronicler always had an exact knowledge of dates is of course doubtful, but he was certainly always convinced that he knew them.¹ The venerable edition by Miklosich, "the only form of the text of the *Povest'* which has been accessible", to the author (p. 5, No. 1), is quite sufficient for establishing that in each of the cases mentioned the event is supposed to have taken place in the latest year, i.e. in 866 and 879 respectively. It is not difficult to guess that these inaccuracies are due to the rather unfortunate method adopted by Cross for compressing the chronicler's column of years by summarily including all preceding blank years into one bracket with the year of the next event. Without consulting the original these brackets can naturally lead to the misconception that the event was meant to have occurred between the earliest blank year and the actual date. Although such blind reliance on Cross's brackets appears in strange contrast to the deviations from his correct translations mentioned above, the suggested explanation finds support in a series of similar mishaps all over the book. Thus on p. 22 Oleg's expedition against Byzantium is put "between the years 904 and 907," but on p. 47 "according to the *Povest'* Oleg's expedition against the Greeks took place in 904." Actually the *Povest'* gives the year 907, i.e. the same year in which the treaty was concluded, as is correctly stated on p. 23.

¹ The real difficulty for the historian is of a very different kind: since the new year did not begin with January, it is in many cases uncertain whether 5508 or 5509 years have to be deducted in order to substitute A.D. for the chronicler's date "From Creation."

The chronology becomes almost inextricably complicated in the time of Igor. On p. 27 "We read in one text (the Hypatian) of the *Povest*' that he was at war 'with the Pechenegs' at some period between 916 and 920.—Igor's first attack on the Greeks is related in the entry 935-941." In the *Povest*' it is of course 920 and 941 respectively. These examples alone make the footnote on the same page even more appropriate than intended: "The chronology of Igor's reign is difficult to accept as it stands." But still more difficult to accept is the chronological conjecture on p. 49. After having dealt (p. 48) with the expedition which according to Greek sources was made against Byzantium in 941—this by the way is the same year we have seen in the *Povest*'—the author draws the conclusion "if the chronology of the *Povest*' could be trusted, Igor would already have been a man of some sixty-five years of age, or even more, when he undertook this expedition, and nearly eighty when he undertook his fatal expedition among the Drevlians—a thing not very likely in itself" How this works out remains a mystery because the "fatal expedition among the Drevlians" took place only four years after the expedition of 941, as is emphatically confirmed on two previous occasions (pp. 27, 28) giving 945 as the year of Igor's death. It is indeed "a thing not very likely in itself" that Igor could attain the age of nearly eighty if in 941 he was "a man of some sixty-five years of age, or even more."

The space allotted to this review unfortunately forbids either a complete scrutiny of facts, or the tracing of any transformations of history into saga right to the end. But more to be regretted is the necessity imposed of desisting from any attempt to discuss the historiographical delusions looming in the background. It suffices to recall that excessive enthusiasm for sagas as sources for the beginning of Russian history is known to have occurred in Russian historiography already before. In 1834, the one-time professor of Oriental Languages at the Petersburg University, Senkovsky, better known by his pen-name Baron Brambeus, a man of conspicuous erudition and a versatile writer, published his Russian translations of Icelandic sagas with a vigorous historical essay in which he rebuked the historians for their lack of appreciation of the Nordic sources that could give a complete explanation and picture of early Russia. Unfortunately his bold call was blurred by his rather hazardous theories. However, quite a lot of sober work has also been carried through since, and on various planes quite apart from the age-long battle over the so-called Varangian question. It seems therefore a pity that some of the results of "the sporadic indication of chance similarities in the two literatures" (p. 4) have not received the attention they deserve, e.g. in connection with Olga's vengeance. The historical problem as a whole is of course still far from being completely solved. The more must we regret that Mrs. Chadwick's book has so few safe clues to offer in this connection.

LEO LOEWENSON.

The Development of the Soviet Economic System: An Essay on the Experience of Planning in the U.S.S.R. By Alexander Baykov; The National Institute of Economic and Social Research Economic and Social Studies, No. V, Cambridge University Press, 1946, pp xv, 514, 30s.

DR. BAYKOV claims two things for his book firstly, that it is an honest attempt to portray the characteristics of the Soviet economic system, secondly, that this is done and that it is best that it should be done not through an economic, political or technical critique, but through a form of narrative. No doubt he is entitled to prefer description to analysis, but this very choice imposes certain difficulties, namely a piecemeal treatment and a lack of the essential tools for the digestion of the material. Nor does Dr. Baykov overcome these difficulties. The general picture of Soviet planning and of its achievements does not emerge clearly from the mass of details and from the somewhat artificially related cross-sections of the history and of the branches of Soviet economy.

His division of his subject-matter is itself significant. What he attempts to do is to outline the development of the Soviet economy from the Revolution to the end of 1940. He does this by using two forms of subdivision - historically, into the four periods of "War Communism," of N.E.P., of rationing, collectivisation of agriculture and industrialisation under the first five-year plan, and of the remaining five-year plans, and, within these periods, by subjects, i.e. industry, agriculture, trade, labour and public finance.

Dr. Baykov is not unaware, no doubt, of the discontinuous nature of this treatment, but even so one cannot help thinking that the last of these divisions is unjustified. Rationing and the collectivisation of agriculture in the early years of planning were the inevitable presuppositions of that general policy of intensive industrialisation which was fundamental to all the five-year plans. And further, his attempt to preserve an "organic whole" breaks down through his failure to maintain through his book the necessary thread of argument and generalisation.

Dr. Baykov describes the problems which confronted the Soviet authorities, in one form or another, through the years. The chief problem in agriculture was that of securing an adequate supply of marketable grain for the industrial population. The solution came from the collectivisation of agriculture in the 1930's and the organisation of State purchasing at fixed prices, so that by 1938 more than 90% of the collective farms' marketable grain was being dealt with by this system. In industry, the necessity of rapid capital accumulation presented the Soviet government with such difficulties as the curtailment of the production of consumption goods, raising the output of existing industries and creating new industrial equipment. How successful in this last task the Soviets were may be judged from the fact that by 1937 about 80% of all Russia's industrial output came from new or entirely reconstructed plants. Problems of improving the quality of production and of lowering

its costs, of ensuring a correct balance between central administration and personal management and of increasing labour productivity by repeated attempts to evolve a system of social and collective incentives, of labour discipline in a fully employed economy—such were some of the more important tasks facing the Soviet planners. Dr Baykov describes all this and much more with an intelligent commentary on a wealth of material. But he does not always maintain a desirable balance between comment and illustration. For example, when dealing with the reorganisation of industry in the early 1930's, he quotes extensively from the decrees and resolutions of the Communist Party, but the reader is given little help to interpret Soviet terminology.

Furthermore, there are some highly unsatisfactory tendencies throughout the work: his discussion is at times confused, as in his treatment of the price structure and of the rôle of the turnover tax as a means of "equilibrating supplies with purchases in the market"¹ And it is misleading to describe this tax, together with planned profits, as "savings." It is by no means unusual when one is reading this book to come across such incomplete interpretations as his making the improvement of the quality of production hinge almost entirely on the difficulty of devising quantitative indices for the measurement of qualitative results and on incentives. And it is rather surprising to find a writer so suspicious of theory as is Dr. Baykov guilty of such sweeping statements as that "the planning of the quantitative side of production presents no difficulties—whatever the aims of the plan,—provided the means of production are nationalised," or that "with full employment, economic pressure no longer contributes to uphold labour discipline, and has to be replaced by administrative and judicial penalties."

Elsewhere Dr. Baykov asserts that Soviet planning did succeed in the years before the war in "solving satisfactorily the problem of price regulation." But on the previous page he tries to show "the confusion which existed in the regulation of prices" just before the war, and that Soviet economists and officials were themselves highly critical of the existing price set-up. This looseness and inconsistency is very damaging and affects his terminology itself. A striking example is on page 98 where we discover in a footnote the following thesis: "We prefer the expression 'capitalist system' to 'competitive system' because nowadays in economically advanced countries purely competitive systems no longer exist, and, moreover, the meaning of the expression 'capitalist system' is so well known as to require no further definition or comment." Quite apart from the dubiety of his assumption about the relative degrees of controversy around the terms "capitalism" and "competition," throughout his work he himself prefers to use the very expression which he here rejects.

It is somewhat disconcerting to find in an account of a planned economy an almost complete absence of any discussion of such matters as

¹ M. Dobb, *Soviet Planning and Labour in Peace and War*, London, 1942

the technique of price-fixing and the planning of the wages-fund and its distribution. Dr. Baykov's excuse of this neglect on the grounds of their being "purely technical" is unacceptable. And we should like to have seen much more emphasis on the whole topic of "Khozraschet," or cost-accounting, which has come to play such an important part in Soviet economic literature and organisation.

A more serious criticism must now be made. Dr. Baykov's is the first book published in this country which is entirely based on Soviet statistics. And he contends in his preface that these statistics are as fully reliable as those of any other country. This is, no doubt, a reasonable contention. And yet this work could be a happy hunting-ground for a fault-finding statistician. I do not propose to chase all the hares. The fault, indeed, does not generally lie with the Russian statistical material, but rather with the author's handling of it. Some of the points must be touched on.

Once again we find his tendency to inconsistency arising out of a loose presentation, e.g., what can he mean by saying on one page that in 1922-1923 taxation provided 30% of revenue and on the very next page that at the beginning of 1922 taxation was providing 2.7%? Again and again discrepancies occur. On page 183 expenditure on capital investment under the second five-year plan is given as 69.5 milliard roubles, on page 184 it is given as 64.7. And in preferring one source to another, he never gives us the reason for this preference—for example, on page 342, using figures from one set of sources, he gives the average yearly wage in 1937 as 3,038 roubles, and on page 343 and elsewhere, when he is using figures from a slightly different set of sources, the average yearly wage for 1937 is given as 3,047. And an even more striking example occurs earlier on: in three successive pages planned capital investments in large-scale industry under the first five-year plan are given as 16,140 million roubles, 13.5 milliard roubles, and 16.4 milliard roubles respectively.

No one, statistician or not, can accept such of his conclusions as are based on incomparables: in 1916 in *the European part* of the U.S.S.R. the number of peasant farms was 15,645,000; in 1928 in *the U.S.S.R.* the number of peasant farms was 25,609,000. From this Dr. Baykov happily concludes that "by the end of the N.E.P. period the number of peasant farms had increased by ten millions or 65% as compared with the pre-revolutionary period."

Indeed, his whole presentation of statistics is poor. Most important, he affords us no percentages in those tables where his aim is to present us with the relative importance of the constituent items, nor any indices of growth, for that matter, where columns of absolute figures have little meaning for the dazzled reader. Again, Dr. Baykov may be excused for not undertaking the task of converting all his figures into the same quantitative standards (e.g. desyatins into ha. or acres, or poods into tons), but surely we cannot be expected to excuse presentation so clumsy

that the sums of constituents more than once do not square with given totals (e.g. Tables 26, 36, 58).

There is no need to drag in here much of the long debate about the revaluation of gross industrial production at the 1926/27 prices and those questions left unanswered through the absence of a price-index in Soviet Russia since 1931. Dr. Baykov himself makes some very valid points on all this. Nevertheless, much of his own quantitative description, in terms of roubles, loses a good deal of its value and significance. Nor does he help his case by maintaining that in the Soviet Union real wages are not significant as an "objective measure" of changes in the standard of living, even though one will certainly accept his point about the importance there of "socialized wages" and the absence of unemployment. In an earlier part of the book, Dr. Baykov himself, quite correctly, uses the level of real wages as part of his demonstration of the increase in the standard of living of industrial workers.

Finally, and more generally, one would have expected some discussion of national income as a measure of economic progress. There is but scanty reference to this at all.

The concluding chapter of Dr. Baykov's book is on general planning. The author has some very good things to say, but seems to regard as the essence of planning its machinery and its means of enforcement. There is not nearly enough discussion of such basic principles of Soviet planning as those concerned with the allocation of resources between production for consumption and production for capital accumulation, the working out of scales of priorities, and the balancing of supplies and requirements. The very technique of planning in the relations between central influence and local participation is given inadequate treatment. Nor is there a clear exposition of the relative importance of perspective and short-term planning. Above all, one must regret that Dr. Baykov has not turned his attention to the social purposes underlying planning in the U.S.S.R., which, in the words of Professor Carr, "has been generally accepted as the creator of contemporary 'planning,' not so much because it first started planning or even because it did it more thoroughly than anyone else, but because it has most successfully combined the national and social aspects of planning into a single policy."²

Yet the book achieves much. Its store of information is truly impressive, and it must be remembered that Dr. Baykov has given to many a key to a great deal that is new and revealing. His bibliography alone (of material in Russian only) is testimony to his lifelong study and thorough knowledge of his subject. Many lessons can be drawn from his account, and one cannot fail to go away from his book without an increased realisation of that "element of utmost endeavour" which, as he says, characterised Soviet planning experience.

Though untidy and uneven, and though by no means easily to be absorbed, Dr. Baykov's work is a very useful and important contribution towards an understanding of the Soviet economy. I. NEUSTADT.

² E. H. Carr, *The Soviet Impact on the Western World*, London, 1946.

Dr. Beneš. By Compton Mackenzie ; Harrap, London, 1947, 21s.

MR COMPTON MACKENZIE and his publisher have produced a handsome tribute to Dr. Beneš, handsome in both senses of the word. The book is beautifully produced and shows no signs of austerity in its paper or printing. It is lavishly illustrated with photographs, some of them in colour. Even if the reproduction of landscapes and still life have no greater connection with the main theme than that they are by Czechoslovak artists, they are nevertheless an enhancement. Indeed one's first glance at the book raises expectations that a closer perusal does not entirely satisfy.

The author is full of enthusiasm for his subject, the same sort of admiration he has long had for Venizelos and which he expressed for Roosevelt in his earlier biography he evinces, with much justification, for the Czechoslovak President. What attracts him in all three statesmen is their common qualities of an idealism that achieves things and of open-minded Liberalism. It is good that this tribute to Beneš should have been written, and good that it should have been written by Mr. Mackenzie, for Beneš's achievement in presiding over the birth and rebirth of a nation is unique in history, and Mr. Mackenzie brings to the task his practised skill in exposition. Nevertheless this is not a work of profound historical research. That sort of biography can hardly yet be written, for until the diplomatic records of Europe are more available to the historian than they are likely to be for twenty years, and until Beneš has written his own story of the events of 1935 to 1945, the biographer can do little beyond giving an impressionistic sketch of his subject. There are, however, records available which Mr. Mackenzie shows little sign of having used. the Czechoslovak press of the years when Beneš was Foreign Minister and the proceedings of the Assembly, Council and committees of the League of Nations would have helped to make what Mr. Mackenzie has to say of the period between the two wars less of a general sketch of European history and more of a biography.

Of the early life of Beneš Mr. Mackenzie has little to say that is new, though he presents his determined struggle for knowledge and self-equipment in a more lively form than some of Beneš's other biographers have done. He makes it very clear that Beneš's rise to influence and power was due to neither fortune nor luck, but to his early determination to master the tools of economic and political science and to an immense capacity for concentration, unremitting study and renunciation of the vanities of the world. For Beneš's activities between 1914 and 1918, when he emerged from the obscurities of Bohemian provincial politics and a modest lectureship in Economics in the University of Prague, to the limelight of Versailles where he moulded and established a state, Mr. Mackenzie relies solely on Beneš's own chapter of autobiography, "My War Memoirs." He is able to enliven the somewhat involved prose style of that work, and to bring out the astonishing energy, appli-

cation, and mastery of detail which Beneš's modesty obscures, but he tells us little that was not known before.

When "My War Memoirs" fails him, Mr. Mackenzie, forced to rely largely on his own general knowledge, can merely make the superficial facts of Beneš's public career the nodal points in a summary narrative of the stream of events which hastened inevitably to the cataract of Munich and the whirlpool of the Second Great War. Here Mr. Mackenzie writes with the fervour, scorn, journalistic skill, and from the point of view that we should expect. Beneš and Czechoslovakia are the hero-victims of the tragedy, Chamberlain, Daladier, the English and French parties of the left as well as the right are the pusillanimous instruments of Fate, Hitler is the demon king and Mussolini the *tertius gaudens*. The treatment is again impressionistic, it has little of the documentary substantiality of Dr. Ripka's *Munich: before and after*, which is Mr. Mackenzie's best guide. But it is good that the story should have been retold with such energy at this moment when Bonnet has come to the support of Lord Maugham in an attempt to justify what was at best a sacrifice of honour to secure what proved to be an unprofitable postponement of war.

The third part of the biography is of a different character. When in 1943 Mr. Mackenzie decided to write this book he secured the privilege of a series of interviews with Beneš in his English home at Aston Abbots in Buckinghamshire. Here then is the valuable contribution to our knowledge and understanding of Beneš that the book affords, for, amid all the preoccupations of presiding over and directing the Government of the Czechoslovak Republic in exile and in the midst of world war, the President yet found time to satisfy his biographer's curiosity on everything from Marxism to Personal Immortality. Though Beneš talked to Mr. Mackenzie in the full consciousness that his words would be published, he did nevertheless say things that throw light on his personality and policy. Mr. Mackenzie's account of these interviews is not very orderly, and it is sometimes difficult to tell whether he is reporting verbally or summarising, and he is also content to treat this reporting as an adequate account of what was perhaps the most exacting and triumphant part of Beneš's career. Those who saw him during these years of his second exile could not but be impressed by his sure grasp of political and military realities, his firm confidence in the essential rightness of the purpose and the inevitable certainty of the victory of the U.S.S.R. and the Western allies alike. His optimistic speeches through the B.B.C. to his enslaved compatriots were often at the time the butt of the mocking cynic, but to re-read them to-day is to realise that though Beneš sometimes anticipated the approach of victory, he was very seldom wrong in his estimates of the economic, political, military and moral factors that were making it inevitable.

Incomplete as Mr. Mackenzie's account of Beneš in England may be, it yet is interesting and important. It tells us something of the long

struggle Beneš had to induce the British Foreign Office, never very ready to admit a mistake or a moral delinquency or to commit itself as to the future, to abrogate the Munich agreement and all its consequences. The reluctance to denounce any treaty, even though it was made with a man who had all but succeeded in destroying three of the parties to the treaty, was surely an excessive insistence on the virtue of the continuity of foreign policy. Mr. Mackenzie's own interest in religion also served to elicit from Beneš something like a profession of faith. He confessed that he had moved from his early agnosticism towards a belief that religion of some kind is philosophically and morally necessary. What his precise religion is does not appear. Probably its essence is that it is not precise, but a vague attitude induced by a feeling that both logic and ethics demand that a man shall believe in something other than the material. It is interesting too to learn that Beneš, unlike T. G. Masaryk, considers that Catholicism is more logical and rational than Protestantism.

This spiritual development of its President is probably in harmony with the general trend of thought in Czechoslovakia, as is also the development of Beneš's political and social thought, as it is revealed by his conversations with Mr. Mackenzie and his public pronouncements during the last four years. In the first place, President and people are quite convinced that the only hope of the continued survival of the Czechoslovak state lies in the drastic elimination of racial minorities and continuous friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union. Munich taught them that. Despite a genuine anxiety to retain and foster the thousand-year-old cultural connection with the West, Czechoslovakia never again dare trust herself to the West for political and military security. In the second place Beneš (and with him his people) is clearly one of those radicals like Roosevelt and Károlyi and Sforza who have made up their minds that to some degree individual enterprise must, in this present world of high potential technical achievement, give place to a measure of planned economy and nationalisation. It is interesting that Beneš speaks in terms of high praise of the achievement of the Soviet Union in raising the level of the masses and promoting art, science, education, drama and the films.

Patchy and unsatisfactory as this book is in many respects, it nevertheless helps to an understanding of those qualities of wise statesmanship in Beneš which have brought it about that, of all the world's statesmen of 1918, he alone is still in office. It is a happy fact for his country and for Europe that he is still only sixty-one years old.

R. R. BETTS.

Jindy a nyní. (Dějiny českého národa.)—Past and Present. (A History of the Czech Nation.) By Bohdan Chudoba; Praha, 1946, Vyšehrad, 461 pp.

It is rather difficult to appraise in a brief review the many merits and

the obvious shortcomings of this interesting book written by a young Czech historian in the fateful years of the "Czech Protectorate" and published—probably with some additions and alterations—in the spring of 1946. The general reader will be delighted to find a comprehensive picture of the nation's life throughout the ages in all its fullness and variety, not only political events, but also social history, arts and crafts, literature and music, religious and philosophical thought are described with an amazing completeness of detail and a great feeling for immediate appeal to the reader whose interest is always captivated even if—as may well happen more often than not—he is unable to endorse the author's view. Chudoba's book is not a primer, the main facts of Czech history are supposed to be known to the reader who is thus presented with a synthesis of Czech life and culture seen through the eyes of a Catholic historian. His comment upon persons and things of the past is sometimes malignant, often harsh and severe, his style is that of a polemic writer, energetic and nervous. The very choice of illustrations (28 portraits of prominent figures) and the titles of the twenty-three chapters of the book are extremely suggestive of the writer's intentions and of his reading of Czech history (e.g. *The Development of Gothic Churches*, *The Triumph and the Tragedy of Baroque*, *The Dark Age of Joseph II*, *The Meaning and Foundations of Progress, Past and Present*, etc.). All this makes very interesting reading in spite (or perhaps because) of the writer's manifest desire to take on many occasions the very opposite view to generally accepted ideas on Czech history, life and culture as they have been gradually evolved since Havlíček's, Palacký's and Masaryk's times. The polemical spirit of controversy which is reminiscent of G. K. Chesterton—incidentally another writer with strong Catholic convictions—is never absent from Chudoba's interpretation of Czech life and its problems.

The professional historian and also those readers who, even if Catholic, do not allow their judgment to be affected by emotional prejudice, will undoubtedly find Chudoba's work disappointing. The author himself is well aware that his book is bound to give rise to misgivings and even refutation in academic quarters. In the introductory chapter (*Picture and Sense of Czech History*) he lays down the principles that have guided his historical research. First of all, he does not believe that events of the past may be "explained" by other events, as positivist theory does; there are no general laws in history. Even the most complete and accurate sources reveal only a feeble part of the truth; it is therefore idle to judge or to condemn the protagonists of historical events; the human soul is unfathomable. (It should be pointed out at once that he is led in the course of his narrative, and quite naturally so, to transgress this excellent rule of Christian morality, and that he does it according to his likes or dislikes.) Things and ideas of the past (not their originators) are to be judged and appraised not in relation to their environment in the past, but according to the importance they have for us now, in our present struggles and needs. There is no unbroken tradition in Czech

history, says he in conclusion, it is wrong to arrange facts in accordance with a presumed national tradition in order to make them fit into a preconceived pattern—a broad hint addressed to Palacký, Masaryk and their followers who are responsible for the orthodox interpretation of Czech history and its “sense.”

Chudoba's approach to the problems of history will undoubtedly meet with a lot of criticism. There is much disillusioned scepticism in his denial of any scientific knowledge of the past. It is true that we do not want history to be written “for the sake of history”—as the late Professor J. Pekař did, who was Chudoba's academic teacher and in many ways though by no means in all, a kindred spirit—but even if we are prepared to accept to some extent B. Croce's view that “All history is contemporary history” we feel that Chudoba's emotional background and his touchy and intolerant Catholicism make him project the present into the past in such a way that he is totally unable to assess the true meaning of the Czech Reformation in its national and European setting. He makes some laudable attempts at doing justice to John Huss's predecessors—as far as they did not deviate from the path of orthodoxy—and to such great figures as Comenius, but he fails to see that in spite of its many failures and shortcomings the Czech Reformation had its undoubted greatness and that, at any rate, it is responsible for some marked features, often disguised and even unrecognisable in their modern form, of Czech national character, of Czech outlook on life and social order, which a historian ought to analyse and to study carefully. (It should be said, *en passant*, that some of Chudoba's quotations of, and remarks on, Lutheran faith and ethics (pp. 182, 229), and the morality of the Czech Brethren (p. 187) are extremely one-sided and sound ludicrous.) On the other hand, much praise is bestowed on the Jesuits who fostered the Czech language during the period of the Counter-Reformation in the face of the open displeasure of the Habsburg Court and the high dignitaries of the Catholic Church; he makes great play with Balbin, Bridel and other Jesuit writers of the 17th century, but says very little about Father Koniáš and his *auto-da-fé* of Czech books.

It is not surprising that Chudoba should have words of utter contempt for the Bohemian rebels, the Protestant noblemen who began in 1618 the ill-starred adventure which led to the White Mountain. (In another book of Chudoba's, *Španělé na Bílé Hoře—The White Mountain and the Rôle of Spain*, they are referred to, in a Spanish *résumé*, as “*traidores luteranos*.”) He does not make any allowance for the fact that the aggressive and overbearing leaders of the Catholic minority, Slavata and Lobkovic, were equally to blame and must share responsibility for the disastrous events.

The constant confusion of national with religious issues is responsible for a peculiar lack of historical perspective which is apparent in many places of Chudoba's book. Mathias Thurn, the Bohemian lord of German speech and extraction, may have been a very unsuitable leader of the Czech cause; but it is impossible to apply the ideas of 19th- or 20th-

century nationalism to Baroque times in which there were no clear-cut issues. The standpoint which Chudoba takes up in the introduction is of course unassailable ; but is any historical writing still possible in such conditions ? Chudoba himself is obliged to admit that the Catholic lords with their Spanish, Italian, French and German cultural interests and proclivities which made them often despise the native language, were no Czech patriots by present-day standards.

Joseph II and the ideals of enlightenment find no favour in the writer's eyes. It is true that the idea of a centralised State of German speech was extremely detrimental to Czech nationality. But the emancipation of the peasantry was highly beneficial to Czech interests, a new social class, the Czech intelligentsia of peasant origin, came into being, and gave Czech life its characteristic impulse and drive during the whole of the 19th century.

In his aversion from sociology and, for that matter, from any rational or scientific explanation Chudoba does not make any attempt at an analysis of Czech society on a class basis, his anti-Marxian bias prevents him from seeing that the Czech evolution towards the ideals of social justice is deeply rooted in the national tradition and is in itself a test case for democracy. The outstanding success of Czech democracy between 1918 and 1935—until Hitler came to power—compared with the failure of democratic regimes in all the other states of Central Europe is difficult to explain unless we admit that Palacký's and Masaryk's intuitive reading of the "sense" of Czech history has been true in its broad lines and is borne out by facts. A statement of this kind is not meant to imply any subservience to self-centred theories of national exclusiveness.

Chudoba does not acknowledge any but the Christian tradition. His view of history is teleological ; God is the principal actor in Universal History. The Czech nation, situated in the very heart of Europe, received from Him the glorious and tragic burden of nationality which has to be borne courageously through alternating periods of light and darkness. The Catholic doctrine of atonement—even if the author does not say so explicitly—seems clearly to be present in Chudoba's mind.

The atmosphere in which the work originated accounts for the rather disturbing omission of Slovak affairs which are mentioned only occasionally. The Slovak rising against the Germans in August 1944 is referred to without comment ; no inference is drawn from its unmistakable emphasis on Czechoslovak unity. It is doubtful whether any history of the Czech or, for that matter, of the Slovak nation can be written without paying due regard to the other partner in a common destiny.

In his sketchy and rather fragmentary survey of events leading up to the disruption of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1938–1939 the author omits any mention of the rise of Fascist and Nazi leanings in Western European democracies which, combined with the fear of the U.S.S.R., were the logical underlying factors of the Munich agreement. Chudoba also fails to see Czechoslovak domestic politics between 1935 and 1938

in their proper light. He only speaks of Italy and Germany, never of Fascism and Nazism and their helpers within the boundaries of the Czechoslovak State—the shameful part played by Czech Right wing agrarians and Slovak populists who made themselves willing tools of Henleinist intrigues is not even alluded to.

It would be wrong to conclude, from all this criticism, that Chudoba has written a book of little or no value. In a sense, his book is courageous and thought-provoking. There can be no doubt about its patriotic spirit of a special kind and about its high moral standards. In some respects his criticism is sound and may be subscribed to by any person of good will. Chudoba's emphasis on moral values is highly commendable. And yet, it is a book of a pamphleteer rather than a historian. It is written too much *cum ira et studio*, lights and shadows are crudely drawn, a visible lack of inner poise and proportion mars its qualities. It seems probable that Czech historical science will consider it a distorted picture of Czech history.

MILOŠ SOVA.

Staročeská lyrika. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by Jan Vilíkovský, Prague, 1940, pp. 206.

THE Czech mediæval lyric is a field of literature that has as yet been little explored by scholars. indeed, the student of it has hitherto had to rely for his texts in the main on the selection of poems which Julius Feifalik laid before the Vienna Academy of Sciences in 1862 (Julius Feifalik, "Altöechische Leiche, Lieder und Sprüche des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts," *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Klasse der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vol. XXXIX, 1862, pp. 627 ff.). Since then other poems, not included in the manuscripts consulted by Feifalik, have been published in periodicals and elsewhere. Now at last, thanks to the labours of Professor Vilíkovský, there is available for both the scholar and the general reader a representative, indeed for all practical purposes a complete collection of the preserved examples of Czech lyrical poetry from the pre-Huſsite period. The book was published in the early part of the war as one of a series entitled "The Heritage of the Czech Past." It is significant that in one of the darkest periods of their history the Czechs found solace and strength for survival in the contemplation of the roots from which their culture sprang. It was not to scholarship alone that the publication of Professor Vilíkovský's book did good service. It is particularly tragic that we in England should have the opportunity of welcoming this work only after the news has reached us that its author has not been spared to continue the series of his admirable contributions to Czech mediæval studies. Jan Vilíkovský died on 16 November, 1946, at the early age of 42. His death is a great loss to the academic life of Czechoslovakia and to mediæval studies in the wider sense. Our sincere sympathy goes out to the Masaryk University of Brno, where he was Professor of Czech Literature.

The first records of secular lyrical poetry in Czech date from the second half of the 14th century. The great period of courtly literature that had followed the rise of the civilisation of chivalry in Western Europe was already over. The Provençal lyrics of the troubadours had stimulated and fructified the growth of the German *Minnesang*. Some of the *Minnesänger* of the later 13th century found encouragement and protection at Bohemian courts; and King Wenceslas II of Bohemia himself composed courtly lyrics in Middle High German of which some attractive examples have been preserved. It is difficult, if not impossible, to say when lyrical poetry of this kind was first written in Czech: and the difficulty is increased by the fact that with one exception (*Záviš*) the manuscripts do not name the authors of these earliest vernacular love-lyrics. Professor Vilíkovský doubts whether any of them were written before 1350: it is therefore likely that very many of them, though still adopting the courtly conventions, were intended for the entertainment of the citizenry of the already prospering Bohemian towns, rather than of the noble society of the courts. It is noteworthy that most of the poems that strictly follow the courtly love-convention cannot be specifically proved to have followed German models. But German influence would seem to be present in the most elaborate example of the courtly style, the "Song of *Záviš*" (*Závišova píseň*). Lines 64-70 on p. 56 are distinctly reminiscent of the extravagances of late *Minnesänger* such as *Der Tannhauser* or *Steinmar*. The simile of the swan singing before it dies (p. 57, ll. 93-96) is compared by Professor Vilíkovský to a passage in one of the *Carmina Burana*; but in this courtly context it is perhaps more likely to be an echo of Heinrich von Morungen (*Des Minnesangs Frühling*, 139, 15). Whatever be the mutual relationship between these three passages, they presumably all ultimately go back to Ovid (*Heroides*, VII, 2). In almost all the other love poems here assembled, however, we find a simpler, more natural tone: the courtly lyric is half-way to becoming a folk-song. In the case of the dawn-songs (the Provençal *alba*, Czech *svítáníčko*) we can see this process at work: the poem on p. 58 follows the general lines of courtly convention (though the description of nature in the second and third stanzas fills the conventional background with life and colour), while the poem on the same subject on p. 75 belongs to a different social milieu and has shed many of the conventional elements. (Incidentally, an English reader may be permitted to note the charming effect that is produced in these dawn-songs by the use of the Old Czech dual forms to refer to the lovers.)

The conventional elements in these poems are of European rather than German origin. The strange use of the masculine form *pán* to refer to the poet's lady is paralleled by the Provençal *midons*, but not by any German usage; and the *klevetníci* or *zlí lidé* are the Czech equivalents of the Provençal *lauzengier* as well as the German *merkære*, the backbiters who spy on the lovers and attempt to prevent their union. European, too, is the less conventional type of love-poetry of the Wandering Scholars

(as Miss Waddell has taught us in this country to call them) . this also was cultivated in Bohemia and is represented here by a few examples.

The second section of Professor Vilikovský's collection is devoted to didactic and satirical poetry and the third to religious poetry. Space will not permit an examination of these : suffice it to say that their variety and vitality will surprise and delight the reader who has not specialised in this field of literature. The English reader will perhaps find a special interest in the anti-Hussite poem attacking the *Viklefice*, the female adherents of the Wycliffite reform movement. The fourth and final section contains a number of rimes and proverbs that in some cases lived on as popular songs and sayings into the 17th and 18th centuries.

The notes show some signs of hasty, proof-reading, the errors are mostly those that can easily be corrected by the reader himself. The book is delightfully illustrated by four reproductions from the Velislav Bible.

Professor Vilikovský's collection is indispensable for the student of mediæval Czech ; and it can indeed be warmly recommended to all lovers of Czech literature.

R. AUTY.

Collection Historique de l'Institut d'Études Slaves.—IX. *La Commission d'Éducation Nationale en Pologne (1773-1794), son œuvre d'instruction civique.* By Ambroise Jobert, Docteur-ès-lettres, Ancien Professeur à l'Institut Français de Varsovie ; Paris (Droz), 1941, pp. viii + 500, 1 map, 6 portraits.

By the end of the 16th century the Jesuits had secured for themselves a marked preponderance in the education of Polish youth. Thus in 1773 when Pope Clement XIV dissolved the Order, there appeared a gap. It was filled by a kind of Ministry of Education, the Commission of National Education, which existed for more than twenty years, almost up to the end of the Polish state. The aim of the Commission was not to pick up and continue where the Jesuits had stopped. On the contrary, its aim was to build up a completely new and modernised secular education. There were several pressing reasons for such a thorough reorganisation. There was a widespread feeling that this was necessary if Poland had to make up its cultural leeway. That feeling was backed by considerations of a political nature. In a country like Poland, where the whole mass of gentry enjoyed political rights, the badly needed reform of the fabric of the state was possible only after the mental outlook of the majority of that gentry had been reshaped.

Thus the strictly educational aspect of the activity of the Commission of National Education was intertwined with a political one, and one of first importance. Such a double aim of educational reform had been put forward a generation earlier by Stanisław Konarski, a powerful personality, a political writer and educational reformer who died in the very year, 1773, when the Commission came into existence (there is an

English book on him, written by Prof. W. J. 'Rose). The Commission only carried on his programme of political reform through an educational one, but on a far vaster scale. Its activity embraced not only secondary schools but also the reorganisation of the Universities of Cracow and Wilno, which it found in a state of utter decay. The Commission also tried to provide Poland with a network of elementary schools for peasants, but the execution of those plans was less successful.

The importance of the task which the Commission had to perform, together with a belief in the utmost importance of education (very typical of the 18th century), caused some of the best minds of the epoch—not only educationalists but also statesmen and writers—to take part in its work. It was close to the heart of the King Stanisław Augustus: and when the general reform of the state, known as the Constitution of the 3rd of May, was at last concluded in 1791, many people realised that it had been brought about to a considerable extent by the work of the Commission. That is why the history of that body is an important chapter in the cultural and political history of Poland.

Up till very recently there were numerous studies dealing with certain aspects of the activity of the Commission, some editions of sources, but there was no single work which embraced the whole of its history. Such a work was published in Paris for the first time in 1941 by a Frenchman, Dr. Ambroise Jobert, formerly Professor at the French Institute in Warsaw. This book comes as the last in a series of studies published in French during these years, and dealing with the Polish culture of the 18th century, such as a penetrating and original portraiture of Trembecki by M. Claude Backvis, the paper by M. Jean Fabre on the relations of Stanisław August with French men of letters, and a book by M. Paul Cazin on Krasicki. Jobert's book is the most important of all.

An imposing bibliography—24 pages—which opens the book, proves that it is the fruit of very serious and extensive work. Dr. Jobert is not only well acquainted with the vast historical literature on the Polish 18th century, as well as with books of the epoch; he also made extensive manuscript studies in the archives and libraries of Warsaw, Cracow, Lwów and Wilno. These researches are the more precious to us now, since a large part of the manuscripts he had the use of were lost during the war. Moreover, Dr. Jobert did not confine himself to the mere educational activity of the Commission, but depicted both the political situation from which it had come, and the political repercussions of its work. And because the Commission was the continuation of Konarski's plans and reforms, he devoted a vast chapter in the first part of his book to Konarski's activity and personality. As he wrote for foreign readers he was always at pains to provide them with the needed historical data. From this point of view the first chapter of the book is especially valuable; it is a vast and well-documented picture of Poland in 1740, the year when the narrative starts.

All of this contributes to the importance of M. Jobert's book, not only

for the history of Polish education but also for the general history of the epoch. Particularly for a foreigner who does not know Polish, there is no other book which would better serve as an introduction to the internal history of Poland in the 18th century.

For the English reader the book has an additional interest. In the times of Stanisław August English influences for the first time played an important part in Polish cultural life. Hitherto we were inclined to suppose that those influences were exercised almost exclusively through a French intermediary. Now we must grant a larger share to direct influences. M. Jobert supplies us with interesting details concerning the influence of Locke, Hume, Hobbes and Newton in Poland, but his book shows also that the knowledge of English and direct contacts with England were larger than one was inclined to believe. We knew that eminent Polish scholars of the epoch such as Śniadecki or Poczobut visited England and knew English, but now we read with some astonishment the opinion of a German scholar, Forster, in regard to the professors of the University of Wilno. "tous les Polonais parlent le français, un l'allemand et plusieurs l'anglais." We should have been inclined to suppose that in Wilno German was far better known than English. Not without surprise we learn that in the secondary school of a small locality—Włodzimierz, directed by the Order of St. Basil, there were regular courses in English. Thus the book presents the history of English influences in Poland in a new and interesting perspective.

One little slip may be noted. On p. 73 the author writes "L'Université de Cracovie . . . brilla d'un vif éclat jusque vers le début du XVII-me siècle." That cannot be accepted: already at the beginning of the 16th century the Alma Mater of Cracow showed obvious signs of decline. Besides, in the last (XXVI) volume of *Przegląd Historyczny*, which appeared in 1946, Prof. Barycz refers to a controversy between the mass of conservative gentry and the authorities of the Commission about the rôle and scope of Latin in Polish education, a controversy which ended in a partial victory of the gentry. Strange enough, there is no mention of such controversy in M. Jobert's book.

The book is provided with a map showing the distribution of schools throughout Poland, six illustrations, some useful lists of names, and an index which is unfortunately incomplete. One would in vain seek in it for the name of Hobbes, mentioned on p. 334, or of Maurice Glayre, mentioned on p. 397.

WIKTOR WEINTRAUB.

Sbornik statey i issledovanii v oblasti slavyanskoy filologii. By N. S. Derzhavin, Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk S.S.S.R., Moscow-Leningrad, 1941, pp. 231.

THIS *Sbornik* contains five studies dealing with subjects belonging to three different domains of Slav cultural history. In the first an attempt

is made to solve the riddle connected with the mysterious figure of Troyan, mentioned in the *Slovo o polku Igoreve*. In the second, third and fourth studies an account is given of the lives, writings and ideas of Father Paisii (1722-1784), and Sofronii, bishop of Vratsa (1739-1813), two men whose ideas, especially those of Paisii, played a decisive rôle in the Bulgarian National Revival of the 19th century. To discover the exact date at which *Euchologium sinaiticum* was compiled is the subject of the fifth study.

The author, who is one of the leading Soviet slavists of to-day, undertakes a double task. As he states in his short preface, he wants first "to give exhaustive material for the guidance of the Soviet reader and the student beginning research into the problems which they dwell upon," and second "to put these problems on a new footing and to give them a new solution on the basis of the achievements of Soviet scholarship."

The first study, being outside the reviewer's competence, will be passed by with only one remark. This study is based on the assumption that the *Slovo o polku Igoreve* is a literary work belonging to the 12th century. Derzhavin cannot be reproached for taking the authenticity of the *Slovo* for granted. On the other hand, it should perhaps have been mentioned that there are scholars, such as André Mazon, who maintain that the *Slovo* was written as late as the 18th century. This question is of paramount importance for anyone aiming at discovering the meaning of such an obscure figure as Troyan. According to Derzhavin, Troyan is neither a mythological nor a symbolical, but an historical figure—the Roman emperor Trajan.

At the beginning of the second study the author gives his new approach to Father Paisii and his work. A familiar but not very accurate description of the activities of the Phanariots, the Greek clergy and their attempts to hellenise the Bulgarians is followed by an account of the life of Paisii, and we are given useful information about the plan, contents, ideas and language of his *History*, written in 1762. The study ends with a description of the rôle played by Paisii in the so-called Bulgarian National Revival of the 19th century.

Paisii has been the subject of extensive studies by Bulgarian scholars, to whose work Derzhavin adds nothing new, except his approach, which is the economic one, inspired by the Marxist doctrine. Derzhavin's main point is that at the time of Paisii there existed in Bulgaria a national bourgeoisie, whose struggle for Bulgarian schools and language, independent church and state was a struggle for "securing the rights for free trade and enrichment" (p. 63). He holds that Paisii was closely connected with this bourgeoisie. The reader is also told that "the work of Paisii [i.e. his *History*] is the first expression of the political programme of the Bulgarian national bourgeoisie, the first challenge levelled, in the name of class interest, at the enemy: the Greek bourgeoisie and the Sultan's government" (p. 65, cf. pp. 107, 115). Paisii is considered to

be "a typical ideologist of the rising national bourgeoisie" (p. 102), and "the first in Bulgarian literature to be the mouth-piece of the class aims of the young national bourgeoisie rising at that time" (p. 104). It is Paisii who "gave a strong impulse to the mass awakening and development of class consciousness . . ." (p. 115). Later we are told that bishop Sofronii was also "a typical mouth-piece of the most progressive elements of the national bourgeoisie . . ." (p. 210). Thus the study of Paisii and Sofronii is put "on a new footing"—the economic one.

The one-sidedness of this interpretation will be obvious to anyone familiar with the economic life of the Bulgarians at the time of Paisii and Sofronii. We do not gain much from it, not because of its one-sidedness but because the existence of the alleged Bulgarian bourgeoisie is not as self-evident as it seems to Derzhavin. And, what is more important, he makes no attempt to prove the existence of this bourgeoisie by historical facts, or by any reference to the extensive literature, mainly in Bulgarian, dealing with the subject.

In the pages dealing with the Phanariots, meaning the Greek clergy, and their endeavours to hellenise the Bulgarians, there are many controversial points. Space does not permit to dwell on all of them, so only two will be mentioned. To say that the Greek clergy of the 16th and 17th century were "astonishingly ignorant" and that the monks of Athos were "almost illiterate" (p. 69) is an exaggeration which cannot be applied even to the Bulgarian clergy and monks of the same period, as has been shown by recent research work. It is very strange to see the author repeating the old charge against Hilarion, the Greek metropolitan of Tirnovo (d. 1838), who is made responsible for destroying by fire the supposed library of the Patriarchate of Tirnovo in 1825. He quotes the opinion of C. J. Jireček, expressed in the Bulgarian edition of his *Istoria na bulgarite* (1888, p. 638): but he does not mention the well-documented study by the Bulgarian scholar, Yurdan Trifonov, whose opinion is that this charge is "a legend, which ought not to be repeated!" (*Spisanie na bulgarskata Akademia na Naukite*, XIV, 1917, pp. 1-42).

The third and fourth studies, as was indicated previously, are dedicated to the life and writings of Sofronii, bishop of Vratsa. In depicting the life of Sofronii, Derzhavin uses the only source at our disposal—Sofronii's Autobiography, from which rather lengthy extracts are given, in a language which certainly will not be understood by every reader. Despite his restless life, conditioned by the internal troubles in the Ottoman Empire during his lifetime, Sofronii was a tireless translator and compiler of didactic works, written in Greek, which he translated into Bulgarian—among them the *Kiriakodromion* or, to use its Bulgarian name, the *Nedelnik*—a collection of sermons, printed in 1806. This was the first book printed in the new Bulgarian, and it inaugurated a new epoch in the life of the Bulgarians. To this side of Sofronii's activities special attention is paid, every work being studied separately.

A few words must be said about the fifth study, in which an attempt

is made to find a more exact date at which the *Euchologium sinaiticum* was compiled. Dr. L. Gertler, the first editor of the *Euchologium* (1882), considering the palaeographical and linguistic data of the document, held the opinion that it belongs to the 10th century, without specifying any years. V. Jagić, the Russian authority, Mansvetov, and, following them, J. Frček, maintain that it belongs to the end of the 11th century. Derzhavin thinks that the palaeographical data are not very reliable and therefore must be supplemented by historical ones. These data, according to Derzhavin, are given in the following text, which I have taken from the *Euchologium* in Frček's edition: "І о[б]п[а]с[е]и, г[оспод]і, рабы сво вѣрны ц[ѣ]са[р] и х[р]ист[ъ] олюбивааго отъ б[ог]а ц[ѣ]са[р]а нашего, и съхрани и подѣ кровомъ твоимъ миромъ, покорн емоу всѣ врагы і сж постаты, дажди емоу всѣ прощеніѣ ѣже на с[ѣ]п[а]с[е]ніе . . ." (J. Frček, *Euchologium sinaiticum*, Patrologia orientalis, t. xxiv, Paris, 1933, p. 646). Derzhavin takes for granted that the *Euchologium's* place of origin is the Western Bulgarian Kingdom and the time is the 10th century. This being so, he tries to discover the exact years in the history of this Kingdom to which "вѣрны ц[ѣ]са[р]" and "отъ б[ог]а ц[ѣ]са[р]а нашего" may refer. For this purpose a survey of the political situation in Western Bulgaria during the second half of the 10th century is made.

After the death of Tsar Peter (969), the Western part of his kingdom was ruled by four brother-rebels, namely David, Moses, Aaron and Samuel. The Byzantine Emperor, John Tzimiskes, after conquering Eastern Bulgaria, captured the young Tsar Boris the Second and his brother (Romanus) and brought them to Constantinople in 972. At the end of 979 the two brothers escaped from the Byzantine capital and tried to reach Western Bulgaria. During this escape Boris was killed, and only Romanus succeeded in crossing the frontier. He arrived in Macedonia and was welcomed by its rulers—Samuel and Aaron—who made him a king shortly after his arrival in 980. Aaron was killed by Samuel in 987 (the others brothers, David and Moses, were by then already dead). This state of affairs between 980 and 987 Derzhavin sees reflected in the quoted text. "Вѣрны ц[ѣ]са[р]" are Samuel and Aaron and "отъ б[ог]а ц[ѣ]са[р]а нашего" is Romanus (p. 229).

This theory is not convincing. We are not very sure whether the *Euchologium* originated in Western Bulgaria. Further, it is important to remember that this document is a compilation, in which versions of different origins and times are included. This probably explains the strange composition of the quoted prayer. It is incredible that the most essential part of the prayer should be offered for a nominal Tsar like Romanus. Then there is another text, not taken into consideration by Derzhavin. ". . . раба твоего вѣрнааго ц[ѣ]са[р]а . . . съхрани, покорн подѣ ногама его. . . , приложи емоу вѣрж говѣннѣ і оутвѣрди его въ страхъ твои (J. Frček, *Op. cit.*, pp. 690-92). To which period must we relate this, in which only one Tsar is mentioned?

Derzhavin 'accepts too' readily the opinion, expressed by V. N. Zlatarsky in his *Istoria na prvoto blgarsko tsarstvo*, Vol. I, Part 2, Sofia, 1927, p. 658, who in turn assumes from Yacha of Antioch (c. 970-1066) that Romanus was a Tsar and that the "Comitopulos," i.e. Samuel, was working under him. But Romanus was a eunuch, and according to mediæval custom a eunuch was not allowed to be a ruler. Byzantine sources do not mention that Romanus was a Tsar.

In the reviewer's opinion neither the text given by Derzhavin, nor the second text, can be used for fixing the date of the *Euchologium*.

Despite the one-sidedness, observed in some parts of the studies given in the *Sbornik*, they are not without value as an introduction to the subjects discussed. They contain a good selection of material, supplemented by a rich bibliography, added to each study.

So far as we know Derzhavin is the first non-Bulgarian scholar who has written on Father Paisii and Bishop Sofronii, thus introducing them to a wider circle of readers, and for this we must be grateful.

K. NAUMOV.

Who are the Finns? A Study in Pre-history. By R. E. Burnham. Faber & Faber, London, 1946.

As its title suggests and the author's preface corroborates, this "study in pre-history" is addressed chiefly to the layman. It assembles three kinds of facts on the subject—linguistic ("philological"), archæological, and anthropological (anthropometric)—and expounds some of the theories which have been advanced from time to time to "interpret" them. The author writes clearly and in a forthright style and dogmatizes, when it suits him, "in emphatic terms." His book is a pioneer work in its range, so far as English scholarship is concerned, but the bulk of the matter may be found in any of the larger encyclopædias. Unfortunately, "Who are the Finns?" labours under four serious defects: (1) the neglect of a considerable body of research, e.g. the work of Soviet, Hungarian, and East Baltic scholars; (2) an apparent inability to shake off antiquated prejudices; (3) an obsolete and clumsy terminology, and (4) errors of fact, especially in the linguistic section, which is the least satisfactory in the book. The footnotes give details of the extent of the author's reading and define the scope of his work better than his chapter headings. They show that he has consulted nothing of importance later than 1938 and that he has relied for information mainly on works written in English, and as these are concerned in most cases with pre-history and archæology, his emphasis is mainly on those aspects. The second defect, deriving from the social and national prejudices underlying the Aryan (Indo-European) standpoint in linguistics and elsewhere, is illustrated by the frank or subtle stressing of Aryan superiority (e.g. in the discussion of Lithuanian *(sic)* loans in Finnish), in spite of the just remarks on pp. 22-23 and the "liberal" quotation from what the Dane

Rasmus Rask wrote about Finnish in 1834. "The old prejudice of the "backwardness" of one language as compared with another (not entirely abandoned even in Nikolaj Marr's Japhetic theory) dies hard, like the personal and pardonable prejudice that one's mother-tongue excels all others as an instrument of expression. The cure for the first is the realisation that languages (especially the abstract systems with which linguists are concerned) are as neutral as mirrors: they merely reflect a state of society at a given time and place, cannot in themselves be superior or inferior (terms as inapplicable to them as colours and dimensions are to ethics), and are always adequate to the purpose they may be required to serve. The fallacy of the supremacy of the mother-tongue can be dispelled by reflecting that there are other mother-tongues than one's own, intimately bound up with the psychology of the individuals who speak them. For fairness sake however it must be conceded that the author's attitude to his subject is much more enlightened than, say, C. N. E. Eliot's, who less than a half-century ago converted the difficulties he had experienced in learning Finnish into the purely fanciful idea that the language was inadequate for modern expression.

The obsolete terminology of "Who are the Finns?" is not entirely the author's fault, though with the incentive of the names quoted on p. 14 before him, he could have attempted to "modernise" it as an example for others to reject or to follow. The inertia of conservatism however is so great in the neglected domain of linguistics that we still find such monstrosities as Syrjenian (corrupted from the German *syr-janisch*), Livish (for Livonian), Esthonian (which is on a par with Servian or Sclavonic), Veps (for Vepsian), Samoyede (for Samoyed), Ural-Altaic (for Uralo-Altaic), and so on. Carelian and Mordvinian are both good, Votyak(ian) too, and Vogul and Ostyak may be retained till there is more agreement on their vernacular equivalents. In any case the author's Khanti (for Chanty) and Mansi (for Man's'i) are wrong, even as transliterations of Russian spellings. These occur in Chapter II, whose shortcomings include omissions as well as errors. Among the former is the absence of any reference to the numerous minor forms of West Somian (W. Finnic) such as Vodian (F. *vatja*), Olonecian (F. *aunus*), Ingrian (F. *inkeri*), and Ludinian (F. *lyydi*), and among the latter we have the confusion of Finnic and Finnish (which can be avoided only by substituting Somian—as used in Baltic scholarship—for the former) and the statement that Livish (*sic*) is a dialect of Esthonian (*sic*). This brings us to the fourth defect of the book—errors of fact. One of these has just been mentioned. The others are fairly numerous and include Turanian (Turkic) *on* (in On-ogur) as "nine" (instead of "ten"), the use of "Lithuanian" for "Baltic" (K. Būga's "Aestic") in speaking of an early layer of loan-words in Finnish, the statement that English has discarded *all* its Aryan inflections and become isolative (reference to Sinitic would disprove this), Othere for Ohthere (the Norwegian navigator Ottarr mentioned in King Alfred's account of two mediæval voyages), Syktyvykar (for Syktyvkar)

and Mordova (for Mordvá) in the map at the end of the book, Hung. *hid* (bridge) for *hid*, etc.

In discussing theories, e.g. the author's theory of the Caucasian "homeland" of the Ugro-Somians (Finno-Ugrians) and his superficial rejection of the Uralian hypothesis, we are naturally on less firm ground than abundant facts provide. There is no room here to deal with all this as the author, in a polemic, deals with Gustaf Kossinna's views (p. 71), but one thing deserves mention. It is easy enough to substitute one hypothesis for another, but no hypothesis can command prolonged acceptance unless it is adequately correlated with existing facts. The Uralian hypothesis was fully stated by E. N. Setälä in 1915 (*vide* "Zur Frage nach der Verwandtschaft der finnisch-ugrischen und samojedischen Sprachen," *J.S.F.-Ouv.*, Helsinki), and so far nothing better has been suggested. Till something better turns up we must be content to accept the very real connection between Ugro-Somian and Samoyedic (*not* Samoyede). The Aryan idea of a parent language is no more than a reflection of the theological insistence on monogenesis: Proto-Aryan is merely a system of references, not an individual reality, even an abstract one, in time. No linguist ever seriously regarded August Schleicher's reconstruction of it, and indeed the notion of a parent language, which dominates the author, is injurious to progressive linguistic study. The realisation of phonetic, structural, and lexical affinities is enough.

W. K. MATTHEWS.

Gold Khan. Translated by Norman Cohn, with a preface by Arthur Waley; Secker & Warburg, London, 1946.

WITH its verbal formulas and repetitions, heroic beings, atmosphere of sorcery, and dreamscapes, *Gold Khan* calls to mind the English versions of the *Kalevala* and Longfellow's *Hiawatha*. The book is a close translation of six of Anton Schiefner's fifteen *Heldensagen der minussinschen Tataren* (St. Petersburg, 1859), itself a translation of Turanian (Koibal, Sagai, Kacha, etc.) originals, in some cases through Russian and Swedish media. Mr. Cohn's metric is imitated from Schiefner's, which diverges considerably from the original, as *Hiawatha's* metric style was imitated not from the subtleties of the Finnish *Kalevala*, but from Schiefner's regularised German pattern.

Franz Anton von Schiefner (1817-1879), an outstanding scholar with interests in many linguistic fields, was a Baltic German, not "a Russian of German descent," and he was responsible for collecting and preparing for the press, with intelligent and scrupulous care, the researches of the brilliant founder of Uralian linguistics, M. A. Castrén (1813-1852), and the pioneer Caucasian studies of Baron P. Uslar. Schiefner was not so much a creator or original investigator as a translator and interpreter of others' work, but his knowledge of exotic languages was wide and

accurate, and he had a genius for exposition and systematisation. Moreover, like Castrén, he had a small poetic gift, which both Longfellow and Mr. Cohn appear to have found stimulating.

Castrén's materials were published under Schiefner's direction and in his versions by the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences in the twelve volumes of *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen* (1853-1858). Of these, the volumes relevant here are the fourth, which contains seven *Tatarische Heldensagen* (pp. 181-257), and the eleventh, which is a comparative grammar of Koibal and Karagas. In his preface to the latter Schiefner locates the Koibal nomads on the Upper Yenisei and the Abakan, and tells us that five of the clans (*Geschlechter*) are of Samoyedic and three of Yenisei-Ostyak (Ket) origin. The same mountainous and riverine area houses the Kacha, the Sagai (Khakas), and the Karagas tribes. Castrén regards the languages of these "Minusinsk Tartars" (the former Russian name for them) as cognate transformations of Turanian Kacha by originally Uralian and Palæoasiatic speakers. Schiefner compares Karagas with the divergent Turanian Yakut, but admits a phonetic affinity to West Turanian types.

Writing from Krasnoyarsk on 23 September, 1847, to his friend, Dr. Elias Lonnrot, the maker of the *Kalevala*, Castrén says: "My chief business is the study of Koibal, a Turco-Tataric (i.e. Turanian) dialect, which is undoubtedly much purer than the Constantinopolitan." And he adds that he has collected "a lot of heroic songs, only a few of which are recorded in Tartar" (en hop hjeltesångor, bland hvilka dock få äro upptecknade på Tatariska). (*Vide Nordiska resor och forskningar*, II, 9, Helsingfors, 1855, p. 355.) No doubt he learnt many of these songs in Russian, and this would seem to be the "original" language from which he afterwards made his Swedish, and Schiefner his German translations.

In some cases two translations stand between the original (Turanian or Russian) and Mr. Cohn's versions. The prose "original" of *Katai Khan*, for example, may be found in Castrén's *Tatariska Sagor* (in *Nordiska resor och forskningar*, IV, 1857) and the German translations of this in Schiefner's *Tatarische Heldensagen*. Comparison of the Swedish, German, and English versions is instructive. Castrén, for instance, has: "Utkommen förskräcktes Katajchan när han såg det sällsamma ljuset på bergstoppen." Schiefner's German version is: "Aus dem Zelt gekommen erschrak Katai-Chan, als er das seltsame Licht auf der Bergspitze sah." And Mr. Cohn writes (p. 78): "The warrior looks at the high crest of the mountain | starts back in terror | seeing the light that burns upon that peak." The last, of course, was not translated directly from Schiefner's prose, but from his "rhythmicised" (*rhythmisch bearbeitet*) version of 1859.

Castrén's *Versuch einer koibalischen und kargassischen Sprachlehre* (1857) contains, as a specimen of Koibal, the original of *Gold Khan*. Let us take for comparison this stirring passage (p. 25): "The hoofs of the warrior's horse are heard like a hammer | and the noise from its nostrils

like a storm." On the high mountain-crest a warrior rides." The Koibal and German equivalents read as follows (lines 299-304) :

arend'ula tabane ulug baska d'ilep,	des Heldenrosses Huf ist gleich einem Hammer,
at arend'ula .	des Heldenrosses
tana ulug d'il d'ilep	Nüstern gleich einem grossen Un- wetter
kôleb ôder,	lärmen,
altai senneng üstunda	auf dem goldenen Bergrücken
âlêp t'axse kilde	kommt ein guter Held.

This Koibal text may be translated literally as : " courser hoof-his great hammer like, | stallion courser | nostrils (-his) great stormlike | sit resonant, | gold peak's on | hero good came." Koibal words have the stress on the last syllable, and the general effect of the rhythm is therefore different from the Aryan flow and pitch of the German and English versions.

Mr. Cohn's translations are often even closer than this, almost verbatim, but occasionally the German text is misunderstood, as when Katai Alep (p. 24), instead of his red, gold-dappled horse, is given a "back nine fathoms long." The English is pleasantly free from literary artifice and affectation, though not entirely so : we come across the obsolescent or obsolete "upon," "beneath," "midst," "maiden," "makes to," "cries aloud," "clasped," "weeping," etc., that recall the Victorian "archaisms" of W. B. Yeats. Most of the characters' names have meanings, including several of the untranslated ones, but Mr. Cohn should not have translated any of them : his version, to my mind, gains nothing from calling Alten Khan (the correct Koibal form is Altên Kan) "Gold Khan" or Ag Aî "White Moon." His spelling of some of the Turanian (Turkic) names presents inconsistencies, e.g. *dsh* and *dy* are used for the palatâl plosive (*d'*), *kèzèl* (*è* is phonetically *ə*) becomes *kezil* (red) ; the length mark (circumflex) is regularly omitted (e.g. *kan* is written for *kân*, blood) ; dialectal forms are confused (*arèg*, pure, is Karagas, the Koibal word being *arax*) , *dyibak* (i.e. *d'ibâk*) is not "silk" but (silk "cord") ; *molot* (steel) should be *molât* ; *uluss* and *kumyss* should each have one *s* ; the appositional comma should not have been left out ; and so on.

Before the reader's imagination, as he turns these pages, the genuine poetic sympathy and enthusiasm with which Mr. Cohn has endowed his translations conjures up a marvellous dream-world of pastoral archers, magicians (e.g. Balamon Kam of the Nine Drums, p. 65), white landscapes, mountains of metal, stallions with gold manes, herds of white cattle, talking animals and birds, infant prodigies like the boy Hercules, physical transformations (e.g. foal into duck), unnatural phenomena (e.g. a stallion giving milk ; food of pure gold), maternal love (p. 73), eye-for-eye vengeance, the malevolence of man and monster (e.g. the swan-women), burial

in larch-trees (p. 82), and many other strange or striking things. All this offers a feast to the lover of poetry, the student of epic style, the psychologist, the ethnographer, the anthropologist, the language-student, who may be tempted to study the originals, and the broad-minded reader, to whom nothing human is unworthy of attention. The last will be struck by the profound truth of some of the words spoken and some of the scenes re-enacted, and the first will thrill to the frequent splendours of the great dream images and symbols.

W. K. MATTHEWS.

Histoire de la littérature russe By M. Hofmann; "Les Éditions du Chêne," Paris, 1946, pp. 255.

THIS new French book on Russian literature by a Russian *émigré* scholar who is an authority on Pushkin and Baratynsky is rather unsatisfactory. Neither in scope nor in objectivity of treatment and soundness of judgment can it be compared with D. S. Mirsky's two-volume English History of Russian literature. It is full of disproportions, inaccuracies, strange omissions and extremely controversial statements. The best chapter is perhaps the one on the Pushkin period, but even here there are disproportions and strange omissions (very little is said of Pushkin's "Little Tragedies," and *The Stone Guest* is not even mentioned). Literature prior to the 18th century receives—to say the least—a strange treatment in a chapter entitled "Russian Folklore": M. Hofmann simply refuses to consider the bulk of early Russian literature—whether religious or secular (even such works as John the Dread's Correspondence with Kurbsky and Avvakum's *Life* are not mentioned), preferring to discuss various forms of Russian folklore, and especially the *byliny*, as the only literary manifestations that deserve the attention of a modern student. The unorthodoxy of his approach is sufficiently indicated by the fact that he includes the *Slovo o polku Igoreve* (of which he does not doubt the authenticity) among folklore works.

The chapter on 18th-century literature is rather inadequate, and the cavalier fashion in which Kantemir is dismissed as an unimportant writer shows a lack of historical perspective and objectivity. There are also some strange statements about Sumarokov and Radishchev (the title of whose famous book is, for some unaccountable reason, given as *The Journey from Petrograd to Moscow*).

In the chapter on the post-Pushkin period Lermontov as a poet is dismissed almost as cavalierly as Kantemir: in M. Hofmann's view his poetry has an appeal chiefly for adolescents and his reputation is due, we learn, "to the whim of fate, of the critics and the readers."

M. Hofmann's treatment of Gogol as above all a realist is in contradiction with the view now widely held, while his assertion that Gogol's influence on *all* Russian 19th-century writers was paramount is more than doubtful. It is also strange to learn from M. Hofmann that

Dostoyevsky's novel *The Brothers Karamazov* is wholly devoid of "intrigue amoureuse" (the author even compares it in this respect to Fonvizin's *Nedorosl* in which, however, there is a minor "love plot")—what about the Dmitry-Katerina Ivanovna and the Dmitry-Fedor Pavlovich-Grushenka stories?

The chapter entitled "Modern Times," dealing with the early 20th-century (the period of Symbolism), is too scrappy to be of any value. Let it only be said that it contains no mention of Sologub either as a poet or as the author of *Petty Demon*; nor are Andrey Bely's novels so much as mentioned. Bunin is dismissed in a few lines. The word "Acmeism" is spelt throughout as "*akhmeisme*". There are in the book several other errors, inaccuracies in translation, etc. Altogether it is unworthy of its author.

GLEB STRUVE.

Słownik rosyjsko-polski i polsko-rosyjski. Opracował Wiktor Jakubowski. Część pierwsza rosyjsko-polska. Słowniki podręczne "Czytelnika."
 "Czytelnik" spółdzielnia wydawnicza [Warszawa], 1946, pp. 430.

THIS new, short Russian-Polish dictionary (the Polish-Russian part is still to come), compiled by Mr. Jakubowski who is now Lecturer of Russian in the University of Cracow, must be welcome to all Polish students of Russian. As the author points out, the need for spreading the knowledge of Russian in Poland requires no proof. Some people may think this rather a virtue made out of necessity. It is to be hoped, however, that whatever changes may take place in the general political and international configuration, time will come when the foundations will be laid for a true friendship between a free Russia and a truly sovereign and independent Poland, and that then far-sighted Poles will not be guided in their attitude to Russia by a natural resentment born of the present situation. Circumstances have brought the Russians and the Poles into a close contact, and it is comforting to hear that even those Poles who have gone through untold sufferings in the Soviet Union speak warmly of the kind and sympathetic attitude they often encountered on the part of ordinary Russian people, while one also hears of Russians who were greatly and favourably impressed by Poland and her culture. In this we can see a pledge for the future.

While paying due tribute to the Russian-Polish dictionaries edited by Krasny and Chernobayev and published in Moscow in 1933 and 1940 respectively, Mr. Jakubowski points out that they were compiled for the use of the Russians, and that a need was felt for a practical up-to-date dictionary adapted to the requirements of Polish readers. His work is designed to fill this gap. It does not claim to be complete and exhaustive—it is short (about 18,000 words), gives as a rule only the principal meaning of each word, avoiding synonyms, and limits to a minimum all illustrations of usage. But it is reliable and up to date,

special care being taken to record present-day Soviet usage, new technical terminology, etc. It contains a concise but lucid explanation of the principles of Russian pronunciation at the beginning, and fairly detailed grammatical notes and comments at the end. With regard to the former, Mr. Jakubowski is to be congratulated on his avoidance of the rigidly pedantic approach to be found in some works on Russian phonetics: while pointing out that the Moscow pronunciation is regarded as the standard, he rightly stresses the fact that deviations from this standard are numerous and common, and that in some cases the so-called Moscow pronunciation is practised only by a minority (even of educated Russians).

The inaccuracies in the vocabulary itself seem to be very few. It is incorrect, of course, to describe *барахло* as an indeclinable noun. The adjective *грудной* is given only as part of the expression *грудной ребенок* (what about *грудная клетка* and some other uses?). To render *вопиющий* as *wołajacy o pomstę* and *глубокомысленно* as *z powaźną myślą* is rather to limit unduly the meaning of those two words. Next to *гласный* for "a vowel" the still commonly used feminine form ought to have been given. There are also some inconsistencies in the listing of perfective/imperfective and reflexive forms of verbs. Thus, *вывинтить* is given, but not *вывинчивать*, *вымещать*, but not *выместить*; *выбрызгать*, but not *выбрызть*. The use of the reflexive form is not indicated in the case of *вывернуть*, but is in the case of *вывернуться* (*выворачиваться* is not given). Perhaps, some of the foreign loan-words, which are practically identical in Russian and Polish, could be omitted, and the space thus saved, used for enlarging the vocabulary. There are very useful lists of current Soviet abbreviations which often puzzle foreigners in Soviet newspapers, and of the most common Russian Christian names.

Grammatical notes at the end of the dictionary give a very full and accurate picture of Russian declensions and conjugations. Here are a few slips we have noted: as a result of what is apparently a typographical error (misplacement of lines) various cases of the numerals 50, 40, 90 and 100 are mixed up (p. 381), *пройденный* from *пройти* and *испеченный* from *испечь* are at least as legitimate as (and more common in ordinary speech than) the forms *пройденный* and *испеченный* given by Mr. Jakubowski (p. 425); the indeclinable participle from *красться* is accented on the first syllable (*кра́дущись*), not on the last (p. 427); it does not seem to be correct to say that *махать* has no present indeclinable participle (p. 427): both *махая* and *маша* are used; on p. 429 *zostatem opisany* as equivalent of *я был описываем* is apparently a misprint for *byłem opisany* (the next line gives *zostatem opisany* as equivalent of *я был описан*).

We must now look forward to the Polish-Russian part of Mr. Jakubowski's Dictionary.

GLEB STRUVE.

Podstawy Kultury polskiej. • By Ignacy Wieniewski ; Swiatpol, London, 1946, pp. 100.

Polskie Tradycje demokratyczne. By Bogdan Suchodolski , Arct, Warszawa, 1946, pp. 184.

Z dziejów Demokracji polskiej. By Zygmunt Młynarski , Książka, Warszawa, 1946, pp. 110.

It need surprise no one, if in times like the present serious-minded Poles not only re-examine the foundations and development of their cultural and political tradition, but seek to discover what from the past can be of value for the future. In these three useful books, all of them small, the reader will find a great deal of well-digested and selected information, together with some hints at what is needed. The first is by a professor of classics, the second by a professor of education, the third by a student of social history and a crusader for better conditions of living for the primary producer.

Professor Wieniewski, as befits a humanist, finds three main springs from which comes the stream of Polish civilisation—the indigenous Slav elements, the Christian faith, and the influences of Greece and Rome. The non-Polish reader will naturally be interested more in the first of these, and the chapter dealing with it is a model of terseness and clarity. One could hardly wish for a finer survey of Polish thought and aspiration, as found in five centuries or more of prose and poetry, than is offered in these pages. The lucid paragraphs on music and painting only add to the picture. Perhaps least known are the pages dealing with the “ regionalism,” which became an enriching feature of modern writing—indeed of creative work in general. The reviewer can only remark that in Poland, as elsewhere, the realities of life for the masses lagged far behind the thinking of the poets and novelists, and recall Schiller’s famous couplet

“ Leicht beieinander wohnen die Gedanken,
Doch hart im Raume stossen sich die Dinge.”

A good deal of this conflict and tension comes out in the second volume, of which the sub-title is “ The idea of democracy as grasped by Polish thinkers from Staszyc to Witkiewicz.” Nearly thirty names are included, some of them famous the world over, others scarcely known even to middle-class Poles.

The author would do well to make these sketches the basis of a proper *History* of 19th-century Polish thought, in which the changes are rung from the physiocrat, Kołłataj, through the apostles of Romanticism back again to Realism, but always upward to a better understanding of the true issues. We are warned in the preface that after 1789 the term “ democracy ” took on in Europe a quite different meaning from the traditional one, and that precisely the 19th century saw the Polish nation “ deprived of the possibility of drawing from the springs of political experience, or of checking their thoughts by the test of reality.” This

must be borne in mind, though it by no means permits one to dismiss the work of these men as theory and nothing more. They too were up against stern realities, which some of them met in one way, some in another, and it is interesting to find here the names of at least seven thinkers, who are regarded by the present régime in Warsaw as its prophets—Kołłątaj, Mochnacki, Worcell, Dembowski, Limanowski, Krzywicki and Abramowski. In almost every one—from Staszyc onwards, two convictions stand out; faith in the common people (*lud*), and the view that the measure of the individual character will be the measure of the social order. No one knew this better than the last-named of the six, the philosopher of the co-operative movement, whose writings deserve more attention than they have received outside Poland.

Młynarski's essay limits even further the field of inquiry, and to a single decade—the restless 'forties of the last century. The Poles were dismayed by the failure of the November Rising, but those in exile played no small part in the Utopian Socialist movement, and (like the Italians) they worked hard for liberty and reunion. They were, however, far from agreeing as to the main issue, since only the more radical stood for social and economic as well as for political emancipation. Among these was Worcell, a member of the exiled group living in Portsmouth, over against whose views the author sets the "democracy of the nobles," carrying on at home, in a rather unfortunate light. This enables him to bring out the courage and vision of the social prophet Edward Dembowski, and the Catholic Father, Piotr Sciegienny, whose famous "Golden Booklet," purporting to be a letter of Pope Gregory XVI to the Polish peasants, stirred up a regional revolt in Central Poland that should have broken out openly in 1844. That it did not was chiefly due to the watchfulness of the Tsarist police, into whose hands the gallant churchman was sooner or later bound to fall, and with the usual sequel—Siberia. The text of the "forgery," for which Sciegienny was unfrocked, is printed as an Appendix, and is of itself worth the price of the book.

W. J. ROSE.

Polska-Niemcy: Dziesięć wieków zmagania. By Zygmunt Wojciechowski, Poznań, Instytut Zachodni, 1945, pp. 267, with maps.

Problem polsko-niemiecki w Dziejach. By Józef Feldman; Katowice, 1946, pp. 175, with bibliography.

THESE two books belong to the best, and there have been many, that have appeared in Polish since the end of the war, dealing with the age-long struggle between the Germans and their nearest Slav neighbours on the east. In the former, the Poznań professor, who is now director of the Western Institute in that city, sketches the thousand-year conflict, showing too how Polish-Czech relations, at times far from cordial, affected adversely the defence of the Slav patrimony. The reader notes with interest the way the author puts his finger on the succession of blunders in policy that weakened the Polish state on its western borders:

1. The failure to follow up the victory of Tannenberg (1410);
2. the "fatal decision" of Piotrków, 5 March, 1563, when the Prussian succession was conceded to the line of the Elector of Brandenburg,
3. the missing of the opportunity afforded during the Thirty Years War, to recover Silesia,
4. the "absence of Poland" during the early years of the 18th century, while Prussia and the Russia of Peter the Great were growing-up;
5. the "saving" of Prussia during the Napoleonic wars

The Poles under Jan Sobieski came to the help of the Empire in 1683, heeding the call of Christendom but ignoring the demands of *raison d'état*, getting little thanks and no trace of profit for their effort.

Professor Feldman, whose death last year was a shock to us all, was already known for his first-rate studies of this great subject, in particular of the 19th century. He is careful to point out in Chapter III that Germans and Poles have by no means always been at war, and says some shrewd things on the whole complexity of the problem: and he draws attention to the fact that when Poland, officially, was "absent" during the 18th century, men of vision and courage like Poniatowski, Rzewuski, Konarski, Staszyc and Kołłątaj were all aware of the Prussian menace, and did not hesitate to say so. Most interesting to the present writer, however, are the two longer chapters dealing with the generation since 1914. Feldman quotes General Hoffmann's remark about the struggle of 1914-1918 as being "a war of lost opportunities." Certainly the lack of continuity which marked Prussian policy towards the Poles from the death of Frederic II to the outbreak of the first World War was well-matched by the tension that prevailed in Berlin between the civilians and the General-Staff during the war years—the expressed wish on the one hand to resuscitate an independent Poland as a buffer against Russia and the desire to see realised the famous Kneesebeck defence line for the Reich. The result was the total lack of a "programme," and the collapse at the end was pitiful. Looking back, one sees what a great opportunity was lost, just as one sees how twenty-five years later a still greater opened up—again to be lost. German policy wanted good relations both with the Poles and with Tsarist Russia—a squaring of the circle that could not be achieved. Equally fruitless were Ludendorff's dream of a new Lithuania under German control, and the Brest Litowsk plans for a Great Ukraine, designed to feed the hungry German millions of Central Europe.

No better survey could be desired of the consistently anti-Polish policy of Berlin after 1919 than is given by Feldman in Chapter X, a policy shared to the full by Stresemann on the one hand and by Papen and Bruening on the other. His keen analysis of the events which led to the Pact of Non-Aggression of 26 January, 1934, and his judgment on the consequences of the same should be published in English for all the world

to read. In his view the Foreign Minister, Józef Beck, hitched his country to the chariot of the Reich, refusing to the end to see whither it was dragging the continent as a whole and part of the blame must be borne by President Mościcki for not heeding the open protest of Polish public opinion, which demanded something very different. This is not the last word that can and should be said on this complicated issue, but the weight of evidence and argument is almost overwhelming.

W. J. ROSE.

Z Kombornu w Świat (Wspomnienia Młodości). By Stanisław Pigoń, Kraków, 1946, pp. 274

Zarys nowszej literatury ludowej. By Stanisław Pigoń, Kraków, 1946, pp. 238.

THESE two little books, the work of a distinguished authority on Polish literature, in particular on Mickiewicz, bear a real relation to one another. In the first we have a revealing human document, the content and spirit of which explain the author's interest in the subject of the second—Polish folk literature. Professor Pigoń was born in a tiny village in central Galicia (as it was then called), and was sent by his parents to high school at a near-by town. He tells us that the first form of these Memoirs was conceived when, as one of the group of Cracow professors imprisoned early in the war by the Germans in Sachsenhausen, he was asked to entertain his colleagues (and help to pass weary evening hours) by telling them about his boyhood days. We may all be grateful for the way he has developed the theme, for even the serious student of social psychology can find here much food for thought. The present writer wishes he could have seen this life story years ago.

One point, out of many, merits special attention. The author makes it clear with what a sense of inferiority the unschooled peasant has had to face his new responsibilities as a partner in the national life of our time: and he makes the point that this newcomer will only then be able to play his part without embarrassment when he has come to feel (pp. 58 sqq.) that the dignity of class and occupation so long accorded to others—the gentry and the townsmen—may and can also be accorded to him. Of course this will take time. Nothing is more certain than that all the personal and social virtues (though not the polish and self-confidence) which can be found anywhere are also to be found among the simple, even illiterate, villagers. The time is now at hand when these should receive the recognition they deserve.

The interesting data given by the author on pp. 182 ff. about the activities of *Eleusis*, the student society founded nearly fifty years ago in Cracow by the philosopher, Wincenty Lutosławski, are another feature of this book. In general, much light is thrown on the rather thorny path to knowledge so many youth of humble origin had to tread in those now faraway times.

Whoever has read the first of these works will readily understand why the second was bound to be written. No proper justice can be done to it in a brief review. Suffice to say that the author has dived into all kinds of almost forgotten places, e.g. the early Peasant Party periodicals, in order to assemble the materials necessary for his study. Part I concerns itself with publicists and writers of memoirs, Part II with poets and story-telling. The author dates the beginnings of "folk" literature, meaning things written by tillers of the soil, who live from their tillage, about 1870—the time when a beginning began to be made seriously with popular education in southern Poland. The pioneers were all self-taught men, greedy (no one knows quite why) for something to read, and fertile with ideas about life. Some of them were roused by love of country, others by the challenge of the social order. None of them found his voice welcomed by the existing order, but that only made their work more vital.

The sixty pages dealing with folk poetry give Pigoń the best opportunity to show his competence and skill with the theme in hand. He insists that folk verse must be written in its own way for its own circles—must, in a word, perform a peculiar function, and be judged by that test. In its simplest form it is sung or spoken—often improvised, before creation is committed to paper, by which time it is somewhat refined. The chief types are lyric or didactic, with satire and fable a close second. Notable is the way in which some peasant works recall to the student famous 16th-century Polish classics, of which the author could know nothing! Does history repeat itself? A more surprising thing is the evidence found to show that, of the three great Romantics, Krasiński has influenced more folk-poets than either of the others. The pages devoted to each of a dozen men break quite new ground in the field of literary history, and one learns with satisfaction that two volumes are soon to appear in the *Biblioteka Narodowa* as anthologies of prose and verse, classified as are Parts I and II of this study.

This collection of materials is likely to be of no small service to the student of social history. Leaving out, of course, as obvious helps the field of journalism and personal memoirs, a sample of which we have in the Autobiography of Jan Słomka (Eng. tr. *From Serfdom to Civilisation*, London, 1941), Pigoń affirms the practical uses of folk poetry. On p. 114 we read:

"Collected together and seen as a whole, this folk verse can reveal the whole sweep and dynamic of the awakened social energy of the villager, and in spite of inadequacy of expression can offer a picture of a social phenomenon peculiar to our age. On this account it has one undeniable value—that of documents in the field of the history of morals. Posterity will look here not for wit but for traits of living, evidences of mental growth, the measure of emotions, interests and civic maturity of the peasant. The historian of our culture will turn to these unpolished, occasional peasant verses with the same curiosity and profit with which

we turn to the polemics of reformation days of the internal unrest of the 17th century”

The useful bibliography, filling nearly five pages of text, enhances the value of the book as a guide for students, furnishing withal abundant evidence of the author's industry and thoroughness.

W. J. ROSE.

Practical Russian. By E. A. Moore and Gleb Struve; Book II, Edward Arnold & Co., 1946.

IN the last issue of the *Slavonic Review* I had the pleasure of reviewing the first part of this primer, which is designed to introduce students to Russian and take them up to Matriculation standard.

This second part offers us the same qualities of modernity in method and lay-out, of conciseness and simplicity, which we welcomed in the first. The choice of pivotal texts is admirable. up to date, interesting and various, ranging from Soviet Orders of the Day through extracts from Soviet newspapers and periodicals to passages from Gor'kii and Maitskii and rhymes by Marshak. (The only questionable inclusion is a fable of Krylov not merely because it strikes an anachronistic note but mainly because the student is given no clear idea as to which of its expressions and constructions he can and can't use himself). The illustrations are charming. And it was an excellent idea to include the words and music of three Russian songs. (But was it really impossible to give us more than one-third of Lermontov's?)

Unfortunately there are here also the shortcomings of Book I.

The number of misprints remains about the same (averaging just under three to every two pages).

The vocabulary gives the impression that the authors had already exceeded their allocation of paper and were chiefly intent on placating the editor by every possible compression. But the result is rather sad. Firstly, the symbols which purport to indicate anomalies of inflection are used only sporadically; many, on no discoverable principle, are omitted as often as not. Secondly, symbols are used for which I could find no meaning given (e.g. F. and E.). Thirdly, the wrong indications are given, (e.g. плечо does not decline in the plural according to IIc; надпись and наметка are not masculine; полтора is not a feminine noun or declined like one, nor is портфель; лететь and пролететь and послышаться are none of them first conjugation, nor is слышать second; пора is not an adverb; полтора is not invariable; условленный is not the past participle passive of условиться, which, being intransitive, cannot have a past participle passive; and so on). Fourthly, there are cases where forms and meanings are so jumbled that a beginner can hardly be expected to make head or tail of them. One example will suffice: “двинуть(ся), to move, set out (v. I. p.; i. двигать I.).” Who could guess from this that двигать also has a reflexive form?

or that only the reflexive form of the verb has both these meanings, while the active form has only one of them? Fifthly, the meanings given against a number of words do not represent even true secondary meanings but, at best, meanings which are possible translations in the context of particular passages in the book. In some cases such meanings are the only meanings given. And it is no defence to say, as is said in the introductory notes: "This vocabulary is limited to the needs of this book." The vocabulary of a primer must serve as the nucleus of the student's working vocabulary, and if it includes obsolete words, constructions or meanings, or indeed meanings which are not valid outside a particular context, it must clearly indicate this in each instance. And if space was really so short, this could still have been done by the simple expedient of bracketing all such forms,—a score or so in all. (As examples: *слава* doesn't mean "thanks," and *нести* doesn't mean "to wear.")

Turning to the grammar: this is of course an introductory course, and a third volume at least would be needed to fit the student to tackle Russian books or newspapers. Such a third volume might include the declension of nouns such as *брат* and *крестьянин*, and of adjectives such as *отцов*, *сестрин*; adverbs in *-ски* and the formation of compound adverbs; distributive numbers and the uses of collective numerals, a great deal more about prepositions and conjunctions; the functions of verbal prefixes and the essentials of compounding verbs; and the secondary uses of parts of the verb, not to mention other aspects of syntax.

The authors are perfectly entitled to put aside such matters—perhaps for a Book III? But something must be said about the presentation of the grammar included in this book. Once again I must confine myself to listing errors (other than such as have already been noted in Book I) and mentioning only a few of the omissions and what seem to me the most questionable points:

- p. 13: *в* and *на* of course often govern the accusative when they don't indicate "motion towards"—or indeed any motion at all.
- p. 24. the commands given by the imperative are not necessarily "urgent," but, as in French and German, categorical or peremptory.
- pp 29, 32. "at a certain time" is not expressed by "*в + acc.*" but by *в + loc.* both at the half-hour (*в половине первого*) and between two hours (*в пятом часу*)—which latter is not referred to.
- p 33: two of Krylov's constructions have been misunderstood. In "*всем насолили*" *всем* is obviously dative plural, not instr. sing.; and *добрее из мужиков* torn from its context makes no sense: in the fable *из мужиков* depends on *кто*, not on *добрее*, which is itself the predicate of *кто*.

- p 39 the instrumental after *смениться* has nothing to do with the predicative instrumental, it is the instrumental (of instrumentality or agency) which normally follows the passive voice, corresponding to English "by" (e.g. replaced by another).
- Под does not "usually govern the instrumental", in the majority of its uses it governs the accusative, and many of these uses have no reference to "motion towards" (e.g. под музыку, под конец, лет под 30; под цвет etc.).
- Казывать is the iterative (not imperfective) of *казать*.
- p. 63 the forms *видна, видно, видны* have no connection with the past participle passive of *видеть*, but are short forms of the adjective *видный*.
- pp 82/3: it is not true that compounds of the indeterminate aspect of the verbs of motion, other than compounds with *по-*, are necessarily imperfective, there are many common exceptions (e.g. *сходить, проездить, укатать*, etc. etc.).
- p. 86: *Поводить* is not the imperfective of *повести* when it means "to lead", and *поноситься* is not the imperfective of *понестись* in any sense.

Among omissions and defective formulations the following may be cited:—The use of the past tense as a categorical imperative is not limited to *пойти* (p. 24) and has no special connection with dogs; under "Time of Day" (p. 29) no mention is made of expressions of the type of *пятый час* and *в пятом часу*; on p. 38 too little is said of the use of the subjunctive in if-clauses and nothing of its use as an optative or jussive in main clauses; the list of verbs forming their past part. pass. in *-тый* (p. 64) is incomplete and inaccurate; in note 2 on p. 96 *-y* and *-a* should be inserted after *-и*, and *-ю* and *-я* after *-ы*; on p. 97 (n. 17) *-ын* should be inserted after *-ин*, and on the same page (under "The Date") it should be explained that where a date specifies the year as well as the (day and) month, the year must also be in the genitive; on p. 98 *и* has been omitted from note 5; on p. 103 note 2 needs the insertion of "except *и* and sometimes *п*" after "consonant"; on p. 104, n. 11, "present or" should be inserted before "past participle passive."

Of the matters where treatment seems to me questionable as well as inadequate I will deal briefly with only two: the gerunds and the verbs of motion.

On p. 43 we are told that the verbal adverb is "often improperly called" the gerund, and it is proposed to re-christen it "the indeclinable participle." It is a little difficult to find justification either for the adverb "improperly" or for the proposed nomenclature. True, the Russian gerund, being a verbal adverb, has nothing much in common with

the Latin gerund which represents the oblique cases of the verbal noun, but on the other hand in Italian and other modern languages the verbal adverb is regularly called a gerund. It is also true that the use of the French invariable present participle seems at times to border on the adverbial, and that in English the verbal adjective, or participle, and the verbal adverb share a common form. But this only makes it the more disastrous to call the Russian gerund a participle; any other name—including gerund!—is preferable, since “participle” can only increase the confusion of our students, who in any case find it difficult enough to make out when they are required to use a gerund and when a participle. It is therefore to be hoped that in future editions this impractical designation will be discarded and some of the space so gained devoted to laying down the criteria for the use of gerunds (in substitution of a subordinate adverbial clause, subject to identity of subject between it and the main clause).

The pages on the verbs of motion likewise need re-drafting. The nomenclature, though perfectly orthodox, is unhelpful, the essence of the distinction between e.g. *идти* and *ходить* appears rather blurred, the theory of compounding at the bottom of p. 82 and supplemented on p. 83 covers only about half the facts; and a number of statements seem more sweeping than accurate.

As to nomenclature, if we are to call verbs of the type of *ходить* “iterative,” what shall we call the verbs like *езжать*, *певать*, *делывать*? For the same reason there is not much point in calling the verbs of motion “double imperfective verbs”. like most other verbs, they have a true iterative form (in addition to the indeterminate aspect here called iterative), so that strictly they are triple imperfective verbs.

Then, the essence of the determinate aspect is not exactly to express the “continuation of an action at a given time” (in some cases there may be no question of continuation of action e.g. *завтра едем к нему*) but to indicate motion towards a determinate objective on a determinate occasion; while in all other circumstances the motion may be indicated by the indeterminate aspect.

Finally, the compounding of the verbs of motion is much more complex than the account here. Of the fourteen verbs of motion listed in this book eight form most (but *not* all) of their compounds in the way here indicated; the other six (and not two as suggested) form most (but again not all) of their compounds in the manner shown. It should be quite easy to convey this, even without going into details of all possible variations.

In conclusion I would repeat that the proportion of praise and criticism in this review reflects the fact that praise, being generic, can be condensed as criticism of particulars cannot, and the further fact that the book is eminently worth repolishing.

F. F. SEELEY.

Russkij jazyk. By G. Vinokur. Goslitizdat, Moscow, 1945.

THIS admirable little work, dedicated to the illustrious Ushakov, is declaredly a popular work, written for the more thoughtful among the masses by a distinguished professor of the Lomonosov University of Moscow, whose name we also know, of course, as one of the collaborators of the celebrated *Tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazyka*, edited by Prof. Ushakov, and elsewhere. It is a most masterly summary of the history and development of the Russian language and keeps an exemplary balance between the purely philological side of the story and its wider literary and historical aspects and implications. The noteworthy philological points of each stage of development are excellently summarised with brief, well-chosen examples, such as can be easily memorised, and admirable insight is shown into every phase of the emergence of the true Russian literary language from the rather static wealth and dignity of Old Slavonic and the vivid but rather untidy vitality of non-ecclesiastical Old Russian. The second South Slav period of influence, for instance, is neatly characterised in a couple of pages, and then follow excerpts from the literature of the time. (Prof. Vinokur keeps to the old orthography in his examples up to the beginning of the 19th century, when in the main questions of orthography lose their philological significance. The earlier texts are also translated into modern Russian.)

It will already be seen from the above that the author in this book has created something far more than a merely "popular" work. His book is just such a summary as the serious *foreign* student of Russian has always been waiting for—a most suitable introductory work for every degree student of the Russian language, for whom its very conciseness alone is extremely valuable. No less brilliantly does Prof. Vinokur deal with the later periods of Russian literature, for example with the 19th century. English students of Russian are often bewildered by the seemingly limitless vocabulary of Russian writers after Pushkin and Gogol'. Prof. Vinokur, with his explanations about the deliberate introduction by the great novelists of peasant language, etc. as a means of characterisation as well as to give local colour, should allay the conscientious foreign student's anxiety by encouraging him to discern the truly local among the more generally accepted expressions.

Not rarely Prof. Vinokur dwells on the great attachment of Russians to their language and the deep psychological well of inspiration that it has been and still is to them. And finally he stresses the care devoted to the Russian language by the country's modern leaders and writers. But his references to foreign influences are equally sympathetic, except to the extravagant Russian gallomania of the end of the 18th century. England receives honourable mention with Ludolf's grammar of Russian in Latin published in Oxford in 1696, and no less warm praise is to be found in Karamzin's quoted remarks about the English pride in their language and Pushkin's admiration of the unaffected language of the

English Romantic poets. From these remarks we see how similar have been the parallel roads of development of our two great tongues and in fact how, in spite of many barriers, the Russian language, once it had become a truly European language, then also became a truly great and worthy partner in the main stream of our common civilisation.

R. G. A. DE BRAY.

Prikaznie sud'i xvii veka. (The judges of the Prikazy in the xviii century)

By S. K. Bogoyavlensky, M.-L., Hist. Inst. of the Acad. of Sci. of the U.S.S.R., 1946, pp. 316.

To review this publication means in the main to explain the reasons for calling attention to it in an English periodical. For this book is neither intended for "reading," nor is it likely to be much consulted outside the limited circle of research workers whose investigations are based on documents of the 17th-century. And yet this unpretentious book deserves to be mentioned as a remarkable feat. The fruit of long years of selfless work, it has not only upheld the best traditions of patient and scholarly study, but is destined to become an indispensable reference book, used by many generations of Russian historians with undiminished appreciation.

As an old research worker of half a century's standing and an expert on Russian institutions of the 16th-17th centuries S. K. Bogoyavlensky, since 1929 corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences, was guided by exceptional experience in selecting all points essential for his purpose, and what he now submits for general use is a comprehensive list of certain 17th-century civil servants, namely of all the "judges" in the state offices ("prikazy") who used to be named in the official correspondence, and whose names therefore—when systematically registered with all available dates and other minute service data obtainable from the respective records—will help to solve chronological and other problems caused by stray documents. So far lists of this kind were available only for the 16th century, and for a few single offices of the 17th compiled by different authors. But in addition to providing new and effective means for dealing with undated records S. K. Bogoyavlensky has also established a fact which greatly enhances the significance of his list: he has ascertained that without an additional check the official service registers (*Razryadnye knigi*) can no longer be relied upon for chronological conjectures as has been the common practice so far. It is now certain that for some reason or other changes on the staff have often been registered either *ante* or *post factum*. Another asset of the book are clues for discovering the writers of unsigned marginal notes. But it is of course impossible to survey here all the technicalities of this important publication, and it is probably also more appropriate to point out in conclusion that the index of the 167 state offices of which the surviving records have been used can claim to be an item of general

interest. Even conceded that not all "prikazy" mentioned by Bogoyavlensky existed simultaneously or were of equal importance their number exceeds very considerably not only the contemporary account by Kotoshikhin in his famous description of Russia under Tsar Alexis, but also the highest estimates suggested by authoritative investigators. It permits in any case to catch a glimpse of the unwieldy administrative machinery of the Moscow State in the 17th century.

LEO LOEWENSON.

ERRATA

"SLAV. AND E. EUROP. REVIEW," Vol. XXV, No. 64:

p. 164, l. 1: for "isolated" read "insolated."

p. 167, l. 2 (from bottom). for *Isámaa* read *Isamaa*.

ED NOTE Owing to technical delays which could not be avoided this number of the REVIEW is appearing six weeks late. The Editors hope to publish the next number in November, 1947.

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